53rd Year of Publication

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Between Ourselves

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE MUSLIMS AND THE HAJJ

The real purpose underlying the Hajj Institution is the creation of a social conscience in the Muslim Community.

On 11 April 1965, there will assemble tens of thousands of Muslim men and women from all over the world to take part in the world assembly of Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, as conceived by Islam through its propounder, the Prophet Muhammad. For about 14 centuries devout Muslims living in all parts of the globe have been coming together to the Holy Mosque in Mecca, which is the first building erected by man under divine guidance for the service of God, was planned by the Almighty to be situated in the centre of the populated world. It is not a mere coincidence; to those who have been gifted with right thinking it contains a significance of great importance.

The circumambulation around the holy shrine, the Ka’bah, together with the performance of some other rites, is called the Hajj, and it is ordained as one of the five fundamental articles of Islam in 9 A.H. (631 C.E.). It is obligatory on all Muslims who possess the means of conveyance and sustenance for themselves and also for their families in their absence.

The Pilgrimage to the Ka’bah is an age-old pre-Islamic institution. The Prophet Muhammad adopted it and imparted to it a new significance. It is one of the characteristics of the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad that it gave the old Arab institutions a new and distinctive meaning of their own. It is precisely in this that the true significance of the Islamic movement as a grand work of moral reformation must be sought for. The pilgrimage to the Ka’bah had been practised by people belonging to almost all religions from time immemorial. The shrine of the Ka’bah itself had been the scene of pilgrimage for thousands of years before the birth of the Prophet.

Apart from its religious significance, the Hajj contains a number of advantages from the moral and material points of view. The most prominent of these advantages is the fostering of the universal brotherhood of all mankind: clad in unsewn sheets of plain cloth there stand around the holy shrine of the Ka’bah people from various countries and climes. The white and the black, the red and the yellow, all are clad in the same garb and enjoy equal rights; there is no difference between a mighty monarch and a humble beggar. This gives an incentive to the proudest man to reflect on the equality of all mankind.

The Hajj also provides Muslims with the opportunity of exchanging views with each other in an endeavour to find out solutions for their individual and collective problems. From this point of view, it is an institution unequalled by any other institution in advantage. More than a million Muslims assemble each year in the holy city of Mecca. If so many minds are set today to tackle their problems they are sure to succeed in their attempt.

During the journey and the performance of the Hajj rituals a pilgrim is trained to endure hardships. Also, during his journey he passes through various countries and comes across various peoples, gaining thereby a good fund of knowledge which may prove useful to him in various walks of life. These and many others are the advantages a pilgrim gains while he performs the Hajj.

The importance which the Prophet Muhammad attached to his Farewell Pilgrimage address

The Prophet Muhammad during his Farewell Pilgrimage (632 C.E.) gave a sermon in which he laid emphasis on man’s duties to his fellow beings. The Prophet attached so much importance to this aspect of men’s life that he repeated his sermon five times during that Hajj season! Once he gave this sermon on 7 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah in the Sacred Mosque at Mecca and twice at ‘Arafat on 9 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah and again twice at Mina on 10th and 11th Dhu ‘l-Hijjah (of 11 and 12) each day once.

Ya’qubi, the historian, records that the sermon of 7 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah was delivered by the Prophet on the back of a camel after the afternoon prayer and the sermons on 9 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah in the desert of ‘Arafat in the afternoon first before the afternoon prayer and again after finishing the afternoon prayer, on both these latter occasions he spoke on camelback. The sermon at Mina was delivered after the morning prayer, also on camelback. His companion, Bilal, was in attendance, holding the camel reins. On all these occasions the Prophet
had a crier to repeat his words, sentence by sentence, after him. During the Mina sermon it was his son-in-law, ‘Ali, who acted as the crier, while on other occasions it was a young man of vigorous voice named Rabi’ah Ibn Umayyah Ibn Khalaf. The Prophet Muhammad had him standing very close to him and asked him to repeat after him each sentence.

During that Farewell Pilgrimage (632 C.E.) there were present at ‘Arafat between 80 to 120 thousand men and women. The Prophet Muhammad repeated his sermon again and again because everybody could not make it convenient to attend only one assembly. As the pilgrims’ presence in the plain of ‘Arafat forms an integral part of the Pilgrimage rites and his stay at ‘Arafat is obligatory, the Prophet soon after the whole congregation was ready to perform the afternoon prayer mounted his camel and opened his historic sermon with these words: “O people! I am a man like unto you. It is possible that you may not see me again in this place (the Prophet passed away about three months later — 8th June 632 C.E.). Therefore listen to what I am saying to you very carefully and take these words to those who could not be present here today.” Upon this the Prophet said, May God bless the person who, after having heard me, guards my words and takes them to others.” The Prophet continued to say: “It is possible that you do not understand the import of my words here, but there are people in the world who would understand the meaning of my words better than you. Therefore understand that you should take my words to others who are not present here today, for it happens often that the messenger does not know the importance of the message he is carrying.”

When the Prophet Muhammad had finished his sentence and his crier Rabi’ah had repeated it, the Prophet Muhammad stopped and asked the audience if it had heard his words well. When everyone shouted to say that they had heard them, the Prophet turned his face upwards and said: “O God! Thou art my witness. I have conveyed Thy message.”

An analysis of the Prophet’s Farewell Address

In his Farewell Pilgrimage Address delivered by him on 23 February 632 C.E., the Prophet spoke of fifteen social aspects which touch the life of everyone in his human relationships. Before we proceed further, let it be pointed out that in this sermon the one thing which catches one’s eye is that the Prophet never once mentioned the importance of rituals — the prayers, the zakat or the fasting — and that whatever he said and emphasized had a bearing on human relationship tending to establish peace amongst men and security in the world. Ritualism is given no pride of place in this Address. The points that the Prophet made are:

1. The blood, property and honour of Muslims is sacred to one another. In this regard the Prophet Muhammad said: “O men! listen to my words and take them to heart. Know that every Muslim is a brother to every other Muslim, and that you are now one brotherhood. It is not legitimate for any one of you, therefore, to appropriate to himself anything that belongs to his brother unless it is willingly given to him by his brother.”

2. Equality of rights. In this regard the Prophet said: “All men are from Adam and Eve. An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab; also a non-Arab has no superiority over an Arab, except by good actions.”

3. The abolition of family distinctions. He said that people should not take pride in their genealogy. It is the good actions alone they should take pride in.

4. Interdiction of bloodshed resulting from old feuds. The Prophet said, “Blood feuds of the pre-Islamic days are under my feet, i.e., forbidden.”

5. Interdiction of usury. The Prophet said: “All usury money chargeable from the pre-Islamic period is under my feet (i.e., cancelled), and the first usury money which I cancel is the money that belonged to my uncle ‘Abbas Ibn Muttalib.”

6. The enforcement of the law of “cease-fire” during certain months of the year. The Prophet emphasized the importance of observing peace and the cease-fire during the four “sacred” months of the Arab calendar. The meaning underlying this observance of the sanctity of the four “sacred” months was that the elders and leaders of the Arab community would thus be able to consolidate peace.

7. Safeguarding of the rights of women.

8. Safeguarding of the rights of the slaves, who, the Prophet emphasized, should be looked after in the same way as one did after oneself.

9. The brotherhood of Muslims. The Prophet pointed out that Muslims were brethren to each other and that they should each one of them respect the rights and privileges of the other; they should not backbite, and they should safeguard the property and lives of one another.

10. From the sacred Ka’bah, as a result of the promulgation of the doctrine of the Oneness of God, the Prophet said, “The satan has departed; but do remember that it may try to come through other ways; be prepared, therefore, to forestall its moves and machinations.”

11. The Prophet Muhammad anathematized transgression in any form or shape. He said that the worst enemy of God was he who struck someone who had not struck him.

12. Protection under the flag of Islam. The Prophet Muhammad said that those who lived under the flag of non-Muslims were far removed from the favours of God, and those who took pride in affiliating themselves to others who were not theirs and those who did not pay the full price of the work done by a workman were far removed from the mercy of God.

13. Muslims should try to effect peace between two fighting Muslim factions.

14. The Prophet said, “I am leaving behind with you two things which will bring you salvation — one the Qur’an and my family, the second the Qur’an and my ways.”

15. All men are jointly responsible for God’s commandment and for the propagation of the sermon. The Prophet said, “Those who hear this sermon should convey it to others who are ignorant of it.”

The stultifying influence of formalism

It is agreed on all hands that the institution of the Pilgrimage to Mecca is unique in its conception and is a standing testimony to the sociological genius of the Prophet Muhammad. However, one cannot escape noticing the other side of the picture which is that the real meaning underlying this great institution has been lost on the Muslims for a long time, and that they for some time now have been performing various rites connected with it as if they were the ends in themselves. This is a tragedy which the present state of affairs of the world will all afford, for it wants guidance and direction in the solution of its moral problems. No one but the Muslims themselves can supply this need of it. The leaders of the world of Islam, not only for the sake of the prestige of Islam but also as a matter of duty which they owe to their fellow-beings, must give their unstinted attention to weaning the world of Islam from the quagmire of formalism in which it finds itself. The stultifying influence of formalism apart, it has denuded the Hajj of those human virtues which can be epitomised in the phrase “social conscience.” Things have gone so far that when a Muslim says his prayers or goes to Mecca to perform the rites of the Pilgrimage, he feels quite content in the knowledge that he has done his duty to himself and to his Creator. He seldom stops to think that the pilgrimage to Mecca was designed to instil in him the realization of his duty to his fellow-beings and not for the observance of rituals.
THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN THE DOMAIN OF CULTURE

By Ibrahim Boolaky

Man's divine and essential vocation is to build up a mature and kindly selfhood.

Man is intended to develop not only a physical stature, but also mental and spiritual capacities. Millions of small souls creep through life — souls who were created with powers of spiritual grandeur. But they suffer from arrested development, and their characters have never matured; they are pygmies in mind and soul, and sometimes even represent the beast in human form. But those who develop their hidden mental powers of self-culture — by the aid of knowledge, the application of psychological laws and a rational religion — rise to the sublime heights of self-mastery by building up a mature and kindly selfhood.

This is man's divine and essential vocation. It is more important to build a self than to found a city. Real success and personality appreciation, as viewed by a mature society, depend to a large extent on the character and self-culture of the individual concerned, rather than ability or intellectual attainment through professional training alone. The real aim of a broad education is the development of personality, so that it would take the most favourable course in training, self-culture and adaptation to society.

A society is a group of people who live and work together, regarding themselves as members of the group, and feeling towards it an emotion best described as "belonging". A culture is the way of life followed by such a group — that is to say, its written or unwritten laws, its religious beliefs, its ideals, its arts, its technology, and even its pots and pans. Religion is the instrument for bringing the human soul in harmony with God. A religion becomes rational when it does not contain any irrational dogmas or doubtful beliefs. In fact, religion is the reaction of human nature to the search of God by the use of spiritual, psychological, philosophical and intellectual principles.

We cannot separate people's economic activities from the above living principles, and all sorts of things which are not primarily economic influence man's different economic activities. We all live in social groups, and the things we value or despise are all the products of our cultural modes of behaviour and economic system.

The civilized man of today, by universal standards, wants his radio and television set, his car, his newspaper, his supply of literature, his camera, his clubs, and his conventional pleasures, but none of these things is essential to the maintenance of his life. But he could not exist without food, clothing and shelter — things which were equally necessary to his primitive predecessor. Of these, food is the most essential, though less of it is required in warm seasons and climates than in cold.

In some tropical countries, indeed, where food was once abundant and easily obtainable with little effort, the inhabitants had now been forced into the struggle with nature which had taken place elsewhere. They have remained in idleness until recently, and they have little or no economic history to show because they were economically stagnant, and it is now that they are changing from "developing" into "developed" industrial countries, and we still refer to many of them as being "under-developed".

The European nations of the cold regions of the universe, out of immediate necessity, have been forced to economic activity, and it is the fruits of their long struggle with nature that has produced a civilization unrivalled in the world, because they have always given the material equipment of well-being the highest place in their culture. But we must not forget that for thousands of years highly civilized communities — the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Indians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Muslim world, and Europe of the Renaissance — grew and thrived without the equipment of modern science and technology.
Non-Western nations and Western Europe

Western civilization and culture are the products of many events that have not taken place elsewhere. There have been many territorial and religious wars; many revolutions and counter-revolutions in social reforms, political systems, agriculture, commerce, industry, etc. The Christian religion is no more the same inspiration it used to be in Western culture, and the States are no more religious comparable to a "religious State"; both have been resulted by the greatest intellectual revolution that has overtaken mankind. The Hundred Years' War for intellectual freedom in dealing with natural phenomena — and against ignorance, religious bigotry and conventional tradition — is still on in Europe and elsewhere. But Western Europe will continue to be proud of its institutions, organizations and inventions because the whole world has now come to think in terms of them, especially because they have all reflected various phases of economic activity and maturity.

This is fundamentally why most non-Western countries want to become "developed by this universal standard", and the people, especially the youth, want to become "educated and cultured by any universal standard". In order to do so, they must acquire the necessary knowledge and technical and social skills, and so they must analyse and study Western culture and civilization, but without neglecting or devaluing their own culture, civilization and identity.

It is obvious that the whole world has been almost completely "Westernized" by the geographical personality of Western Europe, and so many non-Western people have come to think of the West as the apogee of man's creative achievement and ability in almost everything. But this is mainly due to the fact that the Western nations, to whom they have been subjected, had imposed Western culture in their countries, and so their own national cultures just had to give way. This has even produced cultural frustration among some non-Western people who have got rich cultures. But it is remarkable to see that some of these overruled cultures have still retained their own identity and values. In order to get the proper "cultural concept" it is necessary for everybody to find out the origin, the progress and the future promotion of civilization.

Islam and some of the most advanced Western minds

The satisfaction and happiness that they and many others are looking forward to can be provided by Islam, for in Islam a rational religion and a rich culture go hand in hand; its ethical standard or spiritual values cannot be challenged by anybody. This is why many of the greatest and most advanced Western minds have always shown respect for Islamic culture and civilization.

This is what Jacques C. Riesler commented on Islamic civilization in his book La Civilisation Arabe (Paris, 1955):

- "For five hundred years, Islam dominated the world by its power, its learning, and its superior civilization. Heir to the scientific and philosophical treasure of the Greeks, Islam passed on this treasure, after enriching it, to Western Europe. Thus it was able to widen the intellectual horizon of the Middle Ages, and make a profound impression on European life and thought."

- "Look at what Bertrand Russell says in his book History of Western Philosophy, London, 1948, p. 419:

  "Our use of the phrase ‘The Dark Ages’ to cover the period from 699 to 1000 marks our undue concentration on Western Europe. . . . From India to Spain, the brilliant civilization of Islam flourished. What was lost to Christendom, at this time was not lost to civilization, but quite the contrary. . . . To us it seems that Western European civilization is civilization, but this is a narrow view."

Napoleon Bonaparte, after examining Islam with the very critical spirit of a Western intellectual, made this bold statement:

- "I hope the time is not far off when I shall be able to unite all the wise and educated men of all the countries and establish a uniform regime based on the principles of the Quran, which alone are true and which alone can lead to happiness" (Bonaparte et l'Islam, by Cherel Paris, pp. 105-125).

Talking about the Qur'an, the Reverend J. M. Rodwell, M.A., says:

- "It must be acknowledged, too, that the Koran deserves the highest praise for its conceptions of the Divine nature, in reference to the attributes of power, knowledge, and universal providence and unity — that its belief and trust in the One God of Heaven and Earth is deep and fervent — and that . . . it embodies much of a noble and deep moral earnestness, and sententious oracular wisdom, and has proved that there are elements in it on which mighty nations and conquering empires can be built up." (Rev. J. M. Rodwell, The Koran, London, 1918, p. 15).

Islam certainly deserves the above appreciation, for it is the most logical, most practical, most simple and most adapt-
able to changing conditions of all religions, and it provides an equilibrium and middle path between the material and spiritual aspects of modern life. Moreover, it can provide guidance for all walks of life — individual and social, economic and political, legal and cultural, material and moral, and national and international. No other religion teaches its adherents that to seek knowledge is obligatory or exhort the individual to use his intellect. Everybody can find wisdom in this great saying of the Prophet Muhammad:

"God hath given to every man as a personal monitor, a conscience, and as a guide --- his reason; then, use them in respect of all things and the blessing of God will ever guide you aright."

Professor Toynbee on the role of Islam

The fraternal spirit is in great demand in the world today, both for preserving peace and for promoting understanding among the different races of the world. The different wars among Christians, the two world wars originated by Christians, the suppression of some races by Christians, the persecution of the Jews by the Christians by attempted extermination and the general anti-semitic feelings in many Christian countries, are enough proof to show that the Christian religion has not yet achieved anything practical in the propagation of a world brotherhood. Islam is the only religion that has played a magnificent role in the development of human fraternity and understanding. This is what Professor Toynbee said in his book Civilization on Trial (New York, p. 205):

"Though in certain other respects the triumph of the English-speaking peoples may be judged, in retrospect, to have been a blessing to mankind, in this perilous matter of race feeling it can hardly be denied that it has been a misfortune. . . . The extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the outstanding achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is, as it happens, a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue."

Islam's contribution to Western civilization

Many educated people and intellectuals, and even many Muslims, find it very difficult to believe how Islam could have contributed to Western civilization, but this is what H. G. Wells says in his monumental book The Outline of History:

"... From a new angle and with a fresh vigour it (the Arab mind) took up that systematic development of positive knowledge which the Greeks had begun and relinquished. If the Greek was the father, then the Arab was the foster-father of the scientific method of dealing with reality, that is to say, by absolute frankness, the utmost simplicity of statement and explanation, exact record and exhaustive criticism. Through the Arabs it was and not by the Latin route that the modern world received that gift of light and power.

It was during the most brilliant era of Muslim civilization during the periods of the Spanish Umayyads and the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, that Cordova and Baghdad were great centres of civilization, from where Europe got its intellectual stimulus. For centuries, the writing of Rhazes (d. 932 C.E.), Avicenna (d. 1037 C.E.), Abul Cassis (d. 1013 C.E.) and Ibn Zohr (d. 1162 C.E.), formed the basis of medical studies in all European universities. The Arabs and Spanish Muslims had made a great contribution in mathematics, chemistry, natural sciences, philosophy and even in Western music: for it was the Moors who invented the first prototype piano, organ, the castanets and the guitar.

Books are the wonderland of knowledge and culture, and one of the best means today to achieve happiness. Horace (about 20 B.C.), writing of his desires for perfect happiness, expressed a wish for books and food that would last for at least a year; but nowadays there are books that would last for ever, and subjects that would give nervous tranquillity, intellectual satisfaction and spiritual health to those who seek them. The domain of bookland contains gigantic visions of memory, beauty, culture and wisdom. The treasure that we can get from good and reliable books could give many of us an everlasting inspiration and happiness.

If people would understand much better the art of reading and the cultivation of self-culture through acquiring factual knowledge, understanding, social skills, and a "religious culture" their lives would become happier, because then they would build up a world full of beauty, interests and a dynamic conception of life itself. This will make them in harmony with themselves and their environment, and they will enlarge their minds by becoming broad-minded. With broadmindedness they will get the necessary mental elasticity to form an all-round happiness.

