TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

Annual subscriptions £1 10s. 0d.; single copies 3s. post free or the equivalent of this amount unless otherwise mentioned.

Subscribers who remit foreign currency from abroad should kindly add bank charges to the amount remitted.

Registration to all countries at the equivalent rate of 21s. per annum for 12 issues

The cost of sending 'The Islamic Review' by Air Mail varies with its destination, e.g. Egypt £3, Pakistan £4; extra per copy

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

Australia: Islamic Society of South Australia, Box 1694 N, G.P.O., Adelaide, S. Australia.
British Guiana: H. B. Gajraj, Esq., 13 Water Street, Georgetown.
N. Ameer Khan, Sh. Trans-National General Agency, 137 Regent Street, Laccy town, Georgetown.
Burma: Smart & Mookerdam, 221 Sule Pagoda Road, Rangoon.
H. W. Muhammad Radja, Prinzenstraat 33, P.O. Box 632, Paramaribo, Surinam.
East Africa: Messrs. The Kampala Vigilantes, P.O. Box 1077, Kampala, Uganda (East Africa).
England: "The Islamic Review," The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, £1 10s. 0d. post free; single copies 3s.
France: For name and address of the agent please apply to The Manager, "Islamic Review," as above. Annual Subscription 18 N.F. post free; single copies 1.50 N.F.
Holland: Mr. G. A. Bashir, Ruythrooksloot 54, The Hague, Holland.

AGENTS IN INDIA

Sh. Muhammad In'aam-ul-Haque, House No. 100—A Class, A’zamor, Malakpeth, Hyderabad-Decan.
Messrs. Usman Ali Book Depot, 104 Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
Habibullah Badshah, Esq., c/o A. J. Modu Seminar, No. P. U. Dyer Street, Madras, I.

AGENTS IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

Messrs. News Front, 75 Jubilee Road, Chittagong.
Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Court Road, Chittagong.
Messrs. M. Aslam Khan, Newspaper Agents, Khan Manzil, Chandpur, Dist. Tippera.
The Manager, Knowledge Home, 146 Government New Market, Dacca, 2.
Babul Library, Booksellers & Order Suppliers, Jinnah Avenue, Faridpur.

AGENTS IN WESTERN PAKISTAN

Book Centre, Station Road, Mymensingh.
The Manager, Setara News Agency, Paturkhal, Bakerganj.
Tawheed Stores, Sir Iqbal Road, Khulna.
The Manager, Current Book stall, Jessore Road, Khulna.

OFFICE IN KARACHI (PAKISTAN)
K. S. Mahmut, Esq., S.K. (The Islamic Review), 3 Commercial Buildings, Bellasia Street, off South Nazir Road, Karachi-1.

Subscribers in Pakistan can send their subscriptions direct to England through their bankers. Every Pakistan is entitled to buy books and journals in foreign currency worth Rs. 300 per annum.

Subscriptions may begin with any desired number.

Kindly quote your subscriber's number when corresponding.
A New Translation of the Holy Qur’an

THE MESSAGE OF THE QUR’AN

Volume 1 (Chapters 1-9) Page XXIV + 337
by Muhammad Asad

This translation of the Holy Qur’an into English is published by the World Muslim League, Mecca

Price 25/- Postage extra

The Manager, The Islamic Review, Woking, Surrey, England

THE ETERNAL MESSAGE OF MUHAMMAD
by Abd-al-Rahman Azzam

This book, originally in Arabic, is already a classic on Islam. It brings to the Western world a remarkable interpretation of Islam. The author, the first Secretary-General of the Arab League, examines the social, economic and constitutional requirements of a Muslim State and general attitude of Islam to the modern world.

xxi + 297 pages (Postage extra) Price $5.95 or £1-5-0

Can be obtained from:

PROPHECIES OF THE HOLY QUR’AN
(second edition)

Warning to the Christians
Gog and Magog — European Christian Nations
Signs of the Appearance of the Anti-Christ
Nuclear War
Destruction of the Modern “One-Eyed” Civilization
Basic Dogmas of Christianity

By ‘ALI AKBAR

Price 2s. 6d.

Published by The Woking Muslim Mission & Literary Trust, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England

ISLAM OUR CHOICE
(ILLUSTRATED AND UNABRIDGED)

Compiled by Dr. S. A. KHULUSI, Ph.D.

There has long been a demand for a book that would relate in simple language the stories of various Europeans accepting Islam. Since 1913 C.E. such articles have been published in The Islamic Review. Some of these have now been collected in ISLAM OUR CHOICE.

ISLAM OUR CHOICE also contains an extensive survey of the views of non-Muslim writers about Islam, the Prophet Muhammad and the contribution of Islam to civilization. Extracts, for instance, from the writings of H. A. R. Gibb, T. W. Arnold, Napoleon Bonaparte, Goethe and many others, have been given with complete references of their works.

ISLAM OUR CHOICE is at once interesting and instructive. It brings a better understanding of Islam to Muslims and opens a new vista of Islam before non-Muslims. This is a book that should be widely circulated in all parts of the world.

ISLAM OUR CHOICE also gives a sketch of the life of the Prophet Muhammad and discusses Muslim conception of law, liberty and morality, Muslim civilization in Spain, Islam in the world and a host of other subjects.

(second edition)

Price 12/6

Can be obtained from—
The Manager, The Islamic Review, Woking, Surrey, England
Between Ourselves

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Musa E. Mazzawi, L.L.M. (London), Barrister-at-Law, is a Palestinian Arab. He has lived in England for the last twenty years and has written a great deal on Arab and Islamic affairs and relations with the West. At present he is Lecturer in Public International Law at a London College.

Kemal A. Faruki, a Pakistani Muslim, is a graduate in Social Studies from the University of Southern California and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. He is an Adviser on Law to the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi. He published his Islamic Jurisprudence, Karachi, 1962.

The late ‘Abd al-Haqq ‘Aanan-Adivar was a distinguished Turkish Muslim scholar, a medical doctor, historian of science and Editor-in-Chief of the Turkish revision and translation of the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

M. U. H. Nanji, B.Com., A.C.A. (Chartered Accountant), is a Pakistani Muslim scholar.

Norman Lewis is an American Muslim.

R. A. Jairazbhoy, an Indian Muslim, is a keen student of Muslim architecture and is the author of Art and Cities of Islam, Bombay, India, 1964.

Naadirah Shanan is an Egyptian Muslim lady.

B. A. Misri, B.A., a Pakistani Muslim, is Joint Editor, The Islamic Review, Woking, England.

Abul Hashim, a Pakistani Muslim, is President of the East Pakistan Islamic Academy, Dacca, Pakistan.

Dr. Ahmad ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, an Irani Muslim, is Director, Literacy Corps Publications, Ministry of Education, Tehran, Iran.

The Islamic Review

MAY 1965

53rd YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Editors

ABDUL MAJID, M.A.
BASHIR AHMAD MISRI, B.A.

Contents

The Arabs: Who are their Friends? .............. 3

Islamic Family Law in Pakistan in the Context of Modern Reformist Movements in the World of Islam ...... 5

by Kemal A. Faruki

The Introduction of the Turkish Encyclopaedia of Islam ...... 9

by ‘Abd al-Haqq Adnan-Adivar

Early Muslim Post-Ascetic Developments ............. 13

by M. U. H. Nanji

The Battle of Badr (623 C.E.) ............. 16

by Norman Lewis

Iran’s Way of Fighting Illiteracy ............. 17

by Dr. Ahmad ‘Abd al-Ghaffar

Aspects of Islamic Architecture ............. 19

by R. A. Jairazbhoy

The Muslim Woman and Imaamate ............. 24

by Naadirah Shanan

The Kurdish Struggle for Autonomous Existence ............. 29

by B. A. Misri

The Political Revolution brought about by Enunciation of the Kalimah — There is but one God and Muhammad is God’s Messenger ............. 33

by Abul Hashim

What Our Readers Say ............. 40

The Muslims of Sierra Leone

Book Review

Islam, its Meaning for Modern Man ............. 40

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE ARABS: Who are their Friends?

Why Germany recognized Israel

During February and March this year there were reports that relations between the United Arab Republic and Western Germany were becoming strained as a result of the discovery that Western Germany was secretly supplying arms to Israel. The United Arab Republic had earlier protested to Western Germany about this, and when no satisfactory reply was obtained openly condemned Western Germany and sought to embarrass it by extending an invitation to Herr Ulbricht, the East German Head of State, to pay an official visit to the United Arab Republic. Western Germany was very annoyed at the visit which took place, and in pursuance of its often-proclaimed policy of considering any diplomatic recognition of East Germany as an offence against itself, adopted economic sanctions against the United Arab Republic, and, as a further punitive measure, declared its intention to grant diplomatic recognition to Israel. In retaliation for this, the Arab States, at a meeting of their Foreign Ministers in Cairo, adopted resolutions for the withdrawal of Arab Ambassadors from Bonn, the severing of diplomatic relations with Western Germany, and the proclamation of solidarity with the United Arab Republic by the enforcement of economic sanctions against Western Germany, should it persist in its hostile attitude towards the Arabs and its support for Israel.