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APRIL 1965
The Kurdish Struggle for Autonomous Existence

By B. A. MISRI

Part 1

The Kurds have been fighting against their neighbours for the last four thousand years or so. That they have resisted a hostile environment for so long and survived is a wonder of history. Since 1961 they have been fighting the Iraqi Republic with a determination that characterized their struggle in the past against the Turk, the Iranian, the Arab and others.

Owing to their turbulent nature, their irrepressible spirit of independence and above all their intolerance of external authority, the Kurds present a serious political problem to Turkey, Iraq, Iran and lately even to Syria. All these countries, as also Soviet Russia, have a common frontier with the Kurdish homeland. The Kurd has, for some time, been receiving encouragement and material help from his northern neighbour, Soviet Russia, and this factor has understandably made his other neighbours rather anxious.

Who are the Kurds? Do they constitute a danger to the peace of the Middle East? Is Kurdish independence feasible? Will an autonomy of a sort satisfy them? These are significant questions which not only affect Moscow, Cairo, Ankara, Teheran and Damascus, but arouse international concern.

Kurdish homeland

The Kurdish homeland may be identified with a mountainous region that takes the form of an arc and reaches on an average 10,000 feet or more in altitude. From a south-eastern point in the Armenian mountains it touches Kermanshah in western Iran; Suleimania and Barzan in north-east Iraq; Erzerum in eastern Turkey; Erivan in the Armenian S.S.R., reaching as far as Birijik and even beyond in the south-west. The Kurd majority area in the arc runs to about 600 miles in length and over 150 miles in breadth.

Kurds are mainly mountainous people, but there are some Kurdish tribes who live in the plains of south-eastern Turkey, north-eastern Syria and a small minority in Baluchistan (Iran and West Pakistan). People speak of Kurdistan in two different senses: in its broad ethnological acception and in the narrower but more precise comprehension. In the former sense, it is an area in which a majority of the Kurds have continued to live for centuries. In the latter sense it is a province or an administrative unit of the Iranian empire. The geographical confines of this province touch Iranian Azerbaijan on the north and Kermanshah in the south.

The great majority of Kurds are nomad. They are permanently on the move in search of food and basic necessities of life for themselves and pastures for their sheep. A minority has, however, taken to settled life. Some have even received higher education and are serving as civil servants in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. On the whole, Kurdistan is very poor in mineral wealth. But recent finds of one of the richest oilfields in Kirkuk (Iraqi Kurdistan) have proved a further bone of contention in the problems of a settlement of the rebellion. The Kurdish demand is that the revenues of oil be divided according to the ratio of the Kurd and the Arab population of Iraq.

The various governments concerned have, in the past, persuaded the Kurds to take a settled life, but, in spite of inexhaustable water resources of the country, the result has not been particularly encouraging. A fair number has, however, made a happy compromise. They live a settled life in winter but they roam about in summer. Happily those who take delight in being year-round nomads are now in a minority. But by and large they are still turbulent and hate to submit to disciplined and ordered existence. Those who have taken to the plough have proved themselves as good farmers. Wheat, for example, of the plain of Arbil is of a very high grade. In their long history they have hardly ever submitted to a conqueror for any length of time. In the remote past they stubbornly fought the Assyrian, the Sumerian, the Greek and all others who tried to subjugate them.

Five thousand years ago

The Kurds are an ancient people. Modern research traces them to a past remoter than that of the Greeks. About five thousand years ago there used to live — in a part of the Zagros range of mountains that hung over Assyria — a powerful tribe called Guti, meaning “warriors”. The Kurds belong to the Aryan group, but one of their important ancestral tribes, the Guti, is believed to be Turanian. They are now a people of mixed breed in whose veins the Aryan, the Assyrian, the Arab and the Turkman blood flows freely. In the south they intermarried with the Arabs as freely as they did with the Armenians and Caucasians in the north.

In spite of this cross-breeding they did not allow themselves to be merged into the Arab majority. They have retained their individual culture and their distinct credo which easily distinguishes them from other racial groups. They are as good members of the Islamic society as any other Muslim living in the area, but they are neither Persian nor Arab nor, for that matter, Turk. They insist on being Kurd and nothing but Kurd. They have made great sacrifices in the past so that they may be able to maintain their culture and the features peculiar to their race. They were a source of constant trouble
to the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad from the middle of the eighth century to almost the middle of the thirteenth century. But on two occasions, in 838 and 905 C.E., they practically shook the great Abbasid governments of Baghdad to their very foundations.

This is not to say they are a united people. On the contrary, they are tribal and very clannish in their outlook. They have never been able to act in unison and Kurdish unity to which they now aspire has always remained a desideratum. Colonel Elphinstone, who had had a first-hand experience of Kurds during World Wars I and II, is of the view that "the Kurds lack, and always have lacked, cohesion, and though they have characteristics which single them out from their neighbours, they have always been singularly divided among themselves. They are divided into tribes and tribal groups, each intensely jealous of any attempt by any of them to create any kind of hegemony."

Salah al-Din Ayyubi (Saladin)

His society being essentially tribal in organization, the Kurd has learnt to obey only one authority, namely, the hereditary chief, who sometimes happened also to be the patron saint of the tribe. In the event of the chief being a spiritual leader as well, he was almost deified by his flock. The Kurdish chiefs have always wielded large powers. Many of them have been able to establish semi-autonomous principalities and some of them even succeeded in establishing kingly dynasties. One such chief was an outstanding figure of the Middle Ages. The record of his valor is writ large on the pages of world history in letters of gold. He was Salah al-Din Ayyubi, of the Hadabani tribe who founded the Ayyubite dynasty of Syria. He distinguished himself by routing the Christian Crusaders in 1187 C.E. when the Kurdish power was at its zenith. Apart from Salah al-Din's great Ayyubite dynasty of Syria, other Kurdish chieftains had also been able to extend their sway as far afield as Khorasan to the east and Yemen and Egypt to the south and south-west. It is however significant that in the course of their long history no Kurdish ruler was ever able to extend his sway over the whole of the Kurdish homeland; Salah al-Din himself not excluded.

The Abbasid rule having terminated in the middle of the thirteenth century, the way was now clear for the Shah of Iran to fill the void. He grabbed the opportunity eagerly and his successors succeeded in extending their hegemony over a considerable part of eastern Kurdistan. But in 1514 C.E. Shah Isma'il was defeated by the Ottoman Sultan, Selim the First. Sultan Selim annexed Kurdistan and appointed a Kurd named Idris as the Viceroy of the new province.

Era of liberal administration

Idris proved himself to be a gifted administrator. The secret of his success lay in his policy of conferring on the tribal chiefs the governorships of the districts in which they happened to be wielding power. The Kurdish chiefs thus came to be identified with the government and became its agents in their respective spheres of influence.

No wonder if the system worked remarkably well for about three centuries. With one stroke of the pen Idris had been able to satisfy:

**firstly**, the Ottoman Sultan whose interest did not extend beyond keeping Kurdistan in his suzerainty;

**secondly**, the tribal chief who was allowed, subject to control from above, to exercise his authority over his men; and,

**thirdly**, the common people who were equally free to offer their oblations to their revered chiefs and pursue their cultural activities and practise their creeds in the manner that pleased them.

The Ottoman empire was rudely shaken during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The administration as a consequence became lax. The Sultan found it difficult to keep the outlying parts of his empire under control. Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt, felt encouraged to make a bid for independence. His daring earned him a vast kingdom. Muhammad 'Ali's exploit inspired Bedr Khan, a semi-autonomous Kurd Prince of Bohtan, a small State in Kurdistan. The restless Kurd became bold. He had remained quiet for an unusually long time. The Prince of Bohtan now placed himself at the head of a confederacy of a few recalcitrant Kurdish States.

The government of the Sultan was too much preoccupied with problems more important and immediate than the one the Kurds wereposing. The upshot was that Bedr Khan and his confederates repudiated the Ottoman suzerainty. Bedr now set up a confederacy of independent Kurdish rulers under his own leadership which lasted till 1847. His rule was confined to only a small part of Kurdistan but it included Saut Bulaq, a town later renamed as Mahabad and which became the capital of the independent Kurdist State of the same name which was set up in 1945. A detailed reference to Mahabad will be made at a later stage.

As soon as the Sultan was able to tackle his immediate problems he sent a large punitive force against Bedr Khan and his confederate associates. The Turkish army engaged the rebels in 1847 and defeated them. The confederacy was broken up and the whole of Kurdistan was taken directly under the rule of the Imperial government. The Kurds had abused the Idris Reforms and they had to thank their own recalcitrance for the overly bureaucratic system that had been introduced after the suppression of the Bedr confederacy in 1847. The popular hereditary chiefs lost their official influence. The services of almost all Kurdish governors of Sanjaks (districts) were unceremoniously dispensed with. The new governors were Turkish military officers who were responsible only to the central government of Constantinople. All popular links having been sapped, the people ceased to have any voice in the counsels of the government. The Turkish position improved considerably after the Crimean war and the Ottoman hold over Kurdistan was accordingly consolidated and strengthened.

It is interesting to note that a Turkish misfortune was treated more often than not as a heaven-sent opportunity for the Kurd.

Kurd's anti-Turkish role

Turkey was driven during the nineteenth century to a tight corner by Russia far too often. But whenever such a situation arose the Kurd, either during or immediately after a Russo-Turkish clash, made himself a great source of trouble to the Porte. The Kurdish pattern of conduct viz-a-viz the Ottoman government was deplorable. One is however not sure if the Kurd realized that directly or indirectly he was
playing the role of a staunch Russian ally. The fact is that his role in history, perhaps inadvertently, was one of an unsolicited Russian abettor. The otherwise inexplicable role of stabbing the Turk in the back and thereby indirectly helping the Russian was played by the Kurd with a nauseating repetitiveness, and this in spite of the fact that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. 2

During World War II the Russian troops left behind in northern Kurdistan a trail of misery and devastation. The conduct of wartime Soviet troops literally burns itself into the "long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying children into silence by threatening them with the word 'Russia'."

True to form, the Kurd once again raised the standard of revolt against the Porte when he was facing great hardship during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The Kurdish leader, Sheikh Obaidullah, created great difficulties for the Turks. His attempt to found an independent principality, however, failed in 1880. His revolt was completely suppressed.

**Self-determination of nationalities**

The Turko-Kurdish relations being unpleasant for a long time, the Turkish defeat at the close of World War I was a heaven-sent opportunity for the Kurd. He now demanded a large measure of autonomy, if not actually complete independence. He was further encouraged by the Wilsonian Doctrine of the "Self-Determination of Nationalities" which President Wilson enunciated in the speech he delivered before the U.S. Congress on 11 February 1918. He emphasized that people and territory were "not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were chattels or pawns in a game". He further observed that every settlement was "to be made in the interest and for the benefit of the population concerned and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States", and "that all well-defined national aspirations" were to be accorded the utmost satisfaction.

Of the Fourteen Points that President Wilson had enunciated, point twelve clinched the issue as far as the problem of Kurdish independence was concerned. That point specifically laid down that the various nationalities under Turkish rule should be assured of "an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development".

The spirit embodied in the Fourteen Points of Wilson greatly encouraged the Kurd. The Wilsonian political philosophy was an ideal answer to Kurdish aspirations for autonomy. The self-determination of nationalities being the craze of the time, a Kurd named Sherif Pasha came to the Paris Peace Conference as the leader of a "Kurdish Delegation". He circulated a signed memorandum among the delegates. It contained a powerful plea for Kurdish independence. The upshot of his efforts was that a clause accepting the Kurdish plea for independence was ultimately embodied in Article 62 of the Treaty of Sevres (10 August 1920). A provision was made for the setting up of a commission of three members respectively from Great Britain, France and Italy. The Commission was called upon to draft a plan for Kurdish autonomy to be effective in the Kurdish majority areas of Turkey.

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3 Ibid., pp. 263-64.
Treaty of Lausanne

Turkey accordingly agreed to extend “Local Autonomy” to Kurdistan. It took a concrete shape in the Treaty of Sevres, which laid down that an independent Kurdistan would be created at the cost of Turkey.

The Kurd naturally felt elated, but his euphoria soon evaporated into thin air. Not before long the Treaty of Sevres was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne (Switzerland), which was signed on 24 July 1923. The Turks “won a resounding diplomatic victory over Britain, as represented by the anachronistic figure of Lord Curzon.” The Turkish Delegation at Lausanne, headed by Ismet Inonu, the present Prime Minister of Turkey, practically dictated the terms of the treaty. With the exception of former Ottoman provinces in Arab lands, Turkey was able to recover almost every territory that she possessed in 1914. The Kurdish hopes of autonomy were thus dashed to the ground.

The Treaty of Lausanne was nothing short of a tragedy for the poor Kurds. There was a sharp decline in their fortune. Whereas formerly they occupied a contiguous territory and formed one consolidated group under one government they were now distributed among as many as three foreign administrations, namely those of Iraq (under the British mandate), Syria (under the French mandate), and Soviet Russia. In the event of the Treaty of Sevres being honoured Kurds might have, among other territories, got the oil-rich centres of Kirkuk, Musal and Suleimania — now an integral part of Iraq.

Anti-Turkish revolts

Between the two World Wars the Kurds broke out in revolt against Kemalist Turkey as many as three times — in 1925, 1927 and 1937. The disturbances were extremely serious. Each time the Kurds put up a very stiff and prolonged resistance. The second revolt lasted three years and the third

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The Academy of the Silent Ones

(From the Arabic)

By K. VORDERMAIER

In the town of Hamadan in Iran there was a famous academy, which had as its highest principle the following: “The members of this academy should think much, write little and talk less.” Therefore the title of “The Academy of the Silent Ones” was conferred upon them. And nowhere, in the whole of Persia and the surrounding countries, could there be found a scholar who did not have the wish to become a member.

Now one day it came to the ears of the learned Shaikh ‘Abdullah, author of some famous books, who lived in a distant part of the country, that a seat in the academy had become vacant. So he journeyed to Hamadan and made for the building where the academy met, and begged to be accepted into the learned circle.

But the Shaikh ‘Abdullah had come too late. The previous day the academy had, against its will but in obedience to the wish of the Shah, accepted a courtier, who had won the ruler’s favour through laudatory speeches and flattering poems. The members of the academy were saddened not to be able to accept the eminent ‘Abdullah, a man of brilliant intellect, a shining light of learning.

The President of the academy was at a loss to know how to broach this disappointing news. After some thought he had a bowl filled to the brim with water in such a manner that a single drop would have caused it to overflow. Then the President rose and, without uttering a word, pointed to the filled vessel with a sad gesture. The scholar understood at once the symbolism of this act and, though deeply saddened, did not lose courage, and went on to consider how he could make clear to the academy, by a similar symbolic act, that the acceptance of a further member did not necessarily mean an alteration of their statutes. Seeing a rose petal lying at his feet, he picked it up and gently placed it on to the surface of the water, without causing a drop to overflow. At this everyone sprang from his seat and applauded the wise shaikh enthusiastically. At once he was accepted and was handed the Golden Book of the Academy, to enter his name therein.

According to the rules of acceptance he should now have made a speech, but as a true silent one he offered his thanks without saying a word. He put in the margin of the page, next to his name, the figure 100, which was the number of members. Then he put a nought in front of it and wrote beneath: “In this manner they have not become more nor less.”

The President’s reply to the humble scholar showed as much politeness as presence of mind. He put a nought after the figure 100 and wrote beneath: “Through his joining our value has been increased tenfold.”
A view of the Mausoleum on completion
The outer walls of the Mausoleum, which rise 130 ft. high, will be inscribed with selected passages from the Holy Qur’ān.

QA’ID-I-A’ZAM’S MAUSOLEUM:
A Symbol of Tribute to the Great Leader and Creator of Pakistan,
Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah
By Zafar Mansoor

Standing like a nuclear reactor on an elevated ground in the heart of Karachi, the huge, commanding mausoleum of the Qa’id-i-A’zam Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah towers above all the buildings in the city. The enormous dome over the tall rectangular structure can be noticed from rooftops throughout Karachi, which lies sprawling if seen from the top of the mausoleum under construction.

The mausoleum has already become a cynosure of Karachi, drawing people to its site to visualize the shape of building that will be completed this year. Up till now, the raised, square terrace with flights of steps on the three sides has been completed. The main rectangular structure on the grave, topped by a majestic dome, stands on a high pedestal. The walls are 9 ft. wide, and have four large gates on all of the four sides. The dome and the walls are now to be covered by marble.

The mausoleum of the Qa’id-i-A’zam Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah, whose foundation stone was laid by President Ayub on 31 July 1960 will, on completion, be an outstanding landmark, and it will not merely stand as a lasting tribute to the memory of the Qa’id-i-A’zam and a living symbol of the nation’s gratitude to the magnificent services of the great leader. It will also be a unique example of architecture and an important tourist attraction in Pakistan.

The imposing structure, elegant in style, refined in taste and lofty in concept, is a happy blend of architectural perfection and the virtues of poetry, music and beauty. It fully reflects the personal qualities of the Qa’id-i-A’zam and imparts an inspiring effect of all the fine arts combined. This distinctive feature about the Qa’id-i-A’zam’s monument amply fits in with the basic concepts of architecture held by its designer, Mr. Yahya C. Merchant, who regards a mausoleum as “a statue in abstract form”.

To him, the mausoleum is not just a mass of building materials, but a portrait study and a mirror to the personality of the man whose memory is sought to be perpetuated in concrete and mortar. The mausoleum of the Qa’id-i-A’zam possesses this essential quality in full measure.

It is “a many-splendoured” monument which combines the new and the old in an harmonious manner and where the traditional attributes of Muslim architecture are wedded happily to the modern ideas of form and beauty. Its panoramic view is awe-inspiring in effect and captivating in sight—a spectacle of heavenly charm and a dreamlike vision.

The mausoleum, involving a total expenditure of about $21 million, measures 80 feet by 80 feet on plan, and stands on a plinth base which also forms a platform to the building 200 feet high. The height of the dome from plinth is 55 feet and the dome itself is nearly a hemisphere with a diameter of 72 feet.

The first thing that strikes one on approaching the site of the mausoleum is the layout of a car park. It is unusual in the sense that its monotony and drabness have been counteracted by the provision of bays projecting at regular intervals. A touch of beauty has been imparted to the car park by leaving space for beautiful flower beds on the tops of these bays and all along the length of the parking area.

Nearer the mausoleum, soaring obelisks at the main entrance give the impression as if sentinels are standing on duty at the gate of some impressive royal palace. Beyond
these lofty columns are tiers in ascending order which are formed by two paths of an avenue and lead to the main mausoleum.

A delightful feature of this section of the mausoleum will be innumerable fountains planted on either side, and the sight of these roiling cascades of water splashing in the shadows of tall, tapering trees will be a treat for the eye. This straight pathway is symbolic of the sense of discipline which the Qa' id-i-A'zam displayed all through his life.

Some distance yonder there is a raised platform which signifies the dignity and loftiness of the Qa' id-i-A'zam. The walls of the mausoleum will be massive, thus symbolizing the Qa' id-i-A'zam's strength of character. Pointed arches on the walls will depict thinness, daintiness and fastidiousness, which formed the distinctive traits of the Qa' id-i-A'zam's character.

The walls are solid marble of square shape with a rise and fall pattern. These patterns have been designed to suggest the idea of how the Qa' id-i-A'zam squarely faced and overcame many difficulties that arose during his political career, and to bring forth his soundness of character and his indomitable will and spirit.

The whole structure has been designed in such a way that it can withstand severe calamities of nature and seismic disturbances. Its foundations are based on piling work and dug 60 feet down and borne on concrete piles. Great care has been taken to achieve perfection in all details and even comparatively small things like steps going up the mausoleum on all four sides have been systematically designed and thoughtfully planned. The steps are designed in the grand manner of palace approaches and their magnificence has been further enhanced by bastion-like walls going up the steps at several places.

The outer walls of the mausoleum, which rise 130 feet high, will be inscribed with selected passages from the Holy Qur' an carved upon its surface in small scattered squares and rectangles. This has a twofold significance: first, the extensive use of cast blocks in an essentially modern pattern holds a particular fascination for students of architecture; second, the doorways in ceramic tiles possess an immense imaginative appeal for connoisseurs of designs and arts.

The walls are octagonal in shape and also the floor tiles have identical design. The sunshine beaming through the lattice work above the doorways will make pleasing, scintillating patterns, changing constantly with every shift in the position of the sun outside. In the evening, the mausoleum will be illuminated by a concealed lighting system.

The structure, which is in keeping with the traditional features of Muslim architecture, will also have balconies all round, built at the level where the dome of the edifice rests on the octagonal walls. This balcony will be accessible by staircases provided in four of the eight walls and these staircases also have flights of steps going down to a subterranean room.

In the middle of the hall, the mausoleum will contain its most important part, the grave of the Qa' id-i-A'zam. Actually this will not be the real grave but only an empty sarcophagus, and the real tomb in which the Qa' id-i-A'zam lies in eternal sleep will be situated just below it in the subterranean room. Suspended from a rosette in the centre of the huge dome by means of a bronze chain will be a lamp hanging over it. This is in accordance with most of the historical monuments built by Muslim emperors.

There are two approaches to the mausoleum: one from the main entrance with ascending tiers, and the other from the left of the monument.

Following traditional Muslim architecture in Pakistan, the mausoleum will have a garden covering an area of 30 acres. The garden will include terraced lawns, fountains, avenues, flower beds and ancillary buildings, all conforming to the Islamic style of architecture.

The general form of the mausoleum is indicative of Saracenic architecture, but its execution is in conformity with modern trends. Its 60-year-old architect, Mr. Yahya C. Merchant, who hopes to build the mausoleum after the simplicity and beauty of the Taj Mahal, is a renowned architect and is a Professor at the Institute of Architecture, Bombay.

The Introduction to the Turkish Encyclopaedia of Islam cont. from page 18

Gibb,4 professor of Arabic in the London School of Oriental Studies and one of the editors of the Encyclopaedia of Islam,1 Alfred Guillaume, who is well known by his studies on Islamic jurisprudence and theology, M. Th. Houtsman, the late professor of the University of Utrecht and one of the editors of the Encyclopaedia, and in Italy, I. Guidi and his son Michel Angello Guidi, who are well-known orientalists in the field of Islamic and Arabic studies. Levi Della Vida, who is known for his valuable studies on pre-Islamic Arabia, and C. A. Nallino, and in Spain Asin Palacios, who especially studied the history of the Arabs in Spain and Arab mysticism,

4 This scholar should not be confused with E. J. W. Gibb, who, half a century earlier, had written a six-volume History of Ottoman Poetry. Even greater services to orientalism than this work were made possible by this man after his death thanks to the foundation by his mother of the Gibb Memorial Fund, which has subsidised the publication of numerous works.

5 We shall not make special reference to the names of those who have done work on the Persian language, literature and history of the Muslim period, because, as there is no clear-cut distinction between the Arabic and Persian fields, it suffices to note that many of the scholars mentioned above have also contributed publications to Persian studies. However, in recent years many European scholars have specialized in Persian studies. We must here mention Edward G. Browne, a great friend of the Turks, who won fame by his four-volume history of Persian literature, and Sir Denison Ross, the first director of the School of Oriental Studies in London (d. 1913), and finally, G. Massé, the professor of Persian in the Paris school (of Living Oriental Languages) who wrote a fine study on Firdausi.

(To be continued)
The Introduction to the Turkish Encyclopaedia of Islam

(Translated from the Turkish by Dr. Howard Reed)

What we understand by Orientalism Today

By ‘Abd al-Haqq Adnan-Adivar

The beginnings of Orientalism in Europe

The Encyclopaedia of Islam is a monumental work containing concise information in brief but encyclopedic articles on the contributions of the Muslims to science, art and intellectual life, and deals with the homelands of the Muslim peoples as well as the lands to which they have migrated and the areas where the religion of Islam has penetrated, with particular reference to history, geography, ethnography, philosophy, theology, jurisprudence and linguistics.

Before discussing the contents, usefulness and editorial background of this work, it will be helpful and necessary to sketch some observations about the branches of knowledge which today we group under the name of orientalism, which is the main subject of this encyclopedia.

If we wish to explain the term orientalism briefly, we may say that it is the branch of knowledge initiated by the West when it began to take an interest in and to seek to know the East. We shall see, however, how far from satisfactory this definition is as we proceed with this introduction in which we will endeavour to amplify this definition.

It is well known that a very weak revival of learning had begun in Europe with the efforts of the English theologian Alcuin (732-804) during the reign of Charlemagne. But this movement, which continued for a period after him in the time of his disciple Rabbanus Maurus (776-826 C.E.), who was called the first teacher in Germany (primus praecipitator Germaniae), soon was extinguished in the course of the great upheavals of the 9th and 10th centuries.

It is true that, at the end of the first millennium, a period which brought forth many a conjecture and prophecy, a tendency to revival is recorded. Nevertheless, as the thinkers and learned men of this era who wished to study were unacquainted with either Greek or Arabic, the scientific material at their disposal was very scanty and of such a character that it tended to lead men into error rather than to truth. Even if one might observe a sort of re-awakening along the shores of the Bosporus at this time, this too was not a true renaissance but might be characterized as a revival of bookish erudition. It is true that even during the darkest periods of the Middle Ages, certain manuscripts which were hard to decipher and interpret were to be found in the libraries of single monasteries which were hidden away either on a mountain top or in the forests of a valley far from the routes of invading armies. Although it might not have been impossible to base the European revival of learning on the utilization of these manuscripts, which consisted of Latin translations from the Greek made during the final stages of ancient times, yet just at this time, when the original works of the Muslim world in Arabic, together with Arabic translations of classical Greek works brightened the Western horizon like the sun breaking through a cloudy sky, all eyes turned in that direction. From that time on, the West began to know the East and a sort of orientalism came into existence.

The influence of Eastern medicine on Western thought in the middle of the 10th century

Right in the middle of the 10th century we witness the first influence of Eastern medicine on Western, in the city of Salerno, known as Civitas hippocratica (the city of Hippocrates) in Southern Italy. The medical school of this city of patients, set on a sunny, salubrious shore, made the first translation from Arabic into Latin and, in this manner, perhaps the first orientalists appeared.¹

It is said that a Jew by the name of Shabetai (d. 982 C.E.), son of Abraham, son of Yoel, who was born in Otranto in the year 913 C.E., fell into the hands of the Arabs as a prisoner, was taken to Palermo and, after having learned Arabic there, returned to Italy, where he laboured as one of the founders of the medical school at Salerno. It is very likely that this man, known by the name of Domnulus or Donnolo, who has left a work dealing with antidotes named Sefer ha-Yaqar (valuable book), written in Hebrew, had also adapted certain passages from Arabic works. However, the main work of translation only began in earnest almost a century later. The first scholar or the first orientalist who really succeeded in this endeavour was originally a Muslim. It happened that a Muslim merchant from Carthage, passing by Salerno, developed an interest in medical study. Returning to his own country, he busied himself with Eastern medicine, and collecting many manuscripts he returned to Salerno. There he embraced Christianity, adopted the name of Constantine, and hence he is known in the history of science as Constantinus Africanus (d. 1087 C.E.). The works of this man are not straightforward translations of Arabic medical works, but are rather adaptations in the form of quotations, commentaries, explanations and even plagiarisms. In any case, the works of this former Carthaginian Muslim had a very modernizing influence on all the European medical schools.

¹ This translation appeared in the Muslim World, Hartford, U.S.A., for October 1953. Reproduced by courtesy of the Editor. Slight changes in spelling, etc., have been introduced to conform to The Islamic Review usage.

In order to distinguish these first orientalists from orientalists in the modern sense, it is more correct to call them old-style orientalists (diwan orientalist).
The Influence of the Crusades on the West

On the other hand, when Westerners came into closer contact with the East as a result of the Crusades, they realized that they were confronted with a civilization superior to their own. Among the Christians who fought against the people who were the creators of this civilization there were scholars who sought to transmit to their own lands some fragments of Eastern science and culture. The influence of Arabic writings can be clearly seen in almost all the works of one of these, an Englishman named Adelard of Bath (who became particularly famous between the years 1110-1142). The most important works which Adelard translated directly from Arabic were the astronomical tables of Musa al-Khwarizmi, and fifteen books of Euclid's Elements.

Gerard of Cremona, Robert of Chester

Undoubtedly, the most important orientalist of the older period was the North Italian, Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187 C.E.). The most famous works of this man, who was probably the head of a translation committee in Toledo, were the translations from Arabic into Latin of the Almagest (al-Majajji) of Ptolemy and the Canon (Qanun) of Avicenna (Ibn Sina). Again, in the same period, Robert of Chester, an English scholar (who became famous around the middle of the 12th century), studied for four or five years among the Arabs in Spain, and then translated al-Khwarizmi's Al-Diabr wa-l Muqabalah into Latin, and in 1141, in collaboration with a man named Hermanus Dalmata, produced the first Latin translation of the Qur'an.

As a result of the influence of the translations of Arabic works being made in the 12th century, particularly those of al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and al-Ghazzali, the famous Dominican monk and philosopher Albertus Magnus (c. 1193-1280 C.E.) began to appear in Arab gowns when he lectured on Aristotle in the University of Paris. In the 13th century C.E., the English friar Michael Scot (d. circa 1235) who had also learned Arabic in Toledo, translated Averroes' (Ibn Rushd's) commentary on Aristotle and Aristotle's book on zoology from Arabic into Latin.

Thus, Western scholarship, by means of these translations, inaugurated a second age of translation in the history of science, from Arabic and Hebrew into Latin, comparable to the first era of translation in which the Arabs translated philosophical and scientific works from Greek and Syriac into Arabic. It should be pointed out here, that there was an important difference in objective between the orientalism of this early scholarship and that of contemporary orientalism. In taking over early Eastern science and philosophy into their own language, the orientalists were primarily concerned with improving their own knowledge and refinement rather than in making a scientific study of the East, and they were not seeking to discover anything original in Eastern languages and history. In this respect, these early orientalists were engaged in an endeavour which somewhat resembles our (i.e. modern Turkey's) own activity in translation and adaptation from the West.

Spread of the knowledge of Arabic was not encouraged in the West, for it was feared that it might lead to the spread of Islamic ideals

In the time of Pope Clement V, who wished to spread Christianity and Christian civilization in the East in subsequent centuries, a religious council met at Vienne (France) (1311-1312), acknowledged the necessity of providing instruction in the Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean languages in the universities of Rome, Paris, Bologna, Salamanca and Oxford, and took measures to carry out these decisions. However, as Ernest Renan wrote in his Histoire des Langues Semitiques, "the efforts of Raymond Lull (the Catalonian who was regarded as the father of oriental studies in the West, and who had written on almost all branches of knowledge, to train missionaries to convert Muslims to Christianity) and the decrees of the Council of Vienne in 1311 C.E. failed to create a serious study of Hebrew (orientalism)." There was even a reluctance to encourage the spread of Arabic, particularly for fear that it might lead to the spread of Islamic ideas among the Christians. For instance, it is said that when the Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon, the famous English scholar of the 13th century, spoke of the importance of Arabic, all at Oxford University cried out "Bacon has become a Saracen." Nevertheless, after the 13th century, the West came into contact with Asia by means of various travels. One of the results of these contacts, for example, was the compilation of the Codex Cumanianus, which was the outcome of the awakening interest in the language of the Kuman Turks who inhabited the north shores of the Black Sea. On the other hand, even from the beginning of the 15th century, the splendour and might of the Ottoman State began to attract the attention of Europe. This interest was greatly increased by the appearance of the book by Lowenklau, entitled Annales sultanorum othmanidarum, which was published toward the end of the 16th century (1588) in Frankfurt. At the start of the 17th century, a German scholar named Hieronymus Megiserus published a Turkish grammar in Latin called Liber institutionum linguae turcicæ in Leipzig, which he dedicated to the Magyar (Hungarian) King Matthias. Megiserus, in this dedication, boastfully claimed that he had been able to codify the grammatical rules of the very singular Turkish language for the first time (1612). In Italy, a Venetian named Giovanni Monilo, who had been a dragoman in the office of a Venetian bailo (ambassador) in Istanbul, prepared a Turkish-Italian dictionary, which was only published in 1641 in Rome. Again, in Italy, a certain Pietro della Valle composed a manuscript Turkish grammar in 1621 which was never published. In 1630, a Turkish grammar by André Du Ryter, in Latin, was published for the first time in Paris, and this grammar was reprinted in Paris in 1634. There is also a translation of the Qur'an by this author.

Some of the well-known orientalists of the 16th and 18th centuries

On the other hand, when it became fashionable to translate the Bible into various languages in the middle of this century, Le Jay in France, and Walton in England, each produced a "polygot Bible", and in 1661 Castell prepared and published a dictionary in seven languages. A Frenchman named Mestien, a famous orientalist of the 17th century, who adopted the name Ménensi when he came to Istanbul as an interpreter with a Polish embassy in 1652, wrote and published the Thesaurus linguarum orientalium in the year 1680. This man had entered the service of the Emperor Leopold in 1661, had come to Istanbul as chief dragoman of an embassy, and had attained a very important position on account of the close relations then existing between Austria and the Ottomans. He laboured on this work for seven years,
and established an oriental press in Vienna which disappeared from sight in the course of the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. Although the Arabic and Persian vocabularies of the work, which was a dictionary from Arabic, Persian and Turkish into Latin, were taken from the earlier dictionaries of Castell and Gellius, its Turkish vocabulary was based on the Turkish which he had learned in Istanbul and was the product of his own industry. This book was republished in 1780 under the auspices of the Empress Maria Theresa, with an additional introductory chapter in Latin giving a long and detailed account of the origins and progress of orientalism in Europe. This remains today a very useful source for the history of orientalism, which no works dealing with this subject can afford to ignore. As a matter of fact, the section on the older period in the article Orientalismo in the Italian Encyclopedia consists of information derived from this introduction.

It is necessary to say that Meninski's dictionary has occasional value for our work even today. Meninski also wrote a Turkish grammar in Latin which was published in Vienna in 1680. As this is an Ottoman Turkish grammar it also contains Turkish, Arabic and Persian grammatical rules. Another work which also became very famous is the dictionary entitled Bibliothèque Orientale, published by D’Herbelot in France during the reign of Louis XIV. The author, Barthelemy D’Herbelot (1620–1695), began to study oriental languages in his youth, and in order to become closer to the Orient, he studied mostly in Italy. He later was appointed secretary-interpreter of oriental languages to Louis XIV. The work of this man, who never even visited the Orient, is doubtless the original forebear of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. The sub-title of this book, which says that it “contains everything necessary for an understanding of the Eastern peoples, that is, their history, their real and legendary traditions, their religions, sects, governments, politics, mores and customs, and the organization and administration of their States,” gives us a more or less complete definition of modern orientalism. The latest edition, in four volumes, appeared in 1781. This work, written in the 17th century, was a very useful one, and in spite of the obvious deficiencies of its information, it remained an encyclopedia to which everyone referred to until the 19th century. This work was annotated and published again in the time of Louis XIV, by the famous Antoine Galland, who was an attaché in the (French) embassy at Istanbul. Galland, whose memoirs are very valuable for us, was later appointed Professor of Arabic in the College de France and translated the Thousand and One Nights into French for the first time.

**Beginning of orientalism in France, Italy and Holland**

While a new kind of orientalism was being established by the personal endeavours of such scholars, in 1519 Francis I of France invited Agostino Giustiniani from Geneva to Paris and commissioned him to teach Hebrew again. When the College de France was founded in 1500, oriental languages were included in its curriculum. And, at this time, Guillaume Postel, the first real French orientalist, appeared. This man, who was an eccentric type of scholar, and who claimed inspiration from supernatural sources, devoted a long life and a great deal of his wealth to the compilation of the first Arabic grammar which appeared in Europe. He used to travel widely in Asia and Africa to conduct research on Islam, Christianity and Judaism, and other religions, and would give very liberal lectures on these subjects in Paris. But this open-mouthed scholarly monk, who said that the truest religion should be derived from a reconciliation of the principles of Christianity, Islam and Judaism, was finally clapped into a monastery by the priests who kept him imprisoned there until he was a hundred years old. There is a work entitled De la République des Turcs, published by this man in Poitiers in 1560, which tells of the morals and customs of all the Muslims. The author republished this work in 1575 with the title Histoires orientales, principalement des Turcs et des Turchikes.

On the other hand the Popes, in spite of their realization that the graduates of the colleges of oriental languages which they had founded had failed in their missionary work among the Muslims, did not altogether abandon instruction in these languages. In fact, Pope Gregory XIII (d. 1591) founded a printing press in Rome to print books in Arabic characters. This press, in fact, printed Ibn Sina’s Qanun in Arabic letters for the first time. Henry III, the French king, established a chair of Arabic in the College de France (1587). In the Collegium pro fide propaganda, founded by Pope Urban VII in 1627, courses in oriental languages were also offered. Thus, the orientalists trained in each different country started to translate important books written in the languages which they had learned. It would be too tedious to enumerate all of these translations here. Suffice it to say that these orientalists did not confine themselves to the Arabs and Turks, but their activities extended to India and indirectly to Iran, China and Japan. Thus, for example, a Japanese grammar and dictionary was published in Rome in 1632. In Holland also Louis le Dieu published a Persian grammar in 1639, while Golius published the Arabic text of Ibn ‘Arabshah’s ‘Adja’id al-Maadur fi Nawawi’ib al-Timur and an Arabic-Latin dictionary in 1636. In 1663 Abu ‘l-Fida’s famous Al-Mukhtasar fi Taurikh al-Bashar was published at Oxford by Pococke. In 1654 the text and a Latin translation of Sa’di’s Gulistan was published in Holland by Gentius.