This is yet another country to recognize Israel — bringing the total to more than eighty. The Arabs feel sore about this, Israel is their enemy. It occupies territory which belonged, and in law still belongs, to the Arabs who had occupied it for twenty centuries or more. In seizing this territory Israel made more than a million Palestinian Arabs homeless.

Recognition of Israel, after the glaring misdeeds which, in the opinion of the Arabs, Israel has committed, is a misguided act in violation of the principles of justice, and an unfriendly act against the Arabs who were wronged by Israel and by Zionism, the policy that led to the establishment of an alien “State” in Arab land. It may not be difficult to understand why Western Germany has done this. The justification for its acts in the opinion of the man-in-the-street in Western Germany is not only that it is appropriate retaliation for the United Arab Republic’s implied recognition of East Germany (which represents a setback to the cause of Germany’s unification), but that it is proper amends for what Germany under Hitler did to the Jewish people. This is why Western Germany has acted in this manner with the approval of public opinion, and that is why in 1953 it concluded an agreement for the payment to Israel of about £1,000 million as reparations. And far from seeing anything wrong in his Government’s behaviour in its latest move in favour of Israel, the ordinary person in Western Germany views Arab indignation at this policy as unjustifiable interference and meddling by the Arabs in his country’s domestic affairs.

Ignorance of Arab rights

The reason for this attitude is that the Arab point of view has not reached the ordinary public in Western Germany, and there has not been as yet any wide appreciation in Germany or in many other parts of the world of the fact that the Arabs have God-given rights in Palestine which would be prejudiced by any support for Israel, and that there is nothing honest about wronging the Arabs to please Israel, their aggressor.

This analysis of Arab rights against Israel, and of the immoral quality of acts in support of Israel, may be considered by some people to be an over-simplification of the matter. It is not. It is a straightforward assessment of a very straightforward and simple theme. There really could be nothing simpler than the question of the rights and wrongs of the Palestine problem. And it is one of the most unique and frightening phenomena of modern times that this simple problem has been misrepresented and misunderstood on such a very wide scale and that the truth about it has been kept from millions of people throughout the world. People have appeared to tolerate what has happened to Palestine and to the Arabs of Palestine either because they did not know about it or, if they did know, had been duped by the pretexts offered by the potent and clever propaganda of the Zionists and their friends. Thus few people outside the Arab world itself know that the Arabs had lived in Palestine continuously for
almost 2,000 years, and that the Jews left Palestine 2,000 years ago, and that in 1918 the Arabs represented more than 90 per cent of the country's population; that since 1918 Britain, as the mandatory in Palestine, had pursued a policy forcing the Arabs to accept substantial numbers of European Jews as immigrants; that the States which voted at the United Nations General Assembly in 1947 for the partition of Palestine consisted to a large extent of decrepit small powers who were bribed, cajoled or coerced by the United States of America and Zionist pressure groups there to vote for the Zionists; that the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 requesting Israel to allow the return to their homes in Palestine of the Arabs expelled by the Zionists, or to pay compensation to those who did not wish to return, remains unimplemented despite the fact that the General Assembly had solemnly reaffirmed it at every one of its sessions since that date; and, finally, that there are now more than one million Palestinian Arabs rotting in pools of idleness and misery in refugee camps behind artificial frontiers separating them from the land of their fathers. It is also not widely known that the hateful proverbial Jew-baiting and persecution suffered by the Jewish people over many centuries was not committed by the Arabs but by the Christians in the Western world, and that therefore the Arabs have no debts to pay to the Jews and no compensation or amends should be required of them.

**How the Zionists won**

The Zionists — and this is a term designating supporters of Zionism, who may be Jews or Gentiles — won Palestine and defeated the Arabs by two simple devices. One was the weapon of propaganda. The Zionists have natural and keen propagandists for their cause in the many thousands of Jews living in various countries, many of whom are very influential. The Zionists never lacked money or genius for their campaign which has been in progress for well nigh a century. There were full-page advertisements in national newspapers in many parts of the world, particularly in the United States in the 1940's before the partition of Palestine, and afterwards, to promote the Zionist cause and malign the Arabs. The distortion of the truth about the justice of the Arab case in Palestine has been the main pillar of Israel's foreign policy. Many books have been written about Palestine in European languages. If you go to an average English library, for example, and have a look at the Middle East shelf, you will find several books, most of which, if not all, would be written by Zionists and Zionist sympathisers putting forward the Zionist view. The odd and isolated book or two on the Arab case would normally be available only in the bigger libraries, and criticism of the Zionists is hardly ever to be found. When in 1952 Professor George Kirk, an authoritative British historian, wrote a scientifically documented book on the Middle East which incidentally was critical of Zionism, the publishers — the highly respectable Royal Institute of International Affairs in London — withdrew the book from the market because of opposition by the Zionists, and republished an expurgated version. Where the Arabs detected the Zionist propaganda leviathan, and when they did see fit to counter it or minimize it depredations (which unfortunately they did not always do), they sent to battle on their behalf a mere pimply. Arab propaganda in the West, and in the countries where the Zionists have been most powerful, has been either totally inadequate or utterly misguided, or in the hands of lazy and inefficient persons. The writer has prolonged direct experience of this painful fact, and has written about this in *The Islamic Review* and elsewhere. The weapon of propaganda is one of the most powerful in modern times. In the Western democracies, Governments are amenable to public opinion, and if public opinion there were enlightened about Arab rights the Zionists would not have such a smooth run. In most Western countries the word “Arab”, thanks to Zionist propaganda and Hollywood films, conjures up only thoughts of deserts, tents, camels, harems, beggars in the streets and sheikhs with millions of dollars of oil royalties to spend on their selfish pleasures. But nothing could be farther from the truth about the Arab world. And the fact that the wrong idea still lingers on, to the detriment of the Arabs, is in a way a serious indictment of Arab policy in the matter of propaganda. The truth about Arab causes and the Palestine problem in particular should be disseminated far and wide, by every possible device, and for the longest possible period. The facts will come as a surprise to many people who have been blinded or deceived by Zionist lies, and the simple truth about Arab rights will be guaranteed to awaken the conscience of many people the world over. The financial cost of such an operation would not be prohibitive for the Arabs — and certainly the alternative, which would be the irretrievable loss of Arab rights, would be far more costly and painful.

**Exploitation of Arab disunity**

The other reason for the success of the Zionists, and one on which Israel pins its hopes for continued existence and perpetual defiance of Arab rights, is the fact that the Arabs and their friends would not be likely to present a united front in support of Palestine, certainly not to the extent to which world Jewry and Zionist sympathisers have done in support of Israeli claims, and Israeli aggression. Since 1947, in cash alone, £1,500 million has been contributed by Zionist individuals, and hundreds of millions of dollars given to Israel as aid by Western countries. There has been nothing to match this on the Arab or Muslim side. The sad fact about the Arabs is that so far they have not appeared to be fully united on the Palestine issue. At no time has Israel faced the joint armed forces of the Arabs in battle. She faced single armies and defeated single armies one after the other, thereby finally defeating them all. The Arab Governments have also never adopted a joint attitude towards foreign countries in regard to the Palestine cause. Thus, when in 1953 the Egyptian President, General Nguib, wrote to West German industrialists, warning them that the payment by their Government of large sums of money to Israel would lead to the boycott of German goods in the Arab world, the threat was never carried out when the West Germans defied it, and the West Germans may be thinking of this incident now when a similar threat of sanctions is being made against them.

The Arab peoples and Governments, we hope and pray, have learnt their lesson in the past twenty years, and will be realistic and firm in their expression of solidarity with the United Arab Republic and the Palestinian Arabs. Resolutions adopted at two recent Arab summit conferences have affirmed that the relations of the Arab States with foreign States would be regulated on the basis of the latter's attitude towards the Palestine problem. The Arabs should adhere meticulously to this policy. And the least that the Arabs should expect of their brothers and natural friends in the Muslim world is that they should stand alongside them in this matter, whatever the cost. Brotherhood and friendship would otherwise be meaningless. As for foreign peoples and countries generally, the Arabs should realize that justice and conscience are not entirely dead, and that a genuine all-out effort to explain the truth about their rights in Palestine, and the injustice done to them, will be likely to evoke tremendous popular support for them. The Arabs and their just cause, if known, would find friends, and there can then be real hope that the wrong would be righted.

---

*MUSA E. MAZZAWI*

---

Islamic Family Law in Pakistan in the Context of Modern Reformist Movements in the World of Islam

By Kemal A. Faruki

"The tendency has been, in the first stage, for modernists to propose a reform and for conservatives to brand it as heresy; in the second stage, modernists implement the reform in the teeth of conservative hostility or opposition; in the third stage, the conservatives, quietly and unobtrusively, accept the reform themselves; and, finally in the fourth stage, the conservatives assert that the reform was not considered un-Islamic by them and even consider that it is positively desirable."