**French interest in orientalism during the 17th and 18th centuries**

This type of orientalism was primarily concerned with the teaching of oriental languages because it had been essentially conceived as a means of enabling the priests (church) to carry on missionary activity. Another type of orientalism appeared at the beginning of the 17th century as a tool for political penetration and diplomacy. The first example of this type may be seen in the attitudes and activities of Savary de Breves, who had been in Istanbul during the reigns of Murad III, Mehmed III and Ahmad I as the French ambassador. He had no doubt about his advice to the new Ottoman Sultan, Ahmad I, that in order to establish an oriental printing press in Paris in order to establish French influence in the Orient, he took the very beautiful characters which he had had prepared in Istanbul to Paris. After his death Antoine Vitre, printer to the French king, attempted to establish a printing press by buying this font in the name of Louis XIII. During the reign of Louis XIV, in 1641, the royal press was able to establish a complete oriental printing establishment by securing the types cast in oriental languages. Louis XIV sent learned missionaries to obtain manuscripts from oriental countries, especially from China. During his reign dragomans were appointed to the Near Eastern countries to look after political and commercial affairs. For this purpose six young students had been sent by the French to Istanbul and Izmir to study oriental languages (Turkish, Arabic and Persian) and later on their number was increased to twelve (1669–1670). Very able orientalists were trained from among these young students, whom we (Turks) called “Language youth” (dil oglanı).3

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3 The French translated this term as "jeunes de langue" and, though it had no meaning in French, used it as an official title.
It is reported, however, that even in the reign of Louis XIII, officials who knew oriental languages and bore the title of "King's Dragomans" were present in court. In 1700, courses on oriental languages (with 22 students) had been established in the Jesuit College. The majority of the students enrolled in these courses were Armenians who would be employed as dragomans in the embassies and consulates and as missionaries in the East. When, later on, this school had been transferred to the famous Lycee of Louis le Grand, the residence assigned to these students was named the Armenian Residence and until the time when it was renamed the Royal Residence, the department of oriental languages continued to be called by this name. In 1721, in the place of the Armenian students, 10 French students whose fathers were in the Orient were admitted and they were later sent to the Istanbul School (of Oriental Languages maintained by the French), to complete their training. The school in Istanbul, which was further expanded during the 19th century, held classes in the Venetian Palace in Beyoglu (Pera) during the winter and at Buyukdere in the summer. Among the teachers there was a Turk named Sahib Efendi whose identity is not known. This man was the spiritual ancestor of the Turkish lecturers in the modern school of living oriental languages in Paris. A school of this type was also established in Teheran by Napoleon Bonaparte.

In France, oriental studies became all the more important for another reason when Louis XVI attempted to compete with Austria by his scheme to establish his right of protection over the Christians living in the Ottoman Empire. Holland also began to be interested in oriental studies in order to examine the state of her Muslim subjects and especially to study Islamic Shari'ah. Moreover, the French king Louis XVI in 1785 ordered the study of the oriental manuscripts contained in his library and important studies on these manuscripts were prepared under the title Notices et Extraits, principally by men such as De Guignes, the author of Histoire des Huns et des Turcs, Sylvestre de Sacy, Langlès, Caussin de Perceval and later on A. Jourdain, Abel Rémusat, Quatremère and A. Sédiqlot. This research was later published in journal form by the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres. These studies constitute an important source for oriental research.

De Sacy, the great French orientalist of the last century. England, Switzerland, Germany and other Western countries found their Oriental seminars

These researches and studies took the most organized form, after the French Revolution, with the foundation of the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes in 1795 in Paris. We can safely say that modern orientalism began with this school which was founded and headed by Sylvestre de Sacy, the greatest orientalist the French produced in the last century, and that it trained orientalist professors for the whole of Europe. Because of the great interest shown in science by the Revolutionary Government, the school occupied an illustrious position and attracted eager young scholars from Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Spain who, after obtaining their training, founded oriental studies in their own countries. As a matter of fact, at the invitation of the Russian Czar, Charmois had been sent by the school to establish an oriental institute in St. Petersburg. When some of the scholars who were with Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt laid the foundations of Egyptology, others came into contact with Arab science, and this later was a factor in the progress of Islamic studies in this school. It is true that, before the foundation of this school, orientalists in France who had learned oriental languages for missionary or diplomatic purposes gradually had begun to be interested in the languages, history, social life, art and archaeology of the oriental peoples; while in Germany we encounter men who studied oriental languages, not for the purpose of understanding Eastern philosophy and philology but in order to attack the church or to convert the Jews or Muslims to Christianity. These scholars sought access to the biblical texts written in ancient languages for purposes of exegesis or correction. But it is not until nearly a century after the foundation of the Paris school that we see the establishment of oriental studies in many German universities, the opening of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin (1887), the introduction of the study of oriental languages at Cambridge University, England, and later the founding of the School of Oriental Studies in London. In 1906, Russia, an oriental department had been organized by foreign specialists in the University of Kazan, when it was established in 1804, and in 1854 an oriental department had been organized in the University of St. Petersburg. Today, besides these institutions, there are institutes of orientalism in Baku, Moscow, Tashkent, Vladivostock and in some other centres in Russia. Similar institutes for the study of the Arabic languages were also established in Madrid and at Granada.

In the United States, departments of oriental languages and literatures have been established primarily at the University of Chicago and in the universities of Harvard, Columbia and in about five other universities. At the University of Chicago there is also a separate Oriental Institute, while at Princeton University regular courses in the Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages are given. A number of American orientalists are working in these institutions at present.

Special features of orientalism during the 19th and 20th centuries

After thus briefly reviewing the period from the rise of the orientalism which mainly aimed at religious propaganda or political penetration to the establishment of the genuine orientalism which sought above all the progress of science, we shall now summarize the course and the development of this science during the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Before we review this period, which lasted for roughly one century and a half, we remind our readers that since this is an introduction to the Encyclopaedia of Islam we shall confine our survey only to those branches of oriental studies which deal with the Muslim peoples. It will suffice to say in passing that within this period separate fields of specialization have been established by the researches made on Chinese, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Indian and Iranian monuments and inscriptions and that a field which is today called African Studies, dealing with the African languages and civilizations before the Arabs, that is, before the 7th century, has been included within the range of oriental studies.

The oriental studies undertaken before the 19th century had been primarily concerned with the study of languages, but did incidentally contribute some knowledge of the history, geography, mores and customs of the peoples through the accounts of travellers. But, with the establishment of scientific orientalism which began, as we mentioned before, with the efforts and contributions of Sylvestre de Sacy, orientalism now undertook to study the religion, history, geography, art and literature, in short, all institutions of the East, in addition to language by means of the schools and learned societies which had been organized in France, Germany, England, Italy, Russia and Spain.

A P R I L 1 9 6 5
Orientalism in Germany

When comparative philology, which was established in the same century, was applied to oriental studies the results cast another beam of light on oriental history. As we noted above, in Germany, the homeland of the Reformation at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, the method of critical interpretation had been developed through the use of Hebrew which had been learned as a tool to employ in the study of the texts of the Holy Bible. This tradition continued in the following centuries, but in the meantime, through another field of studies, orientalism increasingly became interested in Indian studies. When, in the beginnings of the 19th century, Anquetil de Perron made available the Avesta and Colebrook drew attention to the Veda, Indian studies began to exert a great influence over the Romantic movement then flourishing in Germany. The influence of these oriental works is discernible in certain works of Schelling and Schopenhauer as well as in the works of Goethe’s friend, the celebrated Herder, in whose Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit the inspiration of these studies of the Avesta and the Veda strike the eye.

However, the most important repercussions of the ancient Indian languages in Germany are seen in the case of the Schlegel brothers. Friedrich Schlegel had met an English naval officer (named Hamilton), a prisoner of war, in Paris in 1803-1804 and had learned some Sanskrit from him, while Wilhelm Schlegel studied Indian languages in Paris under Sacy’s pupil Bopp, and upon his return to Germany, he established the chair for Sanskrit at the University of Bonn. The inclusion of Sanskrit in oriental studies later on played the most important role in the development of comparative philology. We must also mention in this connection that Goethe, who, during his romantic period, felt an impulse to go outside the limits of his own country and even of the Europe of his time, utilized the translation of the Hamasa made by J. G. L. Kosegarten, professor of oriental languages in the University of Jena, when he composed his West-oestliche Divan.

It may be understood from what we have just said that oriental studies won importance in Germany by arousing interest among various circles. In fact, thanks to the efforts of de Sacy’s pupil H. L. Fleischer, the study of Semitic languages, which until this time had remained an adjunct of theological studies (ancillae theologiae), and the study of Arabic now gained an independent position in Germany. It is then that the great German Islamic scholars appeared, whose names we frequently meet in the bibliographies of the Encyclopedia of Islam or in connection with their published works, such as F. Wustenfeld (d. 1899), Aihardt (d. 1909), Wellhausen (d. 1918), Noldeke (d. 1930), who wrote the first critical history of the Qur’ān, Bergstraesser, the Arabic specialist who completed the work of Noldeke and published a second edition of it, and G. L. Flugel, who printed the Qur’ān in Arabic letters in 1842 and 1858 in Leipzig and who numbered the verses. This latter, whose name must be mentioned among Islamic scholars, had published a very useful work under the title of Concordantiae corani arabicae. Thanks to this work it is possible to locate a verse in the Qur’ān at once when only one word is known. Besides this, Flugel’s greatest contribution to oriental studies was his editing and publishing of Katib Celibi’s Kashf al-Zunun with its Latin translation under the title of Lexicon bibliographicum encyclopaedicum Mustafa b. Ḥabib Allah Katib Jellebi dicto et nomine Ḥafiẓ Khallafa, which appeared after thirteen years of study — a valuable bibliographical work which European orientalists still refer to almost every day. After this scholar, it suffices to mention briefly in passing the name of von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856), who is very well known to us (Turks) on account of his famous history of the Ottoman Empire which was almost wholly translated into Turkish by Mehməd Ṭata Bey, and who wrote two works on the history of Turkish and Arabic literature.

Some prominent French, English and German orientalists

In France, after Sylvestre de Sacy, we must mention the names of Reinaud, who was professor of Arabic in the Collège de France, De Slane, who prepared the Arabic catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and René Basset, who was one of the early editors of the Encyclopedia of Islam. This latter, who died in 1924, was well known for his wide memorizing of Arabic poetry and had published numerous studies on Algeria and the Maghrib. Besides these scholars there were several others who published works on Islam and on the Arabic language in 19th century France.

In England E. W. Lane (1801-1876) wrote his Arabic dictionary, which is very well known in Europe, after long residence in Egypt. We must also mention Storck Hugronje (d. 1938) who visited Mecca and lived there for a time wearing native dress, then published his famous work entitled Mekka, and who made many studies on the Islamic Shari’ah in Java, de Geoe (d. 1909) who was also a Dutch scholar, R. Dozy, who won fame by his Arabic dictionary and his Histoire des Musulmans de L’Espagne, Baron Rosen, who rendered great service to oriental studies in Russia, Krajcowski, who won renown by his profound knowledge of Arabic, and the Dane, F. Buhl (d. 1934).

After the names of Wright, who corrected and edited Caspari’s Arabic dictionary in England, and Howell, Lyall and Bevan, come those of Sir Thomas Arnold, the late professor of Arabic in the London School of Oriental Studies and Margoliouth at Oxford. The Hungarian scholar Goldziher’s (d. 1921) masterly works on Muslim jurisprudence and theology should also be remembered here. In Italy, Caetani, who won fame by his great book on the history of Islam; and in France, among those who are the best-known scholars in the field of Islam and Arabic studies and whose articles we find in this Encyclopedia we must recall Marcia, professor of Arabic literature in the Collège de France, Father (the monk) L. Lammens, the Swede Nyberg, Lévi-Provençal, one of the editors of the Encyclopedia of Islam, and especially Massignon, professor of Muslim sociology in the Collège de France.

In Germany, Broclemann, whose Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur is one of the most frequently used sourcebooks for orientalists, A. Hartmann, one of the editors of the Encyclopedia, W. Heffening, A. Schade, the Dutch scholar Wensinck, the Swedish contributor K. W. Zettersteen, H. Ritter, one of the professors of the University of Istanbul, J. H. Kramers, of the University of Leyden, R. A. Nicholson, who won his fame by his studies on Islamic mysticism and by his translation of (Rumi’s) Mathnawi, in England, H. A. R.

4 Thanks to the (Turkish) Ministry of Education’s very proper sponsorship the text of Kashif al-Zunn is being published in a corrected edition on the basis of the author’s own handwritten copy under the supervision of Sharif al-Din Yaltikaya, who gave his valuable assistance as a member of the editorial committee of the (Turkish edition of the) Encyclopedia (of Islam).

Continued on page 13
Recollections about the Emancipation of Women in Afghanistan

A description of the Transition Period

By A. H. Waleh

Afghan country women have never been in veil

I saw history in the making on a typical warm afternoon in late August 1959. My friends and I were at the Ghazi Stadium in Kabul to watch a game during the Afghan independence celebrations. The stadium was packed and the spectators were extremely excited. There was, however, another spectacle to see. On the balcony of a building overlooking the stadium stood a number of Afghan women without veil. It was unbelievable. I looked at my friends and we all burst into tears; the tears of joy as our dream had finally come true.

The movement to free half of our people in towns was begun on that memorable occasion.

Afghan women have never been in veil in the country. Men and women alike have to work on their farms. A woman might hide her face from a passing stranger out of shyness. To her, the veil is a cumbersome, ugly and unemotional contraption imposed upon the unsuspecting wife by a naively jealous urbanite husband.

Throughout the Afghan history, women have helped their men in peace as well as war. They assisted men by doing lighter chores on the farm such as tending the cattle and collecting hay and wood. In war, they supplied the men with food and water and nursed the wounded.

An example of Afghan women contributing to national victory on the battlefields was the Heroine of Maiman.

The legendary Malalai takes a great deal of credit in the defeat of a whole British army in Maiman in 1880 by exhorting Afghan warriors to fight to the finish.

Foreign influence

As a crossroads of various cultures, Afghanistan has experienced three distinct periods in her historical development: the Buddhist, the Greek and the Islamic periods. In neither of these periods has a woman been segregated by a definite form of concealment. Chadar or the Arabian bourgu was unknown to the country until the late 19th century. Afghan women used chadar in the same manner as men wore turbans.

Until the last quarter of the 19th century, women in the towns walked about and wives of dignitaries were carried in litters. Some litters had a transparent curtain on each side and others did not. But the woman on the litter did not conceal her face.

During the reign of Amir 'Abd al-Rahman, the queen was proceeded by the town crier, who announced her arrival and asked passers by to make way, but she was never veiled.

Veil tragedy

King Amanullah, who was the most enlightened monarch in his dynasty, lost his throne in the struggle against chadari.

He opened the first school for girls in 1920 and promulgated a legal code in 1924 which had one section dealing with education of women.

He believed that Afghanistan did not have much time to lose in catching up with modern times. Therefore, he rushed all the reforms, including the emancipation of women.

His last years witnessed some of the most spectacular days in the Afghan history, during which men and women took seats in the same rows in the theatres and watched silent movies or European dancers. They were dressed in the height of Paris fashions of the 1930's when women wore flower-studded hats.

However, the compulsory nature of the reforms, especially the unveiling of women, aroused the fury of the reactionary priests (mullahs) who fanned the flames of rebellion in 1929.

Amanullah's overthrow turned the clock back 50 years. The junta which succeeded his government consisted of bigots and illiterates who ordered the women not to appear without chadari and abolished all schools. The few girls who were sent for further education to Turkey by Amanullah were recalled. The brief period of nine months of the reign of terror was indeed the darkest in Afghan history.

Age of enlightenment

When the late Muhammad Nadir Shah ascended the throne, arrangements were made to give women some degree of education. But his reign was short-lived as he was assassinated in 1931. The movement was accelerated and
The Women of A

King Muhammad wise pilo
emancipa
Afghan

Students of Malalai High School in a sewing class

An Afghan housewife buying grapes from a typical Kabul shop

Mrs. Seraj at her cooking class gets lots of attention

His Majesty Muhammad Zahir Shah with Kariz α
Afghanistan Today

Ad Zahir Shah's

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woman

A secretary of the Ariana Afghan Airline at work

An Afghan woman helping her husband on the vineyard to pick grapes

A schoolteachers he had invited to his estate at ir, near Kabul

Afghan girl guides watching their group leader chalk down their camping map

APRIL 1965
intensified by his son and successor, Muhammad Zahir Shah, who gets the greatest credit for the emancipation of women.

Instead of rushing this movement, Zahir Shah planned it in a way to make the unveiling of women voluntary and gradual. Thus, the national goal was achieved with a maximum degree of success. It did not upset the clerics as the whole incident looked so natural.

To pave the way, the press played a significant role in sowing the seeds in the minds of the people. Newspapers and radio first dwelt upon the lives of famous women in the world and told the public about their services to their countries. Later, the papers started running features for women readers in which they gave them tips about house management, cooking and childcare. The radio broadcast special programmes for women on similar lines.

The Ministry of Education expanded its programme for the education of women. Four high schools and one college for girls were opened in Kabul and one high school and scores of primary schools were established in each province. Kabul University now has co-education in all its various colleges. So do village schools throughout the country. Certain high schools have co-education in the lower grades only. Ten years ago there were a few primary schools for girls in each town and none in the villages.

The Institute of Education has upgraded, during the last five years, hundreds of women after attending its supplementary courses, making the graduates eligible for higher education.

The Women's Welfare Society has helped thousands of older girls since its establishment in 1946 by providing them with elementary education in order to catch up with students in regular schools. It has also supplemented the income of those who had learned some handicrafts in its arts courses by providing them with piece-work against cash.

Smooth transformation

In this way, education made the Afghan women eligible for equal rights with men and the press gave them the appropriate image in the people's mind.

Thus, when the women discarded the chadari in 1959, the majority had already accepted the idea. Besides, the police were alerted to take precautions in case some fanatical factions were to molest the unveiled women, but fortunately it was all smooth and uneventful.

Now three-quarters of the women in Kabul and other towns go unveiled. The remainder consist of older or old-fashioned women who do not work and the domestic workers.

As a result of the emancipation of women, the chadari manufacturers had either their businesses closed or curtailed. Thousands of girls going to school, hundreds of women in offices and factories, nurses and other medical workers, teachers and artists stopped buying new chadaris. They generally gave away their used ones to their maids or servants.

This started an unfortunate trend which can be quite upsetting as it made them look different or similar to their employers. To stop this, however, would be very difficult because it involves coercion, which the Afghan Government will not resort to under any circumstances. It is the duty of the employer to enlighten the maid or servant as to the shortcomings of the chadari.

It is interesting to note that with the gradual elevation of women, the design and structure of chadari have also undergone certain changes. For example, in the earlier stage chadari was made of a white cotton fabric and had a limited amount of embroidery. Some women added a little indigo while washing it, others put a spoonful of crushed mica in their wash to give it a sparkle. To supplement its impending effect there was a pair of trousers with hundreds of pleats in each loin to cover the figure from waist to toes. Called dolak, it was of the same colour and texture as chadari itself.

With a little education, the women in towns dropped dolak. For chadari they chose other cloths such as satin and crepe in all shades and colours. The fringes of the lacework in front, letting the woman look through, became lavishly embroidered. The cap and edges of the slit carried elaborate floral designs.

However, the chadari maker could not manage to overcome its disadvantages. It prevented the women from moving freely. It stopped ventilation and became unbearably hot in summer. It was a scourge in the rain and snow and a scandal when strong winds billowed it on the streets.

Radio workers

The first women who discarded chadari were singers and announcers of Radio Kabul, now called Radio Afghanistan. These were chosen from very progressive elements who had volunteered to set a precedent. They were brought to the studios by car and wore a top coat and a scarf, but used no make-up. This was in early 1952 when 'Abdul G. Brecha, a famous Afghan artist, was in charge of broadcasting.

Gradually the number of these women increased as the audiences happened to be extremely fond of feminine voices on the air. More women joined in, and by 1954 the radio station started presenting plays with a mixed cast.

In 1956, when the Ariana Airlines was established, a number of hostesses were chosen from schoolgirls and later the company employed more girls to work in its offices.

By 1959, the movement became nation-wide. In 1960, typing courses were started by the Wakhman Institute and the Women's Welfare Society, which were attended by hundreds of girls who now work with various ministries. Later, the Ministry of Education opened a secretarial college in Kabul to cope with the increasing demand for qualified secretaries.

The new constitution gives every Afghan, men and women, an equal right to education and the opportunity to work. This, along with other democratic reforms instituted under Muhammad Zahir Shah, has met the approval of everyone at home as well as abroad.

Afghan women are as good as their men, provided that they are properly educated and given the opportunity to prove their worth. It is hard to believe that those who work have been able to catch up with other women in such a short time.
ISLAMIC ECONOMY

Some Thoughts on Share-Cropping

Share-Cropping an institution of injustice

By Shamsul ‘Alam

“On the basis of the clear verdict of the Imam Abu Hanifah the governments of the Muslim countries should abolish share-cropping and lease, the two feudalistic forms of land organization. This will bring an end to absentee landlordism and non-cultivating ownership, which are basic bottlenecks to the improvement of agriculture in the primary producing countries.”

Share-croppers have no stake in the land to cultivate it in the best possible way

The rate of growth of population in most underdeveloped countries is alarming. In the 19th century the primary producing countries were self-sufficient in food. They were dependent on the developed countries only for the manufactured goods. But today they have to depend even for foodstuffs on the developed countries. Every year millions of tons of wheat and rice are imported to countries like Pakistan and India to feed their teeming millions; some of the areas like East Pakistan suffer continually from acute food shortage.

There are two ways out of this unhappy situation: one is industrialization of the territory so that the higher income enables it to import food and thereby avert famine. But the paucity of capital and technical know-how stands as an insurmountable obstacle. To add to this is the vicious circle of poverty. As they are poor they cannot save, consequently mobilization of domestic cattle is not satisfactory. Without capital, rapid industrialization and the consequent rise in income are not possible. Whatever the rate of growth in productivity, it is eaten up by the higher rate of growth of population.

The second way is to increase agricultural productivity. Though the lands are very fertile, the productivity per acre is very low. One basic objective of the under-developed countries is to attain self-sufficiency in food. But the organizational bottleneck thwarts the realization of that objective. A peculiar feature of the under-developed countries is feudal organization of cultivation. Vast tracts of land are under the control of feudal lords who do not cultivate the land themselves. The absentee landlords get the land cultivated through hired labourers or settle tenants on their land on a sharecropping basis.

The share-croppers or the hired labourers do not have any permanent stake in the land. They do not have the economic incentive to cultivate the land in the best possible way. The productivity of the land which is cultivated by the farmers themselves is more if the farmers got necessary credit, better seeds, insecticides, etc. Though the share-croppers are supposed to gain from the increased productivity, they do not have the incentive to bring about any permanent improvement on the land as they are not certain of enjoying the land for subsequent years as share-croppers. It is the opinion of the planning experts in Pakistan that agricultural productivity can be increased substantially by bringing an end to the present state of affairs regarding ownership and cultivation. Revolutionary land reform measures have been introduced in Pakistan and a huge amount of land has been distributed among the landless labourers. But even after the Reforms about 60 per cent of the total cultivated land is still under the control of absentee landlords and non-cultivating owners. The absentee feudal landlords justify the existence of this kind of system on the plea that Islam has legalized share-cropping and leasing of land. The governments in many Muslim countries want to bring an end to feudalism. The Shah of Iran is trying to bring about changes in the agricultural set-up of his country: but the vested interests are trying to oppose these measures in every possible way and even trying to enlist the support of the ‘Ulama for their cause, who are supporting their cause in the name of Islam.

Share-cropping is of two types: fixed and variable

In this article we shall try to study the principles of Islam on this question and examine the practices and principles of Islam on this point without any prejudice to the systems. On share-cropping and lease there developed in early Islam two schools of thought. We shall present both sides of the picture so that it may be possible to come to a dispassionate conclusion.

Besides individual farming, co-operative farming and collective farming, two other forms of land organization exist in many countries: share-cropping and lease. I think there is no controversy over the propriety of the first three forms. The third and fourth forms, the share-cropping and lease, are the subjects of our article.

On share-cropping and lease also there flourished two schools of thought. One school supports share-cropping and lease. The examination of the nature of share-cropping will help us to understand the question of propriety or impropriety of it better. Share-cropping is principally of two types: (1) fixed share-cropping, and (2) variable share-cropping.

Fixed share-cropping

In fixed share-cropping the amount of the crop to be
paid to the primary possessor of the land is fixed. This is almost like a lease. In a lease, money is taken in advance and the lessor does not take any responsibility for the production of the crop. His interest is secured as in fixed share-cropping. The lessee, like the secondary producer in share-cropping, takes full risk in the production. The difference is one of time and kind. In the case of a lease, the lessor is paid earlier and in cash by the lessee, but in fixed share-croppings he is paid after the production and in kind. The nature of both lease and share-cropping is, however, basically the same.

The fixed share-cropping insures the owner of the land against the loss arising out of the failure of the crop for various reasons like bad weather, ravages of nature, irregularity of plantation, under-cultivation, etc. The merit of the system is that the cultivator becomes more eager to cultivate the land properly in order to avoid at least the loss. If an adequate quantity of crop is not raised, the actual cultivator will have to fulfill the obligation even by purchasing crops from the market if necessary. Even though the cultivator is allowed to have the rest of the crop after giving the owner’s due share, he will not have the incentive to improve the land, because he does not have the long-term stake in the land. He will not take any steps which will lead to a long-term improvement of the soil.

Whatever may be the merits or disadvantages of the system, we must look to this from the Islamic point of view. Islam, we know has prescribed interest but has not prescribed profit. The logic is very simple. In interest, the share of the owner of the capital is fixed irrespective of the profit or loss of the borrower. Is the position of the lessor or primary possessor in fixed share-cropping different? What is abominable in interest is its fixed nature.

We know that al-Mukhuatarah, i.e. the advantage of mere chance, is not allowed in commerce. We do not understand on what logic it can be applied to agriculture. It was given under special circumstances of the martial obligations and the like. By the application of the principle of Qiyaas (arguing by analogy) and Istidalal (reasoning) (developed by the Imam Maalik Ibn Anas (d. 795 C.E.)), we can come to the conclusion that al-Mukhuatarah (advantage of chance) in agriculture (i.e., fixed earning of the primary possessor or lessor of the land, who does not invest his labour and energy) would be unlawful. The controversy over the illegality of this kind of land arrangement is less than in variable share-cropping.

Variable share-cropping

In this kind of land organization the primary possessor does get a fixed proportion rather than a fixed quantity of the crop raised. The earning of the primary possessor would vary according to the variation of the yield. The real controversy arises around this kind of share-cropping. This was considered lawful by Hasan al-Basri and Ibn ‘Abbas on the Qivas of Mudharabah in trade and business in which one supplies labour and the other supplies capital. It is said that the element of al-Mukhuatarah is conspicuous by its absence in Mudharabah. The analogy of Mudharabah in its application to agriculture appears to be partly superficial and partly over-simplification. It also ignores other implications.

Share-cropping is an institution of injustice

We shall first discuss the arguments in favour of the alleged propriety of Mudharabah in agriculture and then the arguments against it. Abu Hurayrah reports that the Helpers’ said to the Messenger of God, “Please distribute our date gardens among the Emigrants.” The Messenger of God said, “No.” Then the Ansars (the Helpers) told the Emigrants (Muhajirun), “Work on our land and we shall share the fruits.” They said, “We agree.” This tradition is quoted as justification for share-cropping. There are some other contradictory traditions. In these traditions the Messenger of God is very definite and unambiguous. Two sets of traditions—one justifying share-cropping and the other invalidating share-cropping—cannot at the same time be correct. Even the Imam Abu Hanifa (d. 767 C.E.) did not accept this tradition as a basis for justifying the share-cropping. Moreover, this tradition does not suggest at all that he (the Prophet Muhammad) approved or suggested share-cropping. Abu Hurayrah simply says that the Ansars invited the Muhajirun to work with them and share the fruits. This may be a form of co-operation. It may be said that the Prophet did not object to the sharing of the crops by the Ansars and the destitute Muhajirun. The Imam Bakr reports that there was hardly any family of the Muhajirun who could not cultivate the land of the Ansars for one-half or one-third of the produce. It may be because of the peculiarity circumstances of the time. The relationship was different. The Ansars were ready even to divorce their wives if anyone had more than one wife for the sake of the Emigrants. They were ready to have their date gardens redistributed among the Ansars and Muhajirun. The relationship was one of brotherliness. But today the circumstances are not the same. The period of emergency does not exist. The period when the Ansars made this proposal of redistribution was an abnormal period. If share-cropping was not opposed by the Prophet Muhammad at that stage, it cannot be considered to be laid down as a general principle for eternity.

The relationship between the landlord and the share-cropping cultivator is that of the capitalist and labourer, and not the brotherly relationship of the Ansars and Muhajirun. In industry the capitalists supply the money capital; in share-cropping the landowners supply land capital, and the other party supplies labour. If share-cropping would lead to injustice and unfair play, there would not have been so much objection. But does justice prevail in the distribution of the produce nowadays? The share-cropping is an institution of injustice. At least in the interests of justice and fair play the system should be abolished. The Mushalah al-Mursalah (public weal) demands its abolition. Another supporting version of share-cropping comes from `Abdullah Ibn Waasil, Qalb Ibn Waasil says: “A man came to me. He had land and a tank for irrigation, but he did not have seed or cow. I took his land for half. Then we divided the produce equally.” When `Abdullah Ibn Waasil was asked about it, he said: “Good.” The opinion of ‘Abdullah Ibn Waasil is not binding on us. He considered it splendid. This does not mean that we shall have to support it. Moreover, we have a tradition of the Prophet which disapproves of the share-cropping institution. Evidently the opinion of the Prophet takes precedence over the views of ‘Abdullah Ibn Waasil.

Hasan al-Basri is strongly opposed to share-cropping

The strongest exponent of the propriety of share-cropping is Hasan al-Basri. He says that the Imam Zuhry considered

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1. Bukhari, the Sahih.
2. Ibid.
3. The Imam Tahaawi.
it legitimate. Hasan al-Basri says: “There is no harm that one man possesses the land and both will spend on it. Then if one leaves (he will not be treated) as one of the sharers.” Though Hasan al-Basri censured share-cropping, he was not very certain about its propriety. He could not confidently declare its validity. The Qur’an declares that God in His infinite mercy gives fertility to the land. Hence every creation has a right to the bounty of God. The members of the society have got the common right to all the resources which, to use the words of the Qur’an, “You did not produce with your hand.” Hence an individual can acquire what he can use. Everybody has a right to the land and so nobody should start business in land.

*Mujararah* and *al-‘Amal wa al-Ta’ammul*

Hasan al-Basri was not certain about the legality of *Mujararah*. So he suggested that the primary possessor of land must contribute labour and money along with the land, so that his share, whatever it may be, does not involve only the contribution of the free gift of nature. This shows that Hasan al-Basri had second thoughts about it and doubted the legality of share-cropping.

The Imam Shaafi’i wanted to support a *Mujararah* on the analogy of *al-Musawwaqah* in dates and vines. The question is, is this analogy valid? Are the conditions of a sound analogy satisfied? How can such an analogy be acceptable to the jurists? Consequently the jurists rejected his analogy and justification of share-cropping on its basis.

Share-cropping has been given sanction by some jurists based on the principle of *al-‘Amal wa al-Ta’ammul* (actual practice) or *Daf al-Haajah*. Let us not forget that many jurists have been weak-minded. They would declare the propriety of certain practices because of long-standing customs. Time gave to certain practices sanctity. Customs and conventions were honoured. But this attitude does not have any scope in the Islamic jurisprudence. Custom plays a significant part in Western jurisprudence. But let us see what the value of that “actual practice” in Islamic jurisprudence is. Even if a custom continues for several thousand years, it does not attain respectability if it is inconsistent with the basic principles of Islam. We know that some jurists actually justified many actions of the monarchs of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties.

The doctrine of *al-‘Amal wa al-Ta’ammul* (actual practices) is a positive nuisance in the Islamic jurisprudence. It does not have any connection with the spirit of Islam. By the “actual practice” doctrine even drinking and free love can be justified. Shall we do it?

**Ourselves in the light of the practice of the Companions of the Prophet**

Certain practices had been adopted by some of the Companions. So these are lawful. Does this logic find a place in Islamic law? It is agreed that the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad could not go against his precepts. If they thought a certain practice unlawful, they would not practice it. This may be one way of arguing the case. But it is a very weak argument. The Companions were human beings, not angels. Certain practices which prevailed among the Companions were regarded by them as unlawful. But this cannot lead us to conclude that this is Islamic. If this type of inference is allowed, it is possible to give Islam almost any shape according to one’s own choice. We know that after the death of the Prophet certain dissident tribes agreed to make peace with the Caliph Abu Bakr if they were exempted from the payment of the Zakat tax. Almost every leading Companion, including even ‘Umar (except Ibn ‘Abbas) agreed to the demand. But Abu Bakr did not accept it and pointed out the weakness of the proposition. Now we are sure that nobody can possibly argue that because most of the Companions agreed to relax the law of the Zakat, it may be done away with.

There is a tendency among a group of thinkers to close their eyes to the changed environment and apply the policy practised in certain conditions to other conditions, even if they are radically different. The practice of share-cropping by certain Companions was the product of a particular environment. First, the early period was an abnormal period. Participation in war was an obligatory duty. The Muslims would remain always prepared to respond to the call of the *Jihadaad*. During that period it was difficult to settle on the land and engage in cultivation. Secondly, the politics of the circumstances created problems. Some of the conquered territories were to be divided among the participants of war. The former farmers had been on the land, but due to their defeat they lost the right to the land. It was in the interests of the former cultivators that they were allowed to continue to cultivate the land and give a share to the new right holders. Hardly any other arrangement was possible. It was not expected that the Muslims would settle on the land and cultivate it, but those were made right holders. So the best arrangement that could be made was sharing the crops with the non-Muslim cultivators. But do we have similar circumstances? Do we need to give any incentive to the landlords and non-cultivating owners? Rather is it that we give an incentive to the tillers of the soil so that productivity is encouraged. In those abnormal circumstances of those days the captive women used to be distributed among the participants of the war and they were permitted to enjoy them even without marriage. We do not think that practice of share-cropping by some Companions in that period can be a valid ground for its continuance today.

The Prophet Muhammad agreed with the people of Khaybar after their defeat (628 C.E.) to share half the produce of the land. Practice and decision of the Prophet is advanced as an argument for justifying share-cropping. But this argument was not considered as *Mujararah*. The Imam Abu Hanifa’s opinion was that the argument was not of *Mujararah* but of tribute to the Caliphate of Islam. Many sovereigns of the past would accept land revenue (a fixed proportion of the produce) in kind. The share of the sovereign was land revenue. It is true that the revenue from the people of Khaybar was too high. Even the governments of today share a fixed portion of the produce with the cultivators. It is nothing but short of ridiculous to say that the relationship between the governments and cultivators is that of share-cropping.

**The lease of land**

Ibn ‘Abbas was the first man to support the lease of land for money. He said: “What you do in trading in ‘white land’ (fallow land) for gold and silver is good.”

Hanzalah Qaysi said: “Is asked Raafi’ Ibn Khudaivy

4 Quoted in *Islander Arthaniti*, by the Maulana A. Rahim.
5 Al-Qur’an.
6 Bukhari, the *Sahih*.
7 Muslim, the *Sahih*.
about leasing land for gold and silver. He said, 'There is no harm in it.'

From the opinion of Ibn 'Abbaas some people have inferred that justification of lease has been established. This is hardly anything less than an over-simplification. Unless we are already prepared to accept the lease as Mubaah (permissible), we cannot so hastily come to this conclusion. We know that lease was not in practice during the lifetime of the Prophet. We are not aware if the leading Companions accepted the propriety of lease. We don't find anyone before Ibn 'Abbaas to support lease. The opinion of Ibn 'Abbaas is of great value on the propriety of some practices. It has value as a supporting argument. We cannot readily come to the conclusion on the authority of Ibn 'Abbaas. We find even the Imam Abu Hanifa opposed to it. We do not suggest that Abu Hanifa was infallible. But there is more rational basis for the opinion of the Imam Abu Hanifa than that of Ibn 'Abbaas. If we are to justify something on the authority of one or two jurists without any support from traditions and al-Qur'an we shall be thrown into endless confusion, not knowing which of the conflicting views to accept.

Regarding the cultivation of the land, the Prophet Muhammad said: "Whoever is in possession of land he himself should cultivate it."

It is reported from Raafi' Ibn Khudayj: "Many of us were cultivators in Medina. Some of us would lease land on the condition that the produce of one portion of land is mine and that of another portion is yours. But it was seen that the yield was good in one portion, and very poor in another. Then the Prophet prevented us from this kind of settlement."

Here the Prophet asked the Muslims not to settle on Mubaahah basis because of the undesirable consequence. We agree (if this is the only tradition) to the argument that for the desirable and happy consequence the Prophet would not have prohibited it. But the question remains, "Is the consequence of such farming desirable now? Does it not lead to misunderstanding, enmity and endless feuds? Even on the restricted assumption of healthy and desirable consequences, we cannot accept and approve of it as a matter of national policy.

It is further reported from Raafi' Ibn Khudayj: "The Prophet prohibited us from a practice which has a benefit. If any of us possesses land, he forbade us to settle it in exchange of the share of the produce or in exchange of money." This tradition was questioned on the ground that Raafi' did not have complete information about Raafi's version. 'Urwa narrates from Zayd Ibn Thabit that two persons having Mubaahah relationship causes bloodshed. The Prophet said: "If that is the condition of yours, you should not engage in lease." Zayd said that Raafi' heard the last portion of the Prophet's statement.

The Imam Abu Hanifah examined the arguments in favour and against share-cropping. Like many other problems of law he gave his wise verdict on this problem. He is very categorical in his inferences. According to him Mubaahah is unlawful or haram. A great Muslim scholar of India, the late Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi, made a valuable observation on this point. He observes that there appears to be some controversy on this, as in many other issues of law. But in other issues the Hanafi Muslims accepted the Imam Abu Hanifah as leader. But how the Hanafites can ignore his opinion on this point is beyond our comprehension.