The importance of family law

The question of ensuring that the Muslims of Pakistan are enabled to live by Islamic law must necessarily concern every Muslim citizen worth the name and anxious to see Pakistan become Islamic in fact as well as in profession. No branch of law assumes greater significance in this great task than family law. However, the assumption is sometimes made that family law is already adequately Islamic and that nothing more is required. It must be remembered that during the period of foreign rule even family law was greatly affected by statutory enactments passed and judicial decisions made and that importance was attached in those times to customary law (regardless of whether it was Islamic or not) and not to Islamic law (regardless of whether it was the prevailing custom or not) on any given question. Additionally, into that customary law had come a considerable amount of matter which was either derived from Pakistan's pre-Islamic past in the sub-continent of India, or was affected adversely by influences from the other and non-Muslim systems, which exist in the sub-continent. What was in force, in fact, in family law in the sub-continent, was what has been described as "Anglo-Muhammadan law".

Nevertheless, the view is sometimes expressed that family law was, at least, partially Islamic and that it would be better to give priority to other branches of law (e.g. penal or commercial) in implementing Islamic ideology which are at present entirely based on foreign statutory or judicial law. This is one of those questions on which it is pointless to attach rigid priorities in which consideration of one excludes the other. All aspects of implementing Islam have to be tackled and in this we should be fully alive to the importance of family law.

The advent of Islam replaces the tribal unity with a unity of believers

In pre-Islamic times the tribe was the basic unit of society. One of the greatest changes wrought by Islam was to replace this tribal unity with a unity of believers which rested securely upon the family as the new social unit. The family is, in Islamic society, the foundation of society and, in particular, the immediate family. It is virtually self-evident that if this immediate family is functioning according to Islamic norms in a healthy manner a vital first step will have been taken to ensuring that the ills in Muslim society are cured.

Where marital relations are Islamic, a great deal of the ills of immorality and licentiousness will have been removed. Even more important, perhaps, Muslim children will grow up in an atmosphere conducive to instilling in them the correct values. These values are well summarized in the single word "character". Education, undoubtedly, has a great deal to do with this character formation in the younger generation, as has religious instruction, but unless this formal education and instruction is strengthened and complemented and, indeed, preceded by the necessary home and family environment, they cannot hope to achieve their objects in evoking character.

There is nothing accidental, therefore, in the fact that perhaps the most detailed regulations of a legal nature to be found in the Qur'an concern family relationships, which are the inescapable foundation on which any real social transformation can alone be based. Nor is it accidental that in recent times many Muslim countries, including Pakistan, have concerned themselves with questions concerning the family and family law. More will be set out later about family law developments in other Muslim countries but, for the present, what is emphasized is the fact that the Islamic revolution we all seek to bring about must concern itself with ascertaining extent to which our family institutions conform to the injunctions of Islam.

The differences of opinion in the world of Islam today

In this examination, differences of opinion can readily be observed which have been brought into focus by the Marriage and Family Laws Commission's Report of 1956 and the resultant Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, in Pakistan. On these changes four main points of view exist: that the statute should be totally repealed; that the statute should remain as it is without any change; that the statute should be modified in partial reversion to the previous status quo; and, finally, that the statute should be modified towards further changes away from the previous status quo. The first and third may be described as conservative while the second and fourth as modernist. There is a fifth view, of minor significance, which holds that all laws should be secularized.
and have no connection with religion but be of general applicability to all the citizens of the State, Muslim and non-Muslim.

Leaving aside the minor group of secularists and considering only the two main cateories, one must recognize that this broad categorization is not altogether satisfactory; there being shades of opinion within each. The terms “conservative” and “modernist” themselves can be misleading. Conservatives want to “conserve” but their opponents would maintain that they are trying to conserve what exists without attempting really to ascertain the extent to which what exists is Islamic or not. Modernists want to “modernize” but would maintain that the charge against them of wanting to “modernize Islam” is totally inaccurate and that, on the contrary, being firmly convinced that Islam is eternal, they want to understand and tackle the problems of the modern age from the Islamic point of view. The term “liberals” is sometimes used to describe the second group. Better still, the two groups might more accurately be described as the “imitators” (or taqlidiyyah) and the “exerters” (or ijtihadiyyah). The imitators or taqlidiyyah believing that the understanding of Islam reached by past generations of Muslims and as fixed in the books written about 1,200 years ago is still eternally correct in its understanding and that all that is left now for us is to imitate them unquestioningly, while the “exerters” or ijtihadiyyah, on the other hand, without questioning the validity of the great medieval textbooks and interpretations for their own times and conditions, maintain that Muslims are never free from the obligation to exert themselves to understand the shari’ah as applicable to the actual conditions of their own particular age and place.

By and large, with the exceptions of a few groups, these differences transcend party differences within Pakistan and, indeed, the differences between the groups in power or supporting those in power and the groups in opposition. On both sides will be found those who could be described as conservatives or “imitators” and modernists or “exerters”. This is extremely important and those who would attempt to make use of conservative-modernist differences in a passing political contest when, in fact, they are not so identifiable, render a great disservice to the cause of making Pakistan Islamic and make the task pointlessly confused. This needless confusion has made a high degree of discernment incumbent on the citizen in evaluating opinions expressed. It may be found, sometimes, that the proposing or opposing of a particular view on an Islamic question is devoid of any substance on merits but is motivated, instead, by any one of the following reasons: a desire to obtain power for its own sake and to discredit without discrimination (for this reason) the policies of those in power; resentment at the challenge to a claimed monopoly of interpretation of Islam with all the prestige and position that would accrue if this monopoly was obtained; fear of a party coming to power which is apprehended to be authoritarian and, even, fascistic; anti-clericalism; a desire to make the impulsive wish father to the thought in ascertaining Islamic norms; a desire to support completely those in power in order to ensure that they remain so.

These types of motives have, clearly, little value in understanding or seeking to understand the bona fide differences which exist between conservative and modernist and, equally, the opposing claims of being orthodox and detecting heterodoxy or heresy in the views of one’s opponents per se should not be taken too seriously. Both conservative and modernist would claim to be the more orthodox, meaning thereby that their understanding of Islam is nearer to the correct one. It would seem more beneficial in examining these differences to remember the saying of the Prophet Muhammad: “The existence of differences of opinion within my community are a blessing.”

These conservative-modernist differences are not an isolated phenomenon, isolated to the last ten or fifteen years or isolated to Pakistan. They have persisted in time and have existed through space.

The differences in time

If these differences are examined in time and, confining oneself to only the last century of Muslim history in the sub-continent of India, certain individuals symbolize the controversy. Syed Ahmad Khan was a modernist of the post-1857 era. It is not easy, now, to comprehend the conditions which existed in the 1860’s here. The Revolt of 1857 had just been crushed and the last remnants of the administrative cadre of the Mughal dynasty were being extinguished. It was apparent to some thinking Muslims of the time that the question of ensuring the survival, let alone prosperity, of the Muslim community in the sub-continent, had entered a critical phase. Syed Ahmad Khan came to the conclusion that a knowledge of the new world that was threatening to engulf everything was essential. He held that it was perfectly Islamic for Muslims to seek to acquire a knowledge of what was misleadingly called “Western” science of technology and to acquire a knowledge of “non-Muslim” languages. In his view, to acquire knowledge, regardless of its source, was not merely permitted by Islam but positively enjoined upon Muslims; not merely desirable, but essential if Muslims were to deal with the threats that faced them. For these modernist...
views Syed Ahmad Khan aroused the bitter opposition of the conservatives of his time. Nevertheless, in due course, his modernism prevailed to the extent that a modern-type Muslim university was established at Aligarh to produce a cadre of Muslims, Islamic in sentiment and at the same time conversant with the modern age.

The debt which later generations of Muslims here owe to Syed Ahmad Khan is not often adequately realized. When the Pakistan movement developed and the State of Pakistan came into existence, its mere survival required that it should be manned by a sufficiency of administrators, soldiers, doctors, teachers, economists, diplomats, scientists and technologists, able to run a State in contemporaneous conditions, to represent it and negotiate on its behalf abroad and able to ensure that in its internal development it was not left behind in the struggle for survival. The people who were able to undertake this gigantic task were products, directly or indirectly, of the Aligarh spirit and, without them, the consequences can well be imagined. The importance of the changes brought about by Syed Ahmad Khan's modernism are better appreciated when it is realized that even the conservative-type theological seminaries themselves, today, are increasingly revising their syllabi in line with the reforms propounded by Syed Ahmad Khan and increasingly introducing the very subjects for which the conservatives of an earlier day had bitterly opposed Syed Ahmad Khan.