The Prophet Muhammad on share-cropping

During the time of the Prophet, the Mubaahah did not obtain practice among the Muslims. The Muslims rose so high in their spirit of brotherliness and mutual sympathy that they would mostly voluntarily offer the land to someone who could cultivate it better if they failed to do it. For this they would not demand anything from a brother Muslim. If the primary possessor could again be capable of cultivating his land, the land was offered to him by the brother Muslim. The spirit of the Muslim society of those days was that the individuals were for society and society for the individuals. The consumption standard of the economically better-off Muslims sections was usually not higher than the poorer sections. One individual could not lead a luxurious life if a fellow Muslim was in need. The excess wealth of the individuals was mostly used for the cause of Islam in propagating and defending it. When the material attitude of life was subordinated to the cultivation of higher values in life, the excess wealth was not devoted to the satisfaction of personal desires. Hence envy and wealth consciousness did not develop. Generally the Muslims would not cling to the land if they could not cultivate it. When the question of share-cropping was brought to the notice of the Prophet Muhammad, he said: "(1) The landholder should cultivate the land himself; (2) bestow the land on his brother; or (3) failing both, it is up to him to cling to the land without any benefit to himself or to others." Mubaahah was a practice among the pre-Islamic Arabs which was discontinued by the Muslims. It was also a common institution among the Jews. It therefore seems that the Prophet Muhammad was aware of this type of land organization, and that he neither directly or indirectly approved of it. On the contrary, he suggested two forms of uses of the land. The third alternative is unanimously agreed upon by the commentators as a reproach which is not an acceptable alternative method.

From the above analysis we find that yearly or periodical lease is prohibited. Fixed share-cropping is also prohibited on the same ground as interest is prohibited. Some jurists tried to justify variable share-cropping. The Prophet disliked share-cropping; in some cases he specifically asked people to desist from share-cropping. But from some accounts it is found that variable share-cropping existed in the early period of Islam, under special circumstances. The arguments and authentic opinions against share-cropping are stronger than in favour of it. It was the considered view of the Imam Abu Hanifah, the greatest jurist of Islam, that variable share-cropping was un-Islamic. On the basis of the clear verdict of the Imam Abu Hanifah the governments of the Muslim countries should abolish share-cropping and lease, the two feudalistic forms of land organization. This will bring an end to absentee landlordism and non-cultivating ownership, which are basic bottlenecks to the improvement of agriculture in the primary producing countries.

8 Bukhari, the Sahih.
9 Ibid.
10 Mishkat al-Massabih.
11 The Sunans of Abu Dawood and Nasaa'i.
12 Mishkat al-Massabih.
The Arabic writing above is the first half of the Kalimah, which in English means:

"There is but the One God"

The Social Revolution brought about by Enunciation of the Kalimah—There is but one God and Muhammad is God’s Messenger

Classless Society cannot be created merely by the solution of the problems of the flesh, but by a successful elimination of class-ego and class consciousness

By Abul Hashim

"God is One and He is the Creator of the Universe. Faith in the unity of the Creator suggests unity and the composite nature of the Universe and faith in the unity and the composite nature of the human species. Faith in the unity of God suggests the law of nature that seeks and creates unity in every diversity. Faith in the Kalimah without active faith in the brotherhood of man is in effect negation of the Kalimah. In the social order which the Kalimah prescribes the status of man is determined not by his descent, inheritance or acquisition of material wealth, possession of political power or by one's vocation and occupation of life but by his personal character and behaviour, that is, Guna and Karma. Women not only get a social status but they get a status equal to the status of men. Faith in the unity of God summarily rejects all sense of false and artificial dignity. Caliphs of Islam inspired awe and admiration of the then world not by the grandeur and glamour of a royal court but by their nobility of character. This human aspect of the Kalimah, namely, the brotherhood and equality of man, was so carefully and zealously nourished that the Prophet Muhammad did not even tolerate any tendency of his disciples to show any special social preferences to him and to the members of his family"

Polytheism fosters invidious distinction between man and man

Polytheism fosters invidious distinction between man and man and class and class. There is no equality and brotherhood in the society of gods. Some of them are men and some women, some are kings and some camp followers, some are rich and some poor, and some are strong and some weak. Initially the society of gods was a replica of human societies, but subsequently when these gods were firmly installed in the minds of men they cast their own shadow upon the affairs of man and the already existing inequalities became a permanent feature of the actual living conditions of men and women.

Like the rest of the world, Arabia was divided into countless families and tribes perpetually engaged in family and tribal feuds. Within the same family and tribe there were social inequalities between man and man. The fortunate possessors of wealth enjoyed higher social status and dignity and persons nearer in blood to the tribal head were socially superior to others. There were vocational distinctions. Guardians of the idols were spiritual heads and as such enjoyed special social privilege, and hewers of wood and drawers of water were looked down upon as inferiors.

The sense of equality and brotherhood was so strange and foreign to the Arabs that on the slightest provocation a
brother would fly at a brother's throat. Their women were chattels. Not to speak of equal social status of men and women in Arab societies, the women had no status at all. The slaves were treated as beasts of burden. Cruelty to slaves did not stir any compassion in the minds of free men even to the extent that cruelty to animals does today. These inequalities were attributed to fate and predispensation of gods and these social injustices were given support and sanction of religion and philosophy.

Baneful effects of these social distinctions are still found today in the caste system of the religion of the Brahmins of India. A Brahman will not only sit with the aboriginals, eat with them or talk with them, but will not even cross their shadows. A pet dog of a Brahman priest gets greater consideration than is given to an aboriginal. Attempts of the great leaders of India to remove this caste disability have not yet made much headway. It must be noted here the Varnasrama of ancient India was not the caste system we now find in India. We get in Sri Vagwat Geeta, “I have created four Varnas on the basis of Gunas and Karma.” Varna means category and not a caste, Guna means quality and genius, and Karma means deeds and activities. From this it is clear that Sri Vagwat Geeta divides men into four categories and not castes according to their individual tastes, inclinations, efficiency and vocations. This division is perfectly in harmony with nature. Those who were virtuous and had genius for the culture of intellect were called the Brahmans; and they were the people who learned and taught, and commanded the highest respect in society as Gurus or teachers. Those who cultivated physical prowess were kings; active politicians and warriors were the Kshatriyas, while those who engaged themselves in trade, commerce, agriculture and industry and found pleasure in production and distribution of wealth were the Vaishayyas. Those who had no genius for any of these vocations but were plain and blunt men depending solely upon their physical labour for their existence were the Sudras. Actually even today there exist these four classes of men and women in every society and nation. The four Astras particularly prescribed for the Brahmans were, in fact, the four stages of a man’s life. These four stages or Astras are still there. The Asram or stage of man’s life is his boyhood or the stage of learning discipline and getting preliminary education necessary for performance of duties of the subsequent stages of his life.

The second stage is the youth or the stage of settled family and social life. The third stage is the beginning of old age, when one practically retires from the worries of family life and finds pleasure in seeking higher knowledge and thinks more of the other world than of this. The fourth or the final stage of life is the grand old age when one gets second childhood and becomes completely detached from the world and awaits the approach of the inevitable hour. But subsequently this natural classification of men into four categories degenerated into a rigid caste system not on the basis of Guna and Karma, but on the basis of heredity. Now a Viswamittra cannot attain the status of a Brahman by dint of his personal merits and a son of a Sudra cannot acquire the dignity of a Rishi of the Rig Veda. What we find today in India is the Varnasrama but Varana Shankara, or an illegitimate transformation of Varnasrama of ancient India. If purity of Varnasrama be restored then the social status of a man will be determined only by his personal merits and not by his birth or by similar other circumstances over which he has no control. Much of the ills of a modern society comes from its inability to provide its individuals with their proper places in life on the basis of their individual genius and perhaps realization of this defect of modern societies has created a tendency in modern experts of education to search for a scientific method for ascertaining natural taste and inclination of each individual boy and girl with a view to giving them education congenial to their nature.

Teachings of the Kalimah — no social aristocracy in Islam

In this dark context the stern and compassionate Voice of God, “There is no deity but God,” was heard. It was stern because it uncompromising and definitely commands dissolution of all man-made distinctions between man and man and compassionate because it teaches the sweet relation of man with God and his relation with his fellow men — the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. The Kalimah removes effectively all barriers that divide a brother from a brother and prescribes a social order which makes equality and brotherhood of man a living reality.

Faith in the Oneness of God is senseless if it does not mean faith in the oneness of man. “We did not create man except as one nation” (10 : 19) is the message of the Holy Qur'an. If God has created man as one nation, man has no right to create arbitrary distinction between man and man. Equality of man, which the Kalimah preaches, is not, however, mathematical, but is social. One cannot be an equal in another in all respects: some are black and some white, some are tall and some short, some are diligent and some idle, some are intelligent and some stupid, and some are gentle and some wild. Quite naturally some by their personal qualities acquire distinctions over others but such distinctions, according to the teachings of the Kalimah, are not permitted to interfere with or to disturb in any manner or degree the social equality of man. An intellectual giant may be an intellectual aristocrat, a fortunate possessor of wealth may be a financial aristocrat, although this aristocracy, in Islam, is very carefully and cautiously circumscribed; and again a Hercules, a Rustum or a Bhim may be a physical aristocrat, but there is no such thing as social aristocracy in Islam.

God is One and He is the Creator of the Universe. Faith in the unity of the Creator suggests unity and the composite nature of the Universe and faith in the unity and the composite nature of the human species. Faith in the unity of God suggests the law of nature that seeks and creates unity in every diversity. Faith in the Kalimah without active faith in the brotherhood of man is in effect negation of the Kalimah. In the social order which the Kalimah prescribes the status of man is determined not by his descent, inheritance or acquisition of material wealth, possession of political power of one's vocation and occupation of life but by his personal character and behaviour, that is, Guna and Karma. Women not only get a social status but they get a status equal to the status of men. Faith in the unity of God summarily rejects all sence of false and artificial dignity. Caliphs of Islam inspired awe and admiration of the then world not by the grandeur and glamour of a royal court but by their nobility of character. This human aspect of the Kalimah, namely, the brotherhood and equality of man, was so carefully and zealously nourished that the Prophet Muhammad did not even tolerate any tendency of his disciples to show any special social preferences to him and to the members of his family.

1. A Persian hero of the pre-Islamic period.
2. An Indian hero of the Vedic period.
A classless society in Islam was created not through class struggle but by an active faith in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

The Kalimah revolutionized the social life of the Arabs. They not only broke all artificial distinction between man and man but they composed all their differences, rooted out mutual hatred and jealousy and loved one another not merely as comrades but as real brothers. The Ansars or the helpers of Medina divided up all their belongings equally with the refugees who came to Medina from Mecca as brothers would divide their father’s assets equally amongst themselves. Faith in the Kalimah made it clear to the early Muslims that a real and active sense of brotherhood and its opposite, condescension and pride of personal distinction, both originate in the mind and not in any external material circumstances. By a classless society they meant a social life in which there was no class conflict, and in this sense the Arab Muslim society was a real classless society.

This classless society was created not through class struggles but by an active faith in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. There were groups and classes — vocational classes, economic classes, family and tribal classes and lots of other classes, but the Kalimah retained such of the classes and groups as was needed for harmonious development of the social organism, but class distinction and class consciousness were effectively removed. These groups and classes were the limbs of the same body functioning harmoniously for the healthy development of the body as a whole. These groups and classes had little or nothing to do in determining social status of individuals. “O ye men! Verily we have created you from a man and a woman and We have made you groups and tribes to identify you, verily the best of you before God are those who are most virtuous amongst you” (49 : 13) is the clear mandate of the Holy Qur’an in this respect. Names of individuals and classes were for identification but not for determination of social status. The Caliphs, the supreme head of the society, enjoyed no social preference and they were addressed by a common Bedouin as he would address a brother by bare names, but not as monarchs and other dignitaries are addressed in these days with high-sounding forms of address like His Holiness, His Majesty or His Excellency. The only difference between a Caliph and a common man was that a Caliph was entrusted with special duties and responsibilities peculiar to that office, and he enjoyed social respect only when he faithfully discharged his responsibilities. This sense of brotherhood was real, so unique and so living that the Caliphs themselves had no sense of social superiority or artificial sense of prestige and dignity of office. When the proud Persian satran Hurmuzan was brought to Caliph ‘Umar (d. 644 C.E.) as a prisoner, he found the Caliph, his victor, comfortably sleeping like a humble common man with his head on his arms on the bare steps of the mosque of the Prophet. That was the miracle of the Kalimah.

No State or society is a Muslim State or society in which the standard of equality and brotherhood is not visibly present. To compare the much-vaulted equality, fraternity and liberty of Western democracy with the equality and brotherhood of the early Muslim society of Medina would be to compare the ridiculous with the sublime, and hypocrisy and mockery with truth. Zaynab, a daughter of a proud Quraysh, a close relation of the Prophet himself, was married to Zayd, a slave. By this the age-old pride and vanity of birth and heritage was completely destroyed. The famous Negro slave Bilal, by dint of his own personal merits, got a distinction which any man on earth would covet. The white guardians of modern conscience and knowledge do not even sit with a Negro free man in the same church to offer prayers to God Who is the common Creator and Father of all — the White, the Black, the Yellow and the Brown.

Class struggles and exploitation of man by man

The brotherhood of the Kalimah is universal and not confined to particular classes. Nihilistic materialism talks glibly of equality of man. A philosophy of human existence which is concerned mainly with satisfaction of immediate material needs of the flesh can hardly make equality of man real. A philosophy of life which divides humanity into water-tight classes bitterly hostile to one another and a philosophy of life which pretends to create a classless society by annihilation of all other classes by a chosen class through class struggle is definitely based on jealousy and hatred and not love. Such a philosophy of life destroys the man and nourishes the beast within the man.

There is an old saying, “Might is right.” In old days “might” meant physical prowess. Physically strong and powerful individuals and classes were then the dominating class. They exploited the weak. As civilization advanced, men became conscious of the exploitation of the weak by the strong and immediately there was a class struggle between the strong and the weak. In the end the weak, who were numerically stronger, succeeded. The importance of physical prowess as a means of exploitation was then extinct and there was a classless society in the sense that social status was no longer determined by the power of the muscles. But soon another class emerged out of this class struggle. This new class was the class of the intellectuals. “Might” still was the right, only with this difference, that “might” no longer meant physical prowess but meant power of the intellect. Like the Brahmins of ancient India the intellectuals and the class of the intellectuals enjoyed the highest prestige and privilege in human societies. This class of intellectuals ultimately became the exploiting class, and again there was a class struggle. The intellectuals lost their crowns in the struggle and once again there was a class struggle. The intellectuals lost their crowns in the struggle and once again there was a classless society.

But exploitation did not cease. New classes rose and fell, but exploitation went on as ever. “Might” after every struggle assumed a new meaning. After the decline of the intellectuals in the struggles for power the class of the capitalists became the dominant and exploiting class and these capitalists now enjoy the highest social dignity and political power. A worldwide economic class struggle is already afoot. Now a Hercules, a Bhim or a Rustum is a man of no consequence. Similarly the job of a Pythagoras, a Newton or an Addison is to lend his talents for producing deadly weapons for the exploitation of the world. In this economic class struggle, as in the case of other class struggles that had gone before, the proletariat have succeeded and have established their dictatorship over one sixth of the globe where a classless society has already been created, but only in the sense that possession of economic resources by individuals is not now regarded as “might” or means of exploitation. There may be endless class struggles and the creation of classless societies, but exploitation will continue and new classes will arise out of the old. The contents of “might” will continually change, but “might” will always be the “right” until human propensities for exploitation are removed from its source.

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The Brahmans or the virtuous and the intellectuals established their dictatorship by the power of their character and intellect and the Kshatriyas or the physically strong by the power of their sword, the Vaishyas or the capitalists by the power of their wealth and now the Sudras or the proletariat have established their own dictatorship, by the power of their number, by overthrowing others with force and violence. If the intellectuals won the world — philosophers and scientists — politically unite, there will be the dictatorship of the Brahmans once again. In this cyclic order power may shift from one class to another but this will not make much difference so long as the tendency to exploit one another remains vigorously alive.

Bertrand Russell rightly observes in his book, Roads to Freedom, that Karl Marx, the reputed exponent of nihilistic materialism, believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable. But he says nowhere that this in itself will be good for humanity. Exploitation flows from within and class struggles are only external manifestations of the inner struggles within the breast of man between egoism and altruism. Like the different limbs and organs of an individual organism classes and groups will remain in the body of the social organism too. The solution of the material problems of the flesh is needed for creation of an environment congenial to peaceful existence. But a classless society cannot be created merely by the solution of the problems of the flesh but by a successful elimination of class ego and class consciousness. This can be achieved by an active faith in the brotherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, a careful nurture and culture of the nobler traits of human character and finally by peace and harmony between egoism and altruism. What is needed is not annihilation or amputation of this or that limb of the social organism but their healthy nourishment and co-ordinated function for the common weal.

It is a gross mistake to think that the solution of economic problems will solve all human problems

Materialism, the philosophy of scientific atheism, maintains that hunger and sex are the two basic instincts of man and places greater emphasis on the instinct of hunger. Since no social order can be really conducive to natural development of man unless it fully recognizes the natural instincts of man and provides facilities for their orderly satisfaction, the instincts of man must be very carefully and thoroughly examined and organized with regard to their respective role in the making of man. The Kalimah, the gospel of unity, seeks unity and finds it in all diversities. Diverse instincts like sex, hunger, self-preservation and power are found in man. These instincts are not uniformly active in all men. In some hunger, in some power and in some sex is dominant, and so in this respect also there is diversity.

Hunger no doubt is like the instinct of self-preservation, a very powerful and dominant instinct but by no means a basic instinct. A dispassionate observation of nature clearly reveals that sex, the instinct of creation and preservation of one's own species or the instinct to produce and to multiply is the basic and central instinct round which all other instincts of life revolve. Man does not live to eat but he eats to live and he lives to produce and to multiply. Hunger is, therefore, not a basic instinct but a contributory instinct: its satisfaction contributes to the satisfaction of man's sex instinct. Of course, hunger is the most powerful and dominant of all other contributory instincts. Satisfaction of hunger is necessary to keep an organism fit for producing and multiplying its own kind. It is, therefore, a gross mistake to think that the solution of economic problems and the creation of a classless society through an economic class struggle will solve all human problems. Stop exploitation and create a peaceful society. Any social revolution which entertains ambitions to produce a really peaceful social order must begin with the revolution of the sexual life of man. Such a revolution must have as one of its major purposes just and equitable distribution of material resources of the earth, but such a revolution must begin not with just and equitable adjustment of relations between the agents of production and multiplication of material wealth, but with just and equitable adjustment of relations between the man and the woman, the two agents of production and multiplication of the human race.

In pre-Islamic or the dark age women had no social status and no freedom and liberty. But they were given enough to eat to keep themselves fit to give pleasure to men. Equality of women with men in respect of food, clothing, housing and satisfaction of similar other material needs do not in the least alter or improve social status and dignity of women and create in them the sense of honour which is the basic characteristic of the respectability of the human species. The unity of God of the Kalimah and its corollary unity of the human race liberated women from their eternal bondage and gave them equal social status with men and dismissed all differences between a man and a woman except the natural psycho-physical difference that exists and will always exist between a male and a female. Since Islam does not ignore nature but correctly interprets it, it fully recognizes creative and polygamous nature of males in creation but gives women status of a free agent of procreation and has accordingly made marriage an absolutely free and voluntary social contact between the two sexes. In early Muslim society of Medina women enjoyed so much real freedom and social dignity that a husband would not enter his wife's chamber without her permission.

(To be continued)

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
MUHAMMAD IQBAL
(d. 21 April 1938)

A Reappraisal

By Ya‘qub Zaki James Dickie, M.A.

The author of the article

“Only a specialist can deliver a verdict on his Urdu and Persian poetry; it seems, however, to be accepted now that in the sub-continent (of India) he ranks below only Mirza Ghalib as a poet in these idioms. And though his philosophical system admits of more than one opinion its purpose does not. His orthodoxy in respect of Islamic society and culture, his loyalty to Islam in distress whether in India or Palestine, his deep understanding of the Law and the uniqueness of his effort to create a modern Islamic philosophy, all combine to make him what he is generally admitted to be, the leading Muslim thinker of the present century. He dreamt of an Islamic resurrection, but unlike others, he was not content with dreaming. In the last analysis his is a gospel of action, a fresh jihad.”

Iqbal’s philosophy is purposive

Neither Iqbal’s philosophy nor his poetry can be easily understood in isolation from his historical context, that interval in India’s history between the failure of the Mutiny in 1858 with all it entailed for the Muslims and their gradual recovery, culminating in the establishment of Pakistan. Unlike most philosophers, Iqbal did not philosophize in a vacuum; his philosophy was purposive. Precisely in the nexus between his historical background and his reaction to it lies the clue to his writing, both poetry and prose, as well as explaining why at times their content verges almost on heresy. A glance at the contemporary situation may not account for his genius as a poet but it does explain his attitude as a philosopher. Whereas today there are more than twenty independent Muslim States, when Iqbal was living there were only three or four, and of these, two, Turkey and Persia, were being rapidly secularized; whilst in Palestine the rape of that country by the Jews was proceeding apace with the connivance of Whitehall. In Iqbal’s own country the crown of Shah Jehan rested on the head of Queen Victoria’s descendant.

In his youth Iqbal had gone to Europe and studied at Oxford and Munich, taking a doctorate in philosophy at the latter university. This was the crisis, the turning-point in his career. He saw in European society an attitude toward life which if applied in the East might resurrect its ancient glories. Back in India he found his co-religionists bewildered, as in the words of the Qur’ān, “Have you not seen them wandering mazed in every valley?” (26 : 25), and their fatalism filled him with despair. In the long poem Rumuz-i-Bekhudi he describes his anguish in graphic terms:

In the mid-watch of night, when all the world
Was hushed in slumber, I made loud lament.
Unto the Living and Omnipotent God
I made my litany; my longing heart
Surged, till its blood streamed from my eyes.
“How long, O Lord, will the tulip glow,
Begging cool dewdrops from the dawn?
Lo, like a candle wrestling with the night
Over myself I pour my flooding tears.”

A combination of the individualism of Nietzsche with the
delicacy of Bergson was Iqbal’s remedy to save Islam from
disintegration

The only solution he could see was to transplant the activist philosophy of Europe to eastern soil where it could be acclimatized by a process of Islamization. Iqbal therefore, like most of us, was not a pure philosopher: he did not start from a basis of reason and arrive at objective conclusions; rather he started with the conclusions and ingeniously con-
structured metaphysical arguments to give the impression that he had arrived at them by a rational process. He had asked himself the question: What philosophy can save Islam from disintegration? The answer, as he saw it, was a combination of the individualism of Nietzsche with the vitalism of Bergson. Nietzsche's theory of the superman he recast as the theory of ego. There is nothing inherently wrong in this borrowing from a foreign culture provided that the elements borrowed be assimilable within their new context. The answer to the question of Nietzsche's assimilability may be found in his own work *The Antichrist*:

"Christianity destroyed the harvest we might have reaped from the culture of antiquity, later it also destroyed our harvest of the culture of Islam. The wonderful Moorish world of Spanish culture which in its essence is more closely related to us, and which appeals more to our sense and taste than Rome and Greece, was trampled to death. ... Later on the Crusaders waged war upon something before which it would have been more seemly in them to grovel in the dust — a culture, beside which even our nineteenth century would seem very poor and 'senile'... Christianity, alcohol — the two great means of corruption. As a matter of fact, choice ought to be just as much out of the question between Islam and Christianity as between an Arab and a Jew." (Aphorism 60)

These excerpts illustrate to perfection Nietzsche's spenetic style; there is much more in the same vein, but we have quoted enough to show why Iqbal could describe the German philosopher as a *mut'min*, a true believer.

Bergson, however, was a very different proposition. Iqbal with characteristic subtlety saw that Bergsonian dynamism was insoluble as such in Islam and he ingeniously adapted the French philosopher's theories. And here we come to the heart of Iqbal's philosophy, but before analysing it there is one observation which deserves to be made. Since Iqbal is the only philosopher properly so-called to have emerged in Islam since Averroes's death in 1198 C.E., most Muslim scholars have hesitated to criticize the only example there is of a modern Islamic metaphysic and Iqbal has in consequence assumed an almost sacrosanct character. This attitude is inhibiting the emergence of a modern Islamic philosophy and is a tendency of which Iqbal himself would have been the first to disapprove.

**A criticism of Iqbal's metaphysic**

Muhammad Iqbal was above all anxious to discredit determinism which in terms of human behaviour meant a tendency for Muslims to be complacent about their unenviable lot. This leads him to analyse the individual's inner experience as "pure duration" untouched by serial time, which is time as the common man apprehends it, a series of "nows". Paralleling the dual nature of time there is the bifurcation in the ego's activity: it is divided into the efficient self and the appreciative self. The former is in direct relation with space, the external world of everyday experience. Time as the appreciative self knows it is pure duration which the same ego acting in its capacity of efficient self has broken down into sequence that it might apprehend its daily experience in a dimensional world. Real time is spatialized and therefore distorted through the ego's unavoidable commerce with the world. But in pure duration as it is experienced by the appreciative self there is change but no seriality or succession: the temporal order of events has ceased to obtain. This is the dimension of mystical experience. "Its unity," says Iqbal, "is like the unity of the germ in which the experience of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience pervades the whole."

From the individual self this pure duration is transferred to the universe and predicated of the Ultimate Ego. Thus an immanent God is established for nature and the divine purpose is seen as working out through the Muslim community, whose behaviour is therefore purposive and rationally directed. The only flaw in this system would seem to be the impossibility of completely eliminating the notion of seriality from pure duration. The unity of the latter, Iqbal contends,

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noted that the secret of immortality may lie in the individual's life not being circumscribed within a single time.

In our opinion the Islamic metaphysic of the future must move within the conceptual framework of the Ash'arīyyah. It may be that Islam will one day witness a neo-Ash'arīt movement, just as Catholicism has witnessed neo-Thomism. At all events—and the inadequacy of Iqbal's metaphysic confirms this—a philosophy or cultural identity such as Islam evolves best when it evolves from within itself. Ultimately every people will have to work out their own destiny simply because no other course is open to them.

Iqbal's view that the class war had its basis in a false attitude towards property which the Qur'ān proposed to abolish

Whatever, nevertheless, the final verdict on Iqbal's metaphysic may be, that is no reason why we should not consider on their own merits the ethical values which arise from this metaphysic and their significance for the Muslim community in the future. If in philosophy he was an innovator in his social theories, Iqbal was a conservative reformer, which is not really as paradoxical as it sounds. "Believe me," he said, "Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement. The Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of those ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation, which speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalizes its own apparent externality." 1

This sentence is central to Iqbal's position. He envisaged the ideal society toward which Islam is or should be moving and this, apart from his unquestioned status as a poet, may be the most valuable aspect of his achievement. He saw that the class war had its basis in a false attitude toward property which the Qur'ān proposed to abolish. The Qur'ān's attitude is that the whole earth is God's, 2 which means that the relation of the individual to his property is not ownership but trusteeship; in other words, the world is held in trust by man for God. Further, Islamic society is unlike other societies in that it is God-given, established by divine charter in the Qur'ān. Islam is not a religion in the sense in which Christianity and Taoism are religions; these are extended metaphorical essays; they purport to explain why things are not otherwise than thus. Islam, on the other hand, is a social system related to a metaphysical background which in turn confers dignity and transcendent validity on that system. For the Muslim religion seeks always to fuse the secular and spiritual into a new reality which is superior to either of its original components taken separately. In this connection Iqbal says: "In Islam it is the same reality which appears as the Church looked at from one point of view and the State from another. It is not true to say that the Church and the State are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a single unanalysable reality, which is one or the other as your point of view varies." 3

It is not to be wondered at therefore that to Iqbal the names of Ataturk and Reza Shah were anathema, as a glance at several bitter little epigrams in Urdu will show. Our modern secularists, unable to refute his arguments, prefer to pass them over in silence as they do with those of Napoleon, who also found little to say in favour of laicism. 4 Not only does Iqbal attack policies of Westernization, but on the West itself he pours the vials of his scorn. Four trenchant lines describe what France referred to as her civilizing mission in Syria:

This land of Syria gave the West a Prophet
Of purity and piety and innocence:
And Syria from the West as recompense
Gets dice and drink and troops of prostitutes.

Another poem, Syria and Palestine, enlarges the same theme:

--- If the Jew claims the soil of Palestine
Why not the Arab Spain?

Iqbal's anxiety to secure Islam against all forms of culture distortion

He was anxious to secure Islam against all forms of cultural distortion, and if he did not spare the West neither did he neglect disruptive forces within Islam or the apathy which is perhaps more dangerous than either. He published polemical pamphlets against the Qadiyaniyyah and even went so far as to appeal to the government for their suppression. The militant feminism of the West met with his distrust and he exhorted Muslim women to take the Prophet's daughter Fatiha as their model and to copy her chastity, meekness and obedience,

In fact this notion of obedience, of submission, is central to Islam and to Iqbal's understanding of it—in the words of the Qur'ān, "I have surrendered my face to God, likewise he who follows me" (3: 20). "My face" means "my purpose", the direction in which I look. The verb used here, aslama (to surrender), gives as its active particle muslim, which therefore means "one who has surrendered", surrendered, that is, his individual purpose to the will of God as revealed in the Qur'ān. The Law embodies God's will and signifies the integration of the community who have made this act of surrender. In Rumi-z-ib-Khudi Iqbal says:

When a community forsakes its Law
Its parts are severed like the scattered dust.

In the Qur'ān the relation of the believer to God is beautifully described in terms of slavery. The recurrent phrase wa Allahu basir bi-l-ibad (And God is Overseer of His slaves) emphasizes this because enslavement to God means liberation from all other forms of bondage. Thus in Asrar-i-Khudi Iqbal in frankly didactic mood exhorts:

O you who are emancipated from the old custom,
Adorn your feet once more with the same fine silver chains!
Complain not of the hardness of the Law
And transgress not the statutes of Muhammad!

Iqbal's dream

Only a specialist can deliver a verdict on his Urdu and Persian poetry; it seems, however, to be accepted now that in the sub-continent he ranks below only Mirza Ghalib as a poet in these idioms. And though his philosophical system admits of more than one opinion its purpose does not. His

2 Ibid., p. 170.
3 "Verily the earth is God's. He gives it as an inheritance to whom He will. And the sequel is for those who keep their duty (to Him)" (7: 128).
5 "No society can exist without morality; there is no good morality without religion. It is religion alone, therefore, that gives to the State a firm and durable support."—From an address delivered in Milan, June 1800.
orthodoxy in respect of Islamic society and culture, his loyalty to Islam in distress whether in India or Palestine, his deep understanding of the Law and the uniqueness of his effort to create a modern Islamic philosophy, all combine to make him what he is generally admitted to be, the leading Muslim thinker of the present century. He dreamt of an Islamic resurrection, but unlike others, he was not content with dreaming. In the last analysis his is a gospel of action, a fresh jihad. The words he addressed to the Muslim woman in Rumuzi-Bekhudi have a wider application irrespective of gender:

... be conscious still
And ever of your model Fatimah,

So that your branch may bear a new Husain,
Our garden blossom with the Golden Age.

And if one ask how a garden so long sterile may be re-fertilized, the answer may be sought in a perfect little epigram which is lqbal in a nutshell:

"Long years were mine," said the sea-shattered cliff,
"Yet never taught me what is this called I." A headlong-hurrying wave cried, "Only if I move I live, for if I stop I die."

THE RAID

A soliloquy of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad

Tell us, O silent sentinel, waiting on the hill,
Where is the camel caravan? Does it linger still?
Afar across the darkened plain, brooding 'neath the sky,
Comes the wealthy pilgrim horde, and we win or die.

Give us tidings of the dim advance across the starlit plain,
The hardly-glimpsed and hardly-guessed and silent camel-train.
Do your piercing eyes discern, so very far away,
The camel-drivers urging onward, ending the delay?

You impatient warriors, waiting down below,
How can human eyes descry the laden camels go?
Know you not the distant dinness, heavy with the night,
Lies below the darkened skies where polished stars are bright?
Yes, oh yes, O distant watcher, searching far away,
We will wait your shout of warning heed the words you say.
But our horses stamp the ground, all eager as they wait.
They can hear the beating of the hoofs of fate.

The dawn-light glimmers along the East,
Illumining all of us, man and beast.
The stars have faded and gone away
And we gladly welcome the glowing day.
Now every man sees his comrade's face
And the Leader surveys us, each in place.

Then the hoofbeats sound like a muffled drum,
And the men of Medina swiftly come.
Strong must the camel-drivers be
To fight with warriors such as we.

Nearer we sweep, and we see the men
And the laden camels. One to ten
Are we of the Medinean warrior band,
But we are the bravest in all the land!

The scimitars flash and the train gives way,
Where did this wealth go, did they say?
To Makkah to glut the idolatrous brood?
The cult of the idols shall be subdued,
For we worship the One who rules above,
Who disdains all idols and idol-love.

Now we join in the rolling fight,
All in the golden morning light,
And many a lover of idols falls
And all in vain the rich man calls
And offers rewards to these slaves of sin.
We of Medina do but begin!

Strike to the right, and strike to the left,
And when of their weapons they are bereft—
So that we alone have the might to slay—
Let them live 'til another day.

For the plunder was all that we wanted here:
The idolaters cringe in a mighty fear.
We'll take the gold to Yathrib town
And boast of the raid 'til the sun goes down.

Heigh-ho! Their camels are laden with gold!
The idols at Makkah are growing old.
They'll never need so many to pray;
These pilgrims can go on another day!

Muhammad can use the pieces of gold
And the many goods that were to be sold,
And the cause of Allah will surely gain
From this harmless raid on the sandy plain.

NORMAN LEWIS.
Modern Scientific Knowledge and the Qur‘an’s Rejection of Jesus’ Death on the Cross

The Sunday Times, London,¹ published an article, reproduced below, entitled

“The Resurrection of Christ: A Remarkable Theory”

by Dr. J. G. Bourne, with some prefatory observations. Dr. Bourne’s theory approximates to the views of the Qur‘an, which says: “The Jews did not kill Jesus nor did they crucify him” (4:157)

In 1955 Dr. J. G. Bourne, a senior anaesthetist of St. Thomas’s Hospital and Salisbury Hospital Group, began investigating cases of patients fainting under general anaesthesia in the dentist’s chair. This can cause death: a man kept upright in a faint loses blood-supply to the brain. Dr. Bourne published this original research in 1957. Later, turning over his discoveries in his mind, he began to relate certain aspects to the facts of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. The theory that resulted was somewhat startling, but Dr. Bourne, himself a man of strong Christian belief, feels that it could make Christianity more attractive to people unable to accept the supernatural explanation of the Resurrection. He quotes the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote on the Resurrection: “There is need for the most scientific approach to historical proof that is possible.” This is an abbreviated version of Dr. Bourne’s paper on his theory, which is to be published elsewhere in more technical form.

“Normally, discussion of the Resurrection centres on the historical proofs (now generally accepted) of Jesus’ subsequent appearances on earth. To question His actual death may be thought heresy — but there is reason to think that Jesus in fact fainted on the Cross, was believed dead, and recovered after a period of coma.

“Dr. C. C. P. Clark, writing in the New York Medical Record in 1908, suggested that Jesus’ apparent death might have been a fainting attack. In 1935 Professor S. Weiss, an American authority on fainting, pointed out that fainting was the usual cause of death in victims of crucifixion, and this is now accepted among medical scientists.

“The essential feature of fainting is a fall in arterial blood pressure, caused by active dilation of the smaller arteries of the body, mainly in the muscles. Blood then gets away from the arterial side of the circulation with greatly decreased resistance. At the same time the heart is slowed, and may stop for several seconds. The onset may come without warning, though not usually, and there may be a sense of impending death.

“Blood pressure falls precipitously, the brain’s oxygen supply is reduced, consciousness is lost and the subject falls down. Breathing is shallow, the pupils are dilated, and the appearance deathlike: not even the deepest coma so closely resembles death.

¹ Reproduced by kind permission of the Editor, The Sunday Times, London, for 24 January 1965, and that of the author, Dr. J. G. Bourne.
hours' coma would depend on how low blood-pressure fell; this determining the degree of the brain's oxygen-lack. The level in His case cannot be guessed, but it seems the fainting-interval on the cross was short. Some advantage would be gained by the fact that on fainting the head would fall forward, thus lessening the distance from heart to brain, and improving blood flow. St. John says the Jews did not want the bodies to remain on the cross for the coming Sabbath so they asked Pilate to have them taken down. The soldiers accordingly came to the first of His fellow-victims and to the second, and broke their legs; but when the came to Jesus, they found that he was already dead, so they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers stabbed his side with a lance, and at once there was a flood of blood and water.

Sympathetic

"The soldiers were acting under Pilate's orders, and presumably would have forthwith taken down the bodies. (The centurion, sympathetic to Jesus, would probably have seen that it was done promptly.) Renan says that when Joseph asked Pilate for Jesus' body, it had already been taken down. It is certain that the soldiers did not break his legs — the usual method of applying the coup-de-grace to victims.

"Next, how did it happen that blood flowed from the wound? In a dead body, blood will ooze from cut veins, but there is not the flow of blood described by St. John's description. (In operating for cardiac arrest, a flow would rightly be taken as evidence that the heart was still beating, and the surgeon would not proceed to open the chest.) In fainting, this is just what would be expected, with the small muscle arteries dilated. The lance could hardly have failed to pierce muscle, and the wound was probably well below heart level, where blood-pressure would be appreciable even in a faint.

Changed

"Nor is it surprising that close associates should have failed initially to recognize Jesus afterwards. He would have looked an ill man, much changed. It might be argued that during the post-crucifixion period, His words lacked something of the former vigour and brilliance: can it be that cerebral anoxia on the cross had left its mark?

"A great many people must have doubted the reality of Jesus death upon the Cross, or else the literal truth of the Resurrection. That He fainted, and did not die, was suggested by Dr. Clark three-quarters of a century ago, and according to Renan, recovery after crucifixion was known to the ancients. If there was nothing supernatural about the reappearance of Jesus, need be an obstacle to the acceptance of His teachings? His life is sublime without physical myths: nothing can take away the miracles of the spirit.