A little later, Muhammad Iqbal also came under fire from conservatives, although both conservatives and modernists claim him for themselves now. The main argument used by conservatives in order to claim Iqbal as one of them has been Iqbal's admonition that "It is safer to follow the footsteps of the bygones than the ijtihad of shortsighted scholars." On the other hand, the modernists quote Iqbal's approval of ijtihad today (pp. 148-149 of the 1951 Lahore edition of The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam) in which he called the denial of absolute ijtihad today "exceedingly strange" and which he considered responsible for reducing "the law of Islam practically to a state of immobility". Unless it is held that Iqbal was totally inconsistent, these quotations have to be reconciled into one, namely, that while Iqbal preferred taqlid to the short-sighted ijtihad, he preferred (and considered necessary) sound ijtihad to taqlid. Iqbal's overall position on the controversy between taqlid and ijtihad would appear, therefore, to place him unmistakably on the side of the ijtihadiyyah or modernists.

The differences between conservative and modernist came to the fore again on the question of establishing Pakistan itself. The main portion of the conservatives, symbolized by the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, were opposed to the idea of Pakistan and urged the Muslim masses against following a modernist like Jinnah. His very modernism was used by conservatives as an argument against the Pakistan movement. Yet the Muslim masses chose to reject the advice of the conservatives and to accept and follow Jinnah's leadership.

In Pakistan itself the modernist viewpoint continued to gain, politically, socially and in many other ways. There is now a general acceptance of a woman's right to vote and to participate in many activities, the search for knowledge from everywhere in the world continues and Pakistan is a fully active participant in the many activities of the family of nations of the world. Indeed, it would be interesting to ascertain how many children of conservative theologians themselves are now acquiring modern education.

The difference in space

If this conservative-modernist difference is examined in terms of space, i.e., throughout the Muslim world, it will be found that the same trend towards Islamic modernism is taking place, virtually everywhere. An extreme secular reaction against conservatism took place in Turkey after 1923 but there are signs that this extreme development may return to modernism within the framework of Islamic thought. In any case, it is a misapprehension about Turkish developments to think that anti-conservatism was solely the work of Kamal Ataturk and that, prior to his time, when the Ottoman empire was ruled by a Sultan-Caliph, an unalloyed conservative interpretation of Islam held unchallenged sway. This is not the case. The process of changing and developing Islamic law from its classical interpretation to meet the challenges from the rest of the world, notably the West, began, long before Ataturk, by the Ottoman Sultan-Caliphs themselves. The reformist movement in law began with Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and was followed by the Tanzimat legislation of his successor, 'Abdulmajid (1838-1861), which was anti-taqlid and modernist in nature, for example, in the 1850 Code of Commerce. The Meijelle or Ottoman Civil Code of 1877 contained further departures from taqlid in its changes regarding the rules of evidence and the law of obligations. Finally, there was the Ottoman Law of Family Rights of 1917, which continued to be applied, after the end of the Ottoman
empire, in Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine and the then Trans-jordan. The fact of the matter is that the modernist developments in Turkey, even under the Sultans and when the Caliphate was at Istanbul, were extensive and the Young Turk movement which preceded Kamalism shows how deep-seated has been the Turkish historical trend towards modernism and against conservatism.

Without going into the history of anti-conservatism and modernism in other Muslim countries, it will suffice for our purposes to enumerate a few of the developments, at random, which have taken place in the field of Islamic law. A new civil code came into existence in the Lebanon in 1932, in Syria in 1949 and in Iraq in 1953. Family law was the subject of Islamic modernist change in Egypt by Acts 25 of 1920 and 25 of 1929 and 75 of 1931; a further draft code of Personal Status having been completed in 1962 there. Polygamy has been subject to regulation in Syria in 1953, Tunisia (prohibited) in 1956 and Iraq in 1959. Inheritance laws have been the subject of modernist developments in Egypt by Act 77 of 1943 and 71 of 1964 and in Tunisia in 1959, while waqfs had been affected in Egypt in 1946, in the Lebanon in 1947, in Syria in 1949 and in Tunisia in 1956. Similar changes have occurred in Morocco, notably by the Mudawwannah of 1957 and 1958 and in Iran, notably in the legislation between 1928 and 1938.

Even such countries as Su'udi Arabia and Afghanistan have entered the path of modernist times. Thus, slavery has been declared illegal in Su'udi Arabia during the last year and the veil and seclusion of women is fast disappearing from Afghanistan. The Afghan Queen, for example, has taken to appearing unveiled in public with the monarch. Islamic modernism, in short, is an ever-growing force in even the remotest areas of the Muslim world.

The tendency has been, in the first stage, for modernists to propose a reform and for conservatives to brand it as heresy; in the second stage, modernists implement the reform in the teeth of conservative hostility or opposition; in the third stage, the conservatives, quietly and unobtrusively, accept the reform themselves; and, finally, in the fourth stage, the conservatives assert that the reform was not considered un-Islamic by them and even consider that it is positively desirable.

The developments in Pakistan, therefore, must be seen in the context of Pakistan's own past and developments taking place on similar lines in the rest of the Muslim world. These developments unmistakably point towards the fact that in the protracted controversy between whether imitation or exertion is more Islamic today, the trend has been increasingly towards exertion in seeking to find out the nature of Islam's injunctions as applicable to the concrete situations in which Muslims find themselves today, however much the resultant interpretations of Islam may be distinguishable from the interpretations of medieval times. (For ease of reference, a list is given of some modernist legal developments in the rest of the Muslim world in Table “A”.)

The theory of Islamic modernism

Superficially, it is true, there is attractiveness in thinking that there is religious merit in not merely respecting the great Muslims of the past and their interpretations, but in obediently imitating them. But respect differs from veneration and veneration is very close to idolization. The great danger which many Islamic modernists in Pakistan detect in the theory of such an imitative approach is that to regard past interpreta-

tions of the shari'ah by great (but human) Muslims of the past as being infallibly and permanently correct, is nothing less than idolizing those past generations of Muslims and their wisdom in a way which contains a real danger of the very idolatry against which the Qur'an is constantly warning Muslims. The decisive test, in practice, between justly respecting the great early, classical and medieval jurists and scholars, on the one hand, and idolizing them, on the other hand, can only lie in whether one holds that constant exertion is essential to understanding the commands of God in a given situation or whether one holds that one must be bound without question to the interpretations of the past and must only imitate them.

In this difference of approach towards interpretation, it is essential to recognize that although the Islamic shari'ah is one, the interpretations of the shari'ah (in fiqh) are much more than one; hence the different schools of law, all of which are considered equally orthodox by classical theory itself. Moreover, the rules of the fiqh are means of seeking to apply the norms of the shari'ah in actual practice and have, therefore, taken into account the actual and differing environments that were encountered (e.g. between the Hijaz and Kufah).

On these questions it is but natural that differences of opinion have been expressed and will continue to be expressed. Some may maintain that there is no difference between the shari'ah and the fiqh, notwithstanding the fact that there is but one shari'ah for Muslims but numerous fiqh interpretations in different schools of law, and to dismiss the differences between the classical schools as being minor cannot alter the fact that the very existence of these different interpretations shows that there is a difference in kind and not merely degree between the shari'ah and the fiqh.

It is possible that taqâdîm and ijtihâd will continue to have their adherents with all the latter-day variations of each that exist. Some may claim to believe in taqâdîm but assert the right of selecting, takhayyur, between the decisions of past fuqahâ. (experts in law). Others might try to make a patch work, ta'lliql, of past decisions from different schools and claim to be mujâllîdîn even while adopting minority opinions from another school or even the isolated opinion of a single jurist of the past, however unknown he might have been in his time. Others may believe in the necessity of ijtihâd, but only of a limited nature and of different degrees of limitation.

| TABLE A1 |
| EXAMPLES OF ISLAMIC LEGAL MODERNISM OUTSIDE PAKISTAN |
| OTTOMAN TURKEY: Tanzimat Legislation of 1839-61; Mejelle (1877); Law of Family Rights (1917). |
| IRAQ: Civil Code (1928 onwards and 1935 onwards). |
| THE LEBANON: Family Law (1917); Evidence (1943); waqfs (1947). |
| SYRIA: Family Law (1917); Civil Code (1949); waqfs (1949); Personal Status (1953). |
| IRAQ: Civil Code (1953); Personal Status (1959 and 1963). |
| EGYPT: Family Law (1920, 1929, 1931); courts (1931, 1955); Inheritance and Legacies (1943, 1946); waqfs (1946, 1952); draft Code of Personal Status (1962). |
| LEBANON: Inheritance (1945); Marriage (1960). |
| TUNISIA: Family Law (1956); waqfs (1956); Inheritance (1959). |
| MOROCCO: Guardianship (1938); Personal Status and Inheritance (1957, 1958). |

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

(Translated from the Turkish by Dr. Howard Reed)

Turkology

By ‘Abd al-Haqq Adnan-Adivar

Turkology begins with the first scientific researches on
the Yakut language carried out by Boehltingk in 1851. Later
on, the Hungarian scholar Armin Vambéry published a part
of the Kutadgu Bilig, and his studies on the Cagatay dialect
and on the history of Central Asia in 1870. In 1888 Geza
Kuun published the Codex Cumanicus, mentioned above,
while in Russia, W. Radlov (1837-1918) collected basic texts
of different Turkish dialects, studied Turkish phonetics and
laid the foundation of Turkology with his great dictionary
of Turkish dialects. He also produced several monographs on
old Turkish. We must also mention the Dane, Vilhelm Thomsen,
who found the key to the Orkhon inscriptions and who
made the first adequate translations and studies on them.
Katanov, who was of Altay Turkish origin and professor of
Turkish language in the University of Kazan, prepared mono-
graphs for a comparative grammar of the Turkish dialects.
W. Barthold (1869-1930) distinguished himself, especially in
the history of Central Asia, by his research and new inter-
pretations based on original sources.

At the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century
studies on Eastern Turkestan assumed greater importance and
the German von le Coq conducted excavations in Eastern
Turkestan and produced monographs on the Turkish remains
of the period between the 8th and 12th centuries, which he
also took steps to preserve. F. W. K. Müller compared the old
Turkish texts with Chinese, Sanskrit and other texts for the
first time, published these findings and thus gave the most
scientific orientation to old Turkish studies. In France, P.
 Pelliot, Professor at the Collège de France, made investiga-
tions in the Chinese sources which are of interest to Turkish
studies. W. Bang-Kaup (1869-1934), some of whose students
are in our midst, established the comparative study of the
Turkish dialects, published the old Turkish texts in a most
adequate form and thus laid the foundations of research along
these lines. We must also mention J. A. Mordtmann in Ger-
many, J. J. Duyv, the director of the École des Langues
Oriентales Vivantes in Paris and the author of the Grammaire
de la Langue Turque (dialecte Osmanli), and T. Kowalski,
who made several monographic studies on the Turkish
language and especially on the Anatolian and Balkan dialects
of Turkish. In Italy, the Turkological studies made by Bonelli
of the Instituto (Universitario) Oriental in Naples, are also
worthy of mention.¹

Some of the learned Societies founded in European countries
for the study of Asiatic languages and civilizations

On the other hand, societies to bring scholars into con-
tact with each other and to facilitate the publication of their
works began to be founded in Europe and Asia. The interest
in the languages and civilization of India which started with
the establishment of British rule in India in the 18th century
led to the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784)
by Sir William Jones. The Dutch also found an Asiatic
Society in Batavia. In Europe, the Société Asiatique was
founded in Paris in 1822, the Royal Asiatic Society in England
in 1823, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Germany
in 1844, and Asiatic societies were founded in Italy, in
Florence in 1886 and subsequently in Rome and Naples.
These societies each publish journals which contain the pro-
cedings of the societies and worthwhile articles by member

¹ We must note, in this connection, the Grammar of the Turkish
Language, written in England by an amateur named A. Lumley
Davids, although it has no scientific importance. The author was
18 years old when he wrote it for presentation to Mahmud II. If
he had not died of cholera in his 21st year (1832) he might have
become a learned Turkish specialist. The book was translated into
French by his mother (1836) after the author's death, and this time
it was presented to the Sultan 'Abdul Majid. However, during the
Crimean War, interest in the Turks had increased among the British,
and while efforts were made to teach Turkish to the English and
English to the Turks, more serious studies were also begun. As a
result of these endeavours a most worthy scholar named J. Red-
house, who had lived in Turkey for many years and had mastered
Arabic, Persian and Turkish, produced an English-Turkish diction-
ary of 43,000 words in 1884, and in 1890 a Turkish-English diction-
ary of 93,000 words. This latter work was based on the words
collected from our old history books and divans and had been
partially corrected by Ahmed Vefik Pasha. It is an extremely
valuable Turkish-English dictionary which we still use today.

* For the first instalment of this article see The Islamic Review for
April 1965.
scholars. Besides these journals, the *Türkische Bibliothek* published in Germany after 1904, and the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* published after 1921 are famed especially for their contributions within the field of Turkological studies. Among these aforementioned societies, the Central Asian and Far Eastern Societies founded as a result of the resolutions adopted at the Orientalists Congress in Rome (1899) and in Hamburg (1902) interest us particularly. The branches of these societies in St. Petersburg and in Budapest have been the most active, and in the years 1899 to 1922 they published the most valuable Turkological review, *Keleti Szemle—La Revue Orientale*.

One of the tasks undertaken by these institutions and societies has been the printing and publication of important manuscripts which had lain on the shelves of the libraries of the Orient for years. The publication of these works did not consist of simply taking a manuscript from a library and giving it to the printing press, but involved, in so far as possible, the editing and comparison of various extant manuscript copies, their correction and the indication of the differences (varian
te) between each copy, a procedure whose necessity and usefulness has only been appreciated in the East in very recent times.

Besides these organizations, various institutes of archaeology founded by the French and the Germans in various countries of the Orient have also been instrumental in the progress of Oriental studies.

We have thus very briefly reviewed the institutions for oriental studies and given a selection of the most distinguished Western orientalists of the 19th century and of our own time. It must be added here that it was decided to convene the first International Congress of Orientalists in 1873, in order to make the research carried out by various European schools and societies for Oriental studies known to the world and to facilitate the discussion of various questions raised by these groups. Since that year the International Congresses of Orientalists have continued to meet once every three years in a European city and the proceedings of the meetings have been published in several volumes.

**European Orientalism today**

After this historical résumé, we may now attempt to improve upon the definition of the term orientalism which we had found inadequate at the beginning of this article and we may say that present-day orientalism is an organic whole which is composed of the knowledge derived from the oriental sources concerning the language, religion, culture, history, geography, ethnography, literature and arts of the Orient. In this definition the term Orient is not clear. In orientalism, when we say the Orient, we mean the whole area stretching from the Near East to the Far East and the countries of the north and centre of Africa. It is true that various disciplines concerning the ancient peoples living in this area (for example, the peoples of Egypt, Mesopotamia and India) have one by one left the framework of orientalism and each has become a distinct specialized field of investigation. In addition to this, the history of science, which has established itself in the last thirty years, is taking unto itself the history of "Science written in Arabic" as one of its very important sections, and thus research on the history of science (in the Orient) has divorced itself from the field of orientalism and has moved entirely into the institutes dealing with the history of science.

If we look at the foregoing details objectively, we have to admit that, although the missionary spirit among the orientalists has almost disappeared, the colonial movement which has been established in recent centuries has been a contributory factor in the progress of orientalism. It is obvious that the European schools and institutes of oriental studies which we mentioned above have also been most useful in training officials for the foreign offices. But we must distinguish those who are trained in these institutions for careers in the colonial and foreign services from those who are trained for academic careers and for straightforward scientific purposes. It would be unfair to attribute ulterior motives such as missionary, colonialistic and diplomatic objectives to the orientalist scholars who are solely concerned with science. We must not continue without noting, moreover, that one of the reasons for the recent interest shown in oriental studies throughout the West, including the U.S.A., is the fact that the East is still comparatively virgin soil and that it is easier to find subjects for original research in this area.

Although our intellectual life had directly inherited the science produced in Arabic and thus had naturally been
interested, from the beginning, in Islamic studies, which constitute a part of oriental studies, the works done in this field cannot be regarded as oriental studies (in the modern sense). It is true that in the beginning rational and traditional sciences were taught in the Turkish Medreses in the Arabic language; but later these teachings were confined only to language. Fiqh and Kalâm. With a few exceptions, the majority of the works produced were confined to commentaries, exegesis, marginal notes and eventually to Turkish translations.

Turkological studies, on the other hand, started only very recently (in Turkey). The Turkish Heart (Türk Ojagı), founded after the constitutional régime (1908) had started the movement of Turkism in Turkey. The leaders of this movement attempted to make the origins of a kind of scientific Turkism begin with Ahmed Vefik Pasha, Shinasi, ‘Ali Suavi and even Mustafa Jaleleddin Pasha, and made an effort to trace it back into an even earlier period as far as possible, basing their claims on a few books and articles written during the Tanzimat period (circa 1826-1876) on the Eastern Turks, the Turkish dialects and on the purification of the language. After the Balkan wars, beside this romantic Turkish movement, we see the rise, under the leadership of Ziya Gokalp, of a sociological Turkish which was, in fact, the ideology of the movement. Before the constitutional revolution a few Turkological studies utilizing the works of the European orientalists had been made by Najib Asim, Veled Chelebi Izbudak and their associates, who worked in connection with the daily paper Ikdam, edited by the late Ahmed Jawdet. Some researches which might conceivably have been included within the framework of Turkology were also continued after the constitutional revolution (1908). However, none of these can be regarded as scientific Turkological studies in a systematic sense. It was only through the efforts and the works of Fu’¨aad Koprulu, who became a contributor to the Encyclopedia of Islam on the strength of his valuable essays on the history of Turkish literature, that truly scientific Turkological studies, utilizing original sources and documents, were established in the University of Istanbul, and that, eventually, in 1924, the Institute of Turkology was founded. Subsequently, the Türkiyat Mejmuaesi began to be published. This Institute has taken its own special place among the similar institutions of Europe thanks to the efforts and publications of the scholars who are collaborating with us today.

Some of the encyclopaedias published in Turkey

Before we give some information regarding the editing of the Encyclopaedia of Islam and its (Turkish) translation, it is only fair to speak of the previous attempts to publish encyclopaedias in our country. Before we mention the works and the attempts which will directly interest us in this connection, it suffices to remind the reader of the existence of the biographies of the ‘ulama, the tezkere’s of the poets, the genealogies of the Muslim sheikhs and leaders, the hadith’s of the viziers, the mawzu’at al-Uhum which only list the main topics and give bibliographies of the sciences, the works which dealt with the terminologies of zoology, botany and geography and in most cases bore titles such as ‘Ajwáb al-Makhluqat, or Khareetat al-A’jaa’ib, or their translations. Although these works cannot be regarded as encyclopedia in the modern sense, they can still be taken as of the same nature. As a matter of fact, the method of alphabetical arrangement of the subjects of the modern encyclopaedias had its origin in the Orient. We do not need to mention these books one by one since the titles of most of them will be encountered frequently in the bibliographical notes of this Encyclopaedia.

In Turkey, more modern forms of such works began to appear in the 19th century. A work entitled Lughat-i Tarikhiye ve Jogran by Ahmad Rifat Efendi, a member of the (Ottoman) Council of Accounts (Divani Mukhabbat) had been completed in 1299 A.H. (1883 C.E.) and the last of its seven volumes appeared in 1300 (1884 C.E.). In spite of its title, this work contained several articles on physics, chemistry, and other sciences, in addition to history and geography and, therefore, it is a small encyclopaedia. This work, produced by its author singly, by utilizing European sources, is an important contribution for his time, in spite of its many shortcomings. Siyilli-i Uthmani, a biographical dictionary of distinguished Ottomans, in four volumes, compiled by Mehmed Süreyya, a member of the (Ottoman) Grand Council of Education, appeared in 1308 (1891 C.E.). This work, which had been prepared by utilizing histories, old tezkere, genealogies of the sheikhs, the books of the dervish orders and even tombstones, is a useful book. In Beirut, an encyclopaedia in its real sense started to be published in 1876 under the title of Da‘irat al-Ma‘arif by Butrus al-Bustani, who dedicated his work to Murad V. The seventh and eighth volumes of this encyclopaedia were published by the author’s son Saalim al-Bustani and the remaining volumes by his other sons and his relative Sulaymaan al-Bustani, who was a member of the Ottoman senate.

Shemseddin Sami

Shemseddin Sami, of whom we can always be proud, had started his Dictionary of Proper Names (Qaamus al-A‘laam), which was the best of its kind, in 1306 A.H. (1888 C.E.). This great work, consisting of six volumes and still used by our teachers and students today, contains biographical and geographical articles. The articles concerning the Orient and Islam were prepared after study based directly on the original Oriental sources. Shemseddin Sami wrote in his Introduction: "It must not be forgotten in this connection that the importance of certain matters varies according to the Arab, or Turkish and Ottoman point of view. . . . A certain well in a corner of Najd, or hill in the Dahna, or a valley in the Tihama, mentioned simply because they are found in a poem of Imru‘al-Qays or Mutanabbi, do not mean much to us. Since we come across many matters in the Arabic books which have no significance for us from the point of view of time and place, we can only collect information from the Arabic works by means of a selective process." We may infer from this that the author did not prepare his work simply by compiling or translating, but that he thought over the relative importance of the subjects and improved upon his sources. Therefore, Qaamus al-A‘laam, while it is a general dictionary of history and geography, also forms the nucleus of an encyclopaedia of the Orient or of the Orient. Criticisms to be leveled against its shortcomings must be made bearing in mind the fact of ‘Abd al-Hameed II’s powerful censorship system under which it was published. Qaamus al-A‘laam was thus the first encyclopedic dictionary of the East and West published in Turkey in a European sense. In this connection we commemorate the authors great name with respect and affection.

Emrullah Efendi

Again, before the constitutional revolution, a Muhit al-Ma‘arif (Encyclopedia) began to appear in 1318 A.H. (1900 C.E.) under the editorship of Emrullah Efendi, the first professor of philosophy in the University of Istanbul. The work was published on behalf of Ahmed Jawdet, the editor of Ikdam (newspaper), but only its first volume, which ended with the article on Asur Naci Hep‘al, appeared. Although the authors’ names appeared under some of the articles, we do not know exactly who else collaborated with Emrullah Efendi. A hard-working and scrupulous investigator, Emrullah Efendi preferred to show a wide degree of erudition in this work. The
articles on positive sciences and on European history and geography were based on previously published European encyclopedias and the articles on the East, Islam and the Turks were written or commissioned entirely anew utilizing original sources. The authors went to the sources in the preparation and composition of these articles and this shows that they gave importance to independent writing rather than to mere translation, and this adds credit to the work. The *Muhit al-Ma'aarif* was to have been a general encyclopedia in the precise sense of the word; that is, it was not to be confined only to history and geography, but it was to include material on all the sciences. Instead of continuing the publication of the book after the constitutional revolution, this first volume was re-published in 1328 A.H. (1910 C.E.) under the title of *Yeni Muhit al-Ma'aarif* (New Encyclopedia) in order to add certain portions which had not been saved from the censor during the tyrannical period of 'Abd al-Hamed II. But this second edition is no better than the first from the point of view of print. It must be admitted that certain articles of this *Muhit al-Ma'aarif* relating to Ottoman Turkey and even to the Islamic world are more comprehensive than the corresponding articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam although the former remained incomplete. The efforts of Emrullah Efendi to achieve this work with the help of his few associates is a contribution to Turkish intellectual life that should be remembered with admiration and appreciation.

‘Ali Reshad

In addition, after the constitutional revolution, two volumes of an illustrated encyclopedia entitled *Yeni Do‘arat al-Ma‘aarif* were published in 1332-1333 A.H. (1913-15 C.E.) under the editorship of ‘Ali Reshad, ‘Ali Seydi, Mehmed ‘Izet and A. Feuillet, professor in the Galatasaray Lycée. In contrast to the *Muhit al-Ma‘aarif*, this work depended primarily upon European sources and especially on the Larousse *Encyclopédia* for its material. In the articles relating to Islam and the Turks no special effort was made to refer to the original sources. However, under the term *Istishrak*, probably for the first time in Turkey, there was given a comprehensive account of orientalism. It must be added that this work did not only contain proper names and scientific subjects, but it was at the same time a dictionary. It is our duty to remember the authors of this great endeavour which also remained incomplete.

A short history of the Encyclopedia of Islam

The *Encyclopedia of Islam* was begun in 1908 by the well-known publisher E. J. Brill in Leyden, which is the centre of orientalism in Holland, and probably in the whole world. The work, which began to be published under the editorship of the scholars whose names appear on the title page, occupies 5,312 pages with its appendices. Its publication costs were met by the International Union of Academies and by certain rich European and American friends of Islam. In the organization of the work the topics were first selected in consultation with specialists and then, after the final selection had been made, were allocated to various scholars. The contributors to the work, which appeared simultaneously in German, French and English editions, were German, French, English, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Turkish and Arab scholars. The majority of the articles were written by the German scholars or were written originally in the German language — a fact which we want to mention in advance in order to explain the course which we followed in (our) translation, as we shall point out below.

If we want to judge the degree of perfection or the shortcomings of the work we may say that, being a work on historical, geographical and ethnographic subjects and dealing with abstract concepts relating to Islamic *fihq*, *kalām*, philosophy and science, and the mores and customs of the Muslims, it has been prepared by men whose competence and authority are beyond doubt in the majority of cases, and thus is a sufficient guarantee to make it a dependable reference book on the whole. We must add that every article in such a grand work could not be of equal value. However, it cannot be denied that in the selection of the contributors the editors were sometimes deceived by false names. Another point of criticism is the fact that, as the work was undertaken internationally, and as certain subjects were assigned to the specialists who came from countries having colonial relations with the particular areas discussed in their articles, they tended to overstress their own topics and, moreover, a certain lack of balance in the whole of the work resulted from the proximity of some writers who were not accustomed to write encyclopaedic articles. For example, an article on Morocco or North Africa assigned to a French orientalist unnecessarily occupies several columns, whereas another article on a country which has been more important in world history occupies only half a column. However, this disproportion or the inclusion of certain articles which do not seem very essential to us does not at all diminish the value of the work. On this point, we do not share Shemseddin Saami’s opinion, mentioned above, and believe that in science even apparently irrelevant and superfluous knowledge will ultimately prove of value.

It may also be seen that there are some irregularities and errors in the articles themselves. It was for this reason that a fifth, supplementary, volume was added to the four-volume work and, although some errors and omissions were corrected, the work has not yet been brought to complete perfection. Many names were entirely forgotten, especially in the preparation of the topical cards. To give an example of the most noteworthy of these omissions we merely mention Fakhr al-Din Razi, a great scientist, and Abu-l-Qasim al-Zahrawi, the greatest physician of the Middle Ages. Another shortcoming of the work is seen in the lack of exactitude in the translations made from one of the three languages to another. In the course of our translation we have observed that sometimes the original translations made from German and English into French or from French to German and English have proved to be unreliable. For this reason we decided to make the Turkish translations directly from the language in which the various articles were originally written.

Besides these, the passage of time, which is beyond the control of neither of the editors of the *Encyclopedia* but of every human being, has left certain deposits on the pages of the work. Most of the outdated articles are those on history and geography. The data given in this work, whose first fascicule appeared in 1908, on the political geography or population of a country cannot be expected to correspond to present-day conditions. It is true that in the supplementary volume, which appeared in 1938, some of these changes were corrected and the work was brought up to date, but still these corrections are far from being adequate. In this connection, we must remember that the *Encyclopedia* was published between 1908 and 1938, that is, over a period of thirty years, and that, in the interval, World War I had intervened. The *Encyclopedia* was published in a period longer than was originally anticipated. Although it was prepared by many contributors, in 1908 only three fascicules consisting of 420 pages and in 1909 only one fascicule could be published. Finally, in 1912 five fascicules were published, and this constituted a record. That this slowness was due not simply to actual writing, but to composition and printing delays, has been borne out by our own experiences.
Early Muslim Post-Ascetic Developments

By M. U. H. Nanji

The causes that generated mystic ecstasy amongst early Muslims

The initial stage of Sufism soon ran itself out. Islam started spreading and in the process it came in contact with many alien and speculative influences. Traditional ideas underwent a radical change in the eighth century under men like Ma'mun (d. 833 C.E.), who encouraged free discussion of religion by scholars of varying shades of religious views. As a result, the Muslims tried to mould their own faith in the pattern of these external forces. Asceticism was no longer accepted as the last stage from where to take a plunge into the mysteries of the inner vision of truth; instead, it became the starting point for a long and weary road leading to the goal of pantheism.

Some writers have been tempted to adduce the birth of mysticism amongst Muslims to Syrio-Christian and Buddhist-Persian influences. But the eminent German research student Von Kremer is of opinion that although the current of mysticism runs contrary to the teachings of the Qur'an it is still in the main an “Arab phenomenon” of localized origin, free from the taint of foreign influences. According to Von Kremer, it is in the very nature of the Arab to gravitate towards mysticism. He says: “The Arab is nervous, easily aroused, a visionary, superstitious and therefore in the religious connection very sensitive.” This conclusion is evidently over-stretched, for a generalization of this type about Arab nature cannot either be adequately proved or universally accepted. Arab indifference to mysticism is reflected in the fact that Sufism first made its appearance in the midst of the Persians and was received, if at all, in Arabia with a certain amount of hostility.

What then were the causes which generated ecstasy amongst Muslims in the first century A.H. (7th century C.E.)? To Von Kremer it would appear that a neurotic state is generated in the person after physical exhaustion resulting from excessive prayers to God, and this ecstasy easily transforms itself into mysticism. According to him the prescription of five canonical prayers in Islam, the beckoning reverberations of the Mu’azzin’s call, the holding of the morning and night prayers in the quiet and dark hours of the day, the pious-looking row upon row of devotees in the mosque, the supreme grandeur of the Arabic texts recited by the Imam in an atmosphere saturated with awesome silence, all these combined to produce extraordinary religious fervour and maintained the nerves of the Muslim ascetics at a tense pitch.

Other contributory factors also stated in this context were the austere Muslim practice of I'tikaaf: the whole nights spent by many Muslims in reciting the Holy Qur'an, the nightly supererogatory prayers running into as many as 500 in a night prayed by some devout Muslims, the lengthy dhikrs.

1 Von Kremer. Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams.
2 The ten day period of seclusion and silence spent in a mosque during the last ten days of the month of Ramadhan.
3 Dhikr, an Arabic word borrowed from the Persians, means “remembrance of God” by certain set words and phrases and sentences.
4 The Islamic Quarterly, London, Vols. Nos. 3 and 4, p. 120.
the pantheistic philosophy built its foundations on the abstract from what is heretical by the help of their personal experience, notions of love, reality, unity, light, knowledge, etc. In the view of the pantheists, the transcendent God ceased to exist and was replaced by an immanent God, who is Omnresent and whose throne is more in the human heart than in the heaven of heavens. To them God is "not the Lord of His slaves but the Father of His children; not a judge meting out stern justice to the sinners and extending His mercy to those who avert His wrath by repentance, humility and unceasing works of devotion, but a God of Love rather than of Fear". There is an instinctive craving in the human mind of direct indulgence of the soul through God's own light; to this end God was reckoned to be everywhere. "He is the light of the heavens and of the earth, a Being who works in the world and in the soul of man." The element of fear in man's mind in relation to His God was supposed to be creating a gulf between Him and His creation, and it was therefore cast aside; its place was taken up by a direct quest for His love and attainment of closer mystic relations with Him. In this, the later Sufis were at variance with the orthodox viewpoint which emphasized the transcendent aspect of the Creator. There is thus a wide degree of divergence between the attitude of individual Sufis towards Islam. As we have seen earlier, some of them acknowledged God and His prophet with deep conviction, whereas others, while acknowledging God, recognized the Prophet and his religion with feelings of mental reservation. These latter tried to distinguish what is religious and intuitive knowledge. Creeds and catechism counted for nothing in the estimation of some of the Sufis. They were not much concerned with these, because they felt that they were in possession of light and guidance directly derived from God. They used to study the Qur'an with devotion and tried to get light from the hidden meaning of its verses. This is called Isinhat—a kind of intuitive deduction by which Divine knowledge was revealed into their hearts. The attitude of the Sufis towards religious orthodoxy is rather variable. Some of them had been quite orthodox, many others were hardly Muslims from the orthodox point of view and others were Muslims by fashion only.5

As a rule, the Muslims who were attracted towards pantheism were those who could not agree to the anthropomorphic representation of God in the Qur'an and the conservative belief of perpetuation of an earth-like life in the hereafter! Orthodox opinion in Islam tends to accept the facts of paradise as literal and not allegorical. If this be so, the idealistic Sufi is not reconciled to the materialistic outlook of such a doctrine. Maqdisi in his Kashf al-Aṣʿaar (Revelation of Secrets) describes this state of the Sufi in the following words: "The blessed were offered the Muslim paradise, but when they reached it they complained, 'What! Even here, as on earth, all they do is eat and drink? When will the devout soul be in a state completely to give itself over to the object of its devotion? When will it reach that honour for which it so zealously strives? For our deeds in the world we desire only God, we desire to possess only God'."

---

5 S. Rahman, An Introduction of Philosophy.

---

Ma'ruf al-Karkhi

Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 200 A.H.—815 C.E.) was another noted saint and mystic of the Baghdad school whose tomb on the banks of the Tigris near Baghdad is still venerated by many pilgrims. Reportedly a Christian by birth, he, along with his parents, turned Muslim possibly at the hands of the Shi'i Imam 'Ali Ibn Musa al-Rida'. Ma'ruf discipled himself to Daawud Taa'iyy and produced a famous pupil in Sari Saqati. Amongst his sayings, the following deserve special mention: "Love is not to be learned from men; it is a gift of God and comes of His grace"; "The saints are known by three signs: their cares are for God, their business is in God, and their flight is unto God"; "Sufism consists in grasping the realities (Haqa'iq) and renouncing that which is in the hands of created being."6

Dhu 'l-Nun Misri

Another celebrated mystic who lived contemporaneously with al-Muhaasabi was Dhu 'l-Nun Misri (the Egyptian). Not much is known about him except that he lived in Cairo, from whence he was hounded out to Baghdad and imprisoned for opposing the Mu'tazilites. Orthodoxy accused him of heresy for introducing the elements of speculation and free thought in religion as, e.g., his advising an ascetic friend of his to avoid the ritual of prayer. However, the Caliph Mutawakkil (d. 861 C.E.) acquitted him on hearing his lengthy exposition on piety delivered at the time of his self-defence. He died at Giza near Cairo in 245 A.H. (859 C.E.).

6 A Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam.

---

**THE ISLAMIC REVIEW**

---

7 Jaami in Nafhatu 'I-Urs.

8 His Taritib al-Ahwaal wa 'I-Maqamaat has defined the order of the mystical states and stations.
grown around his person. He was spoken of as an authority on magic, a renowned alchemist, one conversant with the secrets of the hieroglyphs and a wit steeped in the hermetic wisdom. Many skilled epigrams are attributed to him, such as, “Make thyself dead during the days of thy lifetime, that thou mayest live among the dead when thou art gone”; “There are two sorts of repentance, the repentance of conversion and the repentance of shame. The former is simply repentance through fear of God’s punishment and the latter is repentance through shame at God’s mercy.”

Like Rabi‘ah, Dhu ’l-Nun also wrote poems surcharged with the intense emotions of an ardent lover. The following verses quoted by the renowned Professor A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism* will illustrate the point:

“I die, and yet not dies in me
The ardour of my love for Thee,
Nor hath Thy Love, my only goal,
Assuaged the fever of my soul.

To Thee alone my spirit cries;
In Thee my whole ambition lies,
And still Thy Wealth is far above
The poverty of my small love.

I turn to Thee in my request,
And seek in Thee my final rest;
To Thee my loud lament is brought,
Thou dweltest in my secret thought.

However long my sickness be,
This wearisome infirmity,
Never to men will I declare
The burden Thou hast made me bear.

To Thee alone is manifest
The heavy labour of my breast,
Else never kin nor neighbours know
The brimming measure of my woe.

A fever burns below my heart
And ravages my every part;
It hath destroyed my strength and stay,
And smouldered all my soul away.

Guidest Thou not upon the road
The rider wearied by his load,
Delivering from the steepes of death
The traveller as he wandereth?

Didst Thou not light a Beacon too
For them that found the Guidance true
But carried not within their hand
The faintest glimmer of its brand?

O then to me Thy Favour give
That, so attended, I may live,
And overwhelm with ease from Thee
The rigour of my poverty.”

During the Caliphate of Mutawakkil there appeared another mystic, one Khwaja Hasan Sirri al-Saqata (d. 257 A.H. — 870 C.E.), a disciple of Maruf al-Karkhi, who, according to *Tawhid* from a theological angle and gave a systematic exposition of the Sufi terms *Maqamat* (Stations) and *Ahwal* (States). Saqati, a pedlar (*sagat farosh*) of Baghdad, amazed everyone by his unique acts. It is said, for instance, that during the span of seventy years he did not lie down in a bed even once. His nephew and pupil Junayd had the greatest regard for him.

*(To be continued)*

9 Abu Nu‘aym’s *Hilyah*.
10 However, Professor Macdonald in his *Development of Muslim Theology* (p. 175) says: “To (Sirri) is ascribed, but dubiously, the first use of the word Tawhid to signify the union of the soul with God.”
11 *The Islamic Quarterly, op. cit.*
THE BATTLE OF BADR (623 C.E.)
One of the great If's of History

But as chaff goes out by the winnowing fan
These three who are mighty among the foe
Go out as all idolaters go.

Will others try these men of steel?
Three others answer the mate appeal,
And they, also, bite the desert dust:
The idols have betrayed their trust.

When another three have met their defeat,
And the Quraysh courage is losing its heat,
Muhammad sends the company in.
No jibes are heard in the clashing din;
Now deeds will count, and not their scorn.
On such a field are heroes born.

Muhammad's spirit is caught away,
To the seventh heaven some of them say,
And there he receives from Allah's hand
The secret of this first command.
And sees their faces once again,
When he comes back to the world of men
He throws dust into the heavy air
And calls on them to follow who dare.
And now he rides in the thickest fight,
And where the winter air is bright
Above the hills behind his back
The desert wind follows upon his track
And sweeps in dusty clouds along
To fill the eyes of the Makkah throng.

This is the help from Allah's hand,
Bringing support to the Muslim band,
The promise Muhammad received in trance,
More powerful than bow or lance.

By the lance's thrust and the scimitar's sweep
Many stout foes have been put to sleep,
And the battle kindles, fiercer still,
At the base of the northward-facing hill
Where Abu Jahl now musters the host
And leads them back to their former post
Defying the wind and sand and God,
Winning again where they formerly trod.

How does the battle go?
The mass is weaving to and fro
As fortune favours the Qurayshites
Or the Muslims drive them to the heights.
And many a Makkah fighter learns,
As hotter the desert sunlight burns,
That Muhammad was the wiser chief
Wise and sagacious beyond belief,
For he placed his men where the water-supply
Would give them refreshment, bubbling by,
And the thirst-parched, angry Qurayshite
Begins to notice his sorry plight.

Now, still scourged by the simoom,
The Makkans can feel the force of doom.
The sandy wind continues to blow,
Laden with angels for all they know.

 Continued on page 18

Norman Lewis

The valley is a-crawl with men:
And now they enter the Badr glen.
Their lances flash in the early light,
And cries of battle are their delight.
They are the men of Makkah's pride.
And what are the deities that guide?
Hubul, and all of that scurvy crew;
They'll be shattered when we are through.

Muhammad sees the approaching horde:
He knows that many will die by the sword.
Serene self-confidence brings that smile,
And the Prophet decides to muse awhile
And pray to God to guide their hands
And attune his ears to God's commands.

Hear the taunts of the infidels!
They would send us down to their lowest hells
To learn to respect their idols' rule.
Thank God no one of us is a fool!

We must send our champions into the fight:
God will show that our cause is right.
No power dwells in a god of clay:
And that will be proved to all this day.

'Ali, 'Obayda, and Hamzah go:
They have no fear as they face the foe.
Beneath their breastplates of burnished steel
Are hearts that are loyal through woe or weal.
Allah gives strength as the strength of ten:
They will strike for God and strike again.
'Otba, Shaybah, and al-Walid
Advance to the conflict and give no heed
That a man with God is more than a man.
Iran’s Way of Fighting Illiteracy

Iran’s “Illiteracy Corps”

By Dr. Ahmadi ‘Abd al-Ghaffar

The Literacy Corps of Iran is the best way of mounting a campaign against illiteracy, a programme bringing with it the additional bonus of a stimulated economy.

The population of Iran is 22 million, 75 per cent of the people living in some 50,000 villages scattered over the country.

Before the great social revolution launched under the wise leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shah in 1962, the 15 million people who constitute the majority of the population were denied the opportunity of even a primary education, leave alone any preparation for how to live in the 20th century.

The idea of the formation of a Literacy Corps sprang from the need to harness the talents of those fortunate Iranians with secondary school education to share their knowledge with the millions of rural people to whom education had been denied. With most of the young graduates facing the prospect of compulsory military service, it was seen that most of these could be pressed into service as soldier-teachers rather than as soldiers in the conventional sense.

Here is a brief outline of the scheme:

(1) Each year, a minimum of 10,000 young men with aptitudes for teaching are trained in the Army Literacy Corps to take their place in the villages to bring to their fellow countrymen the fruits of learning — reading, writing and arithmetic.

(2) The principle of military service has been imparted a new meaning combined with a patriotic esprit de corps and a collective enthusiasm rarely seen before.

(3) Young graduates, heretofore often jobless and socially useless after leaving school, found in the Literacy Corps the chance to learn and to practise the noble profession of teaching, as useful citizens in the community and, at the same time, enriching the nation’s ranks with available trained manpower in the great crusade to rebuild Iran on modern and progressive lines.

Methods and organization of the Literacy Corps

Every 15 Literacy Corpsmen in every 15 villages (one Corpsman is assigned to each village) are the responsibility of an experienced supervisor whose job it is to counsel them in educational, cultural, economic and social activities. A seminar is held among the Corpsmen in various areas of the country every three months at which they discuss their work from every standpoint — their failures as well as their successes.

The activities of the Literacy Corpsmen are under continuous review at the Corps’ Research Centre in Teheran. Periodic reports from the Corpsmen themselves and from their supervisors are sent to the Centre for analysis. Incentive awards are frequently given to Corpsmen showing evidence of superior work. Members of the Education Corps having the best record in the provinces are awarded prizes every year by His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

As an additional spur to achievement, a supervisory training course at Teheran University has been introduced in
which 50 Corpsmen are chosen each year to participate in order to broaden their knowledge and to prepare them for greater responsibilities as supervisors and organizers of the Literacy Corps movement. One hundred other Corpsmen are also annually selected to take on supervisory jobs. Those 50 men completing their university work in the teacher-training department are given certificates in primary and rural education. Many of these are later assigned to duties as teachers-trainers and administrative leaders in the Literacy Corps' Research Centre in Teheran.

In addition to these programmes, there is another scheme under which those Corpsmen with a knowledge of foreign languages are sent to the advanced countries to gain more knowledge about education. They then return to Iran to resume their work in the Literacy Corps, even better armed to carry on the war against ignorance.

Aims of the Education Corps

Below are the four principal aims of the Education Corps:

1. Education

The teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic (at the primary level) to all children of school age as well as to adult men and women; the raising of the level of their general knowledge; correcting certain reactionary religious beliefs which have no useful place in a modern society, while strengthening the moral foundations of the community; the formation of scout organizations, building libraries and introducing healthy sports and exercise programmes in the schools.

2. Economic

Building up the villages by construction of schools; building new or repairing existing roads to link the villages and towns; building bridges; digging wells and sanitation facilities; teaching the villagers modern agricultural methods to increase the quantity and quality of farm production; promoting health facilities, such as helping to assure a safe water supply; prevention of illness by a programme of disinfection; building mortuaries (previously the villagers often washed deceased persons in the drinking water supply); stressing the value of good nutrition as well as the hygienic preparation and storage of food; teaching the villagers in modern methods of animal husbandry so as to increase production; helping to form village co-operatives for buying and selling of commodities along the most economical lines.

3. Social life

Strengthening the villagers' interest in community cooperation in order to realize common objectives.

4. Politics

Emphasizing the need for all to participate in the democracies process by encouraging the villagers to vote in elections and teaching them fundamental