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A note on the Qur'an (4:157): "The Jews did not kill Jesus nor did they Crucify him"
by the late Muhammad 'Ali, the translator of the Holy Qur'an into English

The verse does not negative Jesus' being nailed to the cross, but it negatives his having expired on the cross as a result of being nailed to it. That he died a natural death is plainly stated in the Qur'an 5:117: "And I was a witness of them so long as I was among them, but when ye didst cause me to die, Thou wert the watcher over them." The Gospels contain clear testimony showing that Jesus Christ escaped death on the cross. The following points may be noted: (1) Jesus remained on the cross for a few hours only, but death by crucifixion was always tardy. (2) The two men crucified with Jesus were still alive when taken down from the cross, therefore Jesus also might have been alive. (3) The breaking of legs was resorted to in the case of the two criminals, but dispensed with in the case of Jesus. (4) The side of Jesus being pierced, blood rushed out, and this was a certain sign of life. (5) Even Pilate did not believe that Jesus actually died in so short a time (Mark 15:44). (6) Jesus was not buried like the two criminals, but was given into the charge of a wealthy disciple of his, who lavished care upon him and put him in a spacious room hewn in the side of a rock. (7) When the tomb was seen on the third day the stone was found to have been removed from its mouth, which would not have been the case if there had been a supernatural rising. (8) Mary, when she saw him, took him for the gardener (John 20:15), which shows that Jesus had disguised himself as a gardener. (9) Such a disguise would not have been needed if Jesus had risen from the dead. (10) It was in the same body of flesh that the disciples saw Jesus, and the wounds were still there deep enough for a man to thrust his hand in. (11) He still felt hunger and eat as his disciples ate (Luke 24:39-43). (12) Jesus Christ undertook a journey to Galilee with two of his disciples walking side by side with him, which shows that he was flying for refuge, for if his object had been to rise to heaven he would not have undertaken a journey to Galilee. (13) In all post-crucifixion appearances Jesus is found concealing and hiding himself as if he feared being discovered. (14) Jesus Christ prayed the whole night before his arrest to be saved from the accrued death on the cross (Deut. 22:23). He asked his disciples to pray for him, and it is the Divine law that the prayers of a righteous man in distress and affliction are always accepted. He seems to have even received a promise from his Master to be saved, and it was to this promise that he referred when he cried out on the cross: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" — Heb. 5:7 making the matter still more clear, for there it is plainly stated that the prayer of Jesus was accepted: "When he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him who was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared." All these testimonies show conclusively that Jesus could not have died on the cross, and therefore the statement in the Qur'an is perfectly true.

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THE FUTURE OF THE ARAB STATES

Schuyler Heights,
Lake George, N.Y.

20 January 1965.

Dear Sir,

The feeling of unrest in the Arab world, the stirring of nationalism in several relatively small States, can lead to a more isolated Su'udi Arabia, a more isolated Jordan, a more isolated Syria. But is this the inevitable end of such political and social and economic unrest? Could not this seething change have an entirely different result?

If the Arab States do not unite, they are going to be destroyed as political units. What will an isolated Su'udi Arabia with six million people be able to do in the face of a Russia with two hundred millions? What will Jordan and the Lebanon, with less than two million apiece, be able to do in the face of powerful interests closing in upon them? Surely there is enough intelligence in these States to see that some collective plan must be worked out if the world of Islam is to survive.

Does Algeria expect to stand alone with its eleven millions? Will she have no enemies within the next few years? And Morocco with her twelve millions — will she be able to last forever? The forces of greed are increasing on the earth, and any small State could be gobbled up.

And we might say of Egypt, which is the nearest to being a giant in this group, that she could never stand against the determined pressure of a nation with ten times the population.

If the Arab States are not to be wiped off the face of the earth or absorbed by their powerful neighbours, they must awake to the thought of Muslim unity. It is this or dissolution. A great Empire of Islam will arise, built by great statesmen and an aroused Muslim public opinion or else these nations will face their own disintegration.

Today Islam, politically speaking, consists only of fragments. But that was true of Germany one hundred years ago.

In the thirteenth century C.E., England and Wales — and England and Scotland — were engaged in bloody and devastating wars. Yet there is political solidarity within Great Britain today.

The United States of America, just one hundred years ago, was a nation disrupted in the most diabolical and fratricidal strife. But human beings do grow up — because they have to.

For the separate States of North Africa and nearby Asia there is only one alternative to disaster. The people of Su'udi Arabia and the people of Morocco, the people of Algeria and the people of the U.A.R., must attain an intellectual and spiritual vision. Must they first try killing each other as the British and Americans did? Is fratricide a necessary stage in the creation of a nation? Or can the Muslims profit by the mistakes of other people?

Islam as one nation, not many, is no idle dream. What Christian or pagan peoples have done can surely be duplicated by men who believe in brotherhood under one God.

The southern boundary of such a nation would naturally be the northern border line of Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Nigeria, Kamerun and the Central African Republic. The Sudan presents a different aspect. There could be a division, roughly along the 10° parallel of north latitude, which would divide the portion of the Sudan which is to be part of the Arab Empire from a Negro republic to the south, formed from southern Sudan.

Turkey would form an admirable buffer-State between Islam and the West. She would be tolerant of Islam and of Europe. The Islamic nation would be essentially a religious unit, based upon the sincere belief in One God, one Prophet, one Qur'an. If any nominally Islamic country courts Western ways and religions, that country would naturally be outside the nation known as Islam.

The political map of the world in future should show an unbroken domain from Mogador to Basra with the word ISLAM written across it. There should be no political boundaries within the empire of Islam. This is the nation that can arise within the next few years. If this is a miracle, it has happened before, in Germany and in Russia. Only in this way will there be Muslim security for the future. But it must begin soon. A decade from now will be too late.

Yours sincerely,

NORMAN LEWIS.

* * * * *

INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGES

Dear Sir,

Inter-racial marriages are one of the effective ways to bring about better understanding amongst the various peoples of the world. But this simple and true statement of fact is subject to certain conditions.

APRIL 1965
Marriage is that ultimate stage of union of two persons where they are not supposed to have any reservations. The bliss of mutual understanding between the spouses, if achieved in its true sense, embraces not only the husband and wife, but also those who are related to them. It is in this sense that successful marriages between people of different races pave the way for healthy and better understanding amongst circles wider than that of the parties concerned.

Inter-racial marriages in general, purely for reasons of racial differences, pose a number of problems. But when such unions involve cultural as well as religious differences, the problems become more emphasized. Inter-marriages, between people of the various European nations, for example, do not present difficulties of adaptation to one another's ways of life to the same extent as do the marriages between the European Christians and the Eastern Muslims.

The first time I came in contact with the East was when, as a child, I was taken to Pakistan by my parents, who are Scottish and Christians. My father was an engineer. Being a typical Scot, he mixed freely with the Pakistanis. One thing which struck me the most at that young age was the ease with which we aliens were accepted in that society. While discussing this subject one evening a friend of my father remarked that Islamic culture was basically universal and non-racial.

During my stay in Pakistan I came to know a very respectable middle-class family. This contact gave me a rare opportunity of seeing from inside the set-up of the Muslim rural society. The discipline of the joint-family system, the relationship of members with one another, their adherence to religion and customs in the face of the fast infiltrating Western influences—all these made an extremely fascinating study for me. My relationship with this family was also responsible for my interest in Islam, with the result that I am now married to a Pakistani Muslim.

I had greatly feared opposition to our marriage from my husband's parents and other relatives, especially from my father-in-law, who was a Qur'anic scholar and an "orthodox" Muslim. It was, on the contrary, he who blessed our marriage. He explained to me that Islam was only a continuation of all the previous revealed religions. According to Islam, Christians, Jews and Muslims and, for that matter, all the "people of the Book", are allowed to inter-marry. It was as simple as that. But, before my husband and I started living together, we had to face many difficulties of mutual adjustment. My Scottish blood and my husband's Pakistani temperament did not, at times, make matters any the easier. It is on these experiences that I have based my observations on the subject.

The most pronounced difference between the outlooks of the East and the West is in their set-ups of family life. We in the West are not prepared to sacrifice our individuality at any cost. Immediately after coming of age, our young people start thinking in terms of personal life. In the East, however, every individual male is, and always remains, an integral part of his ancestral family. His wife and children are, no doubt, his responsibility; but his obligations towards other members of his family are not supposed to be neglected. There is a share in his earnings for his old parents, widowed women in the fold, younger brothers and sisters and so on. Western society has found an answer to some of their problems in insurance policies and co-operative societies. It is, no doubt, a more efficient and better organized way of doing things. But efficiency and organization alone are not enough in human relationship. Personal touch and sense of belonging also play a very important and, psychologically, an indispensable part. My husband, for example, sends a monthly allowance to his widowed mother in Pakistan. This act is a source of great spiritual happiness to him. It gives him a sense of achievement. In the same way, for his mother the money sent to her by her son means much more than the money which a widow receives as her old age pension from a State official. For a Western wife it is difficult to reconcile herself to such extra burdens on the family purse. She generally resents this kind of loyalty of her Eastern husband to those relatives whom she has not even met. Some wives do succeed in estranging their husbands from their families, but they do so only at the cost of their husband's happiness.

Members of an Eastern family are much more inter-dependent than those of the East. The old Roman concept of Pater Familias still holds good there. All the responsibilities and obligations of a deceased father are ipso facto transferred to the eldest brother. Education of his younger brothers and sisters, their marriages and their general welfare are to be looked after. It is not in any way a chaotic set-up. Although there are no rigid and written laws about it, customary procedure and convention give them guidance in all such matters.

It is not possible for a Western wife to appreciate and understand the complexities of the unwritten code of Eastern behaviour. To illustrate the point, I have again to seek the aid of my personal experience. During the last three years my husband has helped three of his younger brothers to come over to England. To start with, he sent them, one after the other, their passage money. On their arrival he had to do all that which a father is expected to do by way of launching them on their respective careers. We live in a two-roomed flat. From Western standards there was no room in the house to put up a guest. But, from my husband's point of view, a brother is not a guest; he is a member of the family. To send him to an hotel, or even to rent a separate accommodation for him, would be an unbrotherly act. For my husband and my brothers-in-law, physical discomfort is only a secondary consideration. They take it for granted that I, being the wife of the eldest brother, would co-operate in all this as willingly as an Eastern wife would do.

Food and dress are some of the many other matters where opinions are likely to differ between the husband and wife of different races. It has often been commented upon in England that, while Eastern men have taken to Western clothes, their womenfolk are very reluctant to do so. The general impression that they are slow to adapt themselves to Western dress because of lack of education is not true. Eastern ladies' dresses are obviously very dignified and beautiful. The fact that a sari is not an easy dress to manage on escalators and in buses does not count from their point of view. They maintain that ladies are not meant to rush about on the streets. Irrespective of all these considerations, the real difference between the two outlooks lies in the two different concepts of feminism. It is considered highly unladylike in the East for a woman to expose any part of her body to public view. Especially amongst the Muslims it is not done. In spite of all that fuss which one hears about the inequities of the Eastern harem, the fact is that Muslim men consider their wives as a sacred trust. There is a sort of sanctity attached to them. It is only recently that Western influence has helped them come out of their veils. Any further liberty beyond that would be tantamount to sacrilege. Eastern culture has associated low neck-lines and bare legs, to say the least, with immodesty. An Eastern husband resents

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parading his wife loosely dressed not because of jealousy or because of his own reactionism. He resents it because European dress does not come up to his Islamic standards of respectability. There are not many European women who can appreciate this fine cultural difference.

Problems related to food do not appear to be very important during the courtship period. But later on it is realized that, with the prospect of presenting itself daily for the whole lifetime, it is by no means a negligible problem. Curry and rice or chapati are very tasty dishes, but so are steak and fried onions. I have seen a couple who have found a solution of this problem by having their respective dishes on alternative days. But this British wife has not as yet found the answer to the problem that Asian food takes much longer to cook.

We have come a very long way from Kipling's world. International communications have brought the East and the West much closer. Those of us who have chosen to intermarry have accepted a great challenge. Like every great task, it needs a great effort to be successful. But if there are difficulties in the way, there are compensations too.

Yours sincerely,
HEATHER KHALIQUE.

* * * * *

JESUS' DEATH ON THE CROSS

The Editor,
The Sunday Times,

31 January 1965.

Sir,

Dr. J. G. Bourne's views on the subject of Resurrection of Jesus Christ published in The Sunday Times for 24 January 1965 come very close to the version of the Qur'an on this subject:

"And for their (Jews') saying: We have killed the Messiah, Jesus, Son of Mary the messenger of God, and they killed him not, nor did they cause his death on the Cross, but he was made to appear to them as such. And certainly those who differ therein are in doubt about it. They have no knowledge about it but only follow a conjecture; and they killed him not for certain' (4:157).

In the words of Dr. Bourne, Jesus's appearance became "death-like: not even the deepest coma so closely resembles death". The Qur'an says that the whole matter became dubious to the observers and that he was made to appear to them as dead.

Death on the cross was a long and painful process and sometimes it took days before the victim died. In the case of Jesus all the circumstances were in his favour. He remained on the cross for a short time. Pilate was sympathetic towards him from the beginning. In fact, he found "no fault in him" and sought to get him free; and later on he was surprised to know that he had died so soon. The other two persons crucified with Jesus were still alive when taken down. Jesus was not buried but was given to a wealthy disciple of his who put him in a spacious tomb. When the tomb was seen on the third day the stone at its mouth had been removed. In all post-crucifixion periods Jesus is either seen disguised or hiding himself as if afraid of being discovered again. He had compared his fate with that of Jonah who came out of the belly of a fish alive; Jesus also emerged alive from that great trial. God saved him from dying an accursed death and exalted him spiritually.

The disciples might have gained courage after their first lapse and they did appear in the public eye, but Jesus never did. As to the question where he went, my answer is simple. A greater part of Jesus's life before crucifixion is shrouded in mystery; it does not mean, therefore that he did not exist during those years. He may, after escaping death on the cross, have gone to the place where he had gone before as a young man.

Yours faithfully,
S. MUHAMMAD TUFAIL.
Imam, Mosque, Woking, Surrey.

* * * *

AN ISLAMIC BLOC

P.O. Box 1032,
Rangoon,
Burma.

4 February 1965.

Sir,

We in Burma, where the Muslims are in a minority, take this opportunity of extending our sincere fraternal 'Id greetings and the most cordial wishes of the season. The festival of Adhaa is an age-old hospitable institution, the throng of the true and devout sons of Islam, binding the hearts of different races in the common creed, in mutual love and in trust.

The 'Id al-Adhaa is one of those happy Muslim occasions that symbolises the true spirit of Islam and its outlook on life. The spirit of this happy and joyous 'Id is of peace, love, goodwill, kindness, toleration, forgiveness and sympathy towards all. We pray that this 'Id may be the harbinger of an era of peace and prosperity for all Muslims scattered from Morocco on the shores of the Atlantic to the remote islands of Indonesia in the Pacific.

Let us on this auspicious day read the choicest words of the Qur'an: "Hold fast to the rope of God and do not disperse."

When other countries can form blocs and brag on the basis that they have an ideology, there is no reason why the Muslim countries should not get closer together with one aim and with one mind and show to the world that they, too, have an ideology which is a practical code of life and which is the panacea for all the ills from which the world is suffering.

The dire need of the Muslim peoples today is the formation of an Islamic bloc. This need is felt greatly all over the world of Islam, especially in the interest of the future
prosperity of the Muslim countries. We in Burma are looking to that happy day when all the true sons of Islam, believing in the Unity of God and the Universality of His Message, shall stand shoulder to shoulder on one platform and under one banner culturally through the unity of language, thought and culture.

Today the entire Islamic horizon is overcast with thick clouds of despair and despondency. “When is the help of God to come?” seems to be on all lips. In our opinion, the day of happiness, success and joy for the Muslim world is not far off: it is there. We have only to exert to our utmost if we want to play our part in the world once again and survive.

The words of the Qur’ân quoted above have a special significance for Muslims today. Let us look at the map of the world and see how far and wide Islam spread, and at those countries where Islamic rule and civilization prevailed. Those glorious days of the past when the whole world sat at the feet of Muhammad, when the colleges of Islam held students from every clime. Those were the days when to be called “Muslim” was synonymous with “advanced in every branch of culture”.

Our duty today should be to fit ourselves again to become the leaders of mankind in every station of life. Let our sons study, not for their livelihood, but for the assistance of those around them, to be the teachers of their friends. Let them study for the glory of Islam, and with this noble ideal ever before them strive to excel over all other peoples. What has been in the past can be again, and we must concentrate on a vigorous activity to combat this present state of inertia. How can we admire the beautiful and inspiring words of many of the leaders of Islam today? Let us on this happy occasion resolve to clear all our petty differences and jealousies which divide us (be they national, racial, tribal, feudal, communal, geographical, linguistic, political or ideological). Let us form an Islamic bloc and evolve a common and positive policy of co-existence. Let us turn to the Holy Qur’ân, our common fountain of spiritual knowledge, and continue to derive inspiration from it. If we want to witness the rise of Islam in the West again, let us once more turn to the Holy Qur’ân and the Sunnah for our guidance and determine to present Islam in a new light. If we aim at one goal, let us move from “divergence” to “convergence” and swim and travel together with the slogan, “Onward to Victory! Onward to Progress.”

Yours sincerely,

A. D. GINWALLA.

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The Editors of The Islamic Review invite writers in all Muslim countries to send them articles on religious, political, social and other subjects in relation to their countries.

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THE ‘ID AL-FITR 1384 A.H.

at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England

Over two thousand people of various nationalities journeyed by train, car, bus and on foot to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, on a mid-winter day, Thursday 4 February 1965, to celebrate ‘Id al-Fitr (the Festival of the Termination of the Fast) at the end of Ramadhan. The spacious marquee especially erected for this purpose in the grounds of the Shah Jehan Mosque was, as usual, decorated with flags of different Muslim countries to emphasize the universality of Islam. In the congregation there were Su’udi Arabs, Egyptians, Jordanians, Indonesians, Pakistanis, Indian Arabs, Egyptians, Jordanians, Indonesians, Pakistanis, Indians, Malays, Chinese and Europeans who all met together to offer their prayers to God. Referring to this reconciliatory and equalizing force of Islam which rises above colour and race barriers, Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, said in his sermon that Islam could be of great help to the modern world in its this hour of trial. “In the United States of America,” continued the Imam, “people have to pay sometimes with their lives for a cup of tea only because they are of a different shade of colour. In Britain the question of colour is also raising its head in one form or another. A new outlook and approach is needed. Churches can play a great role by educating their members to understand that differences of culture and customs should be tolerated. After all, the people in Britain only a few centuries ago were living in the same conditions as those who have come from other lands.”

Pointing out the moral attitude of modern man the Imam remarked, “People in the West are forming their own standards about moral values and many of them do not care about sin in personal relationship. Mrs. Wilson, wife of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, when interviewed by a press reporter said: ‘I never worried about the so-called sin in personal relationships. What I mean is that I do not care for religious attitudes and ideas of morality which seem to depend on intolerance of one kind or another, especially intolerance of personal weaknesses, in matters of sex, for instance (The Observer, London, 17 January 1965, p. 22). This un-Christian attitude of the modern man and woman is responsible for the moral anarchy we find in the Western world.”

After the sermon the Imam in remembering those who had passed away, invoked the blessings of God on the departed souls. He mentioned in particular George Fowler, ‘Aboud Pasha, Mahmoud al-Mishad, Saeed Muhammedi, Tasadduq Husayn Qadirí (of Baghdad) and Mrs. M. Y. Khan (of Trinidad), who in their respective countries had served Islam and Muslims.
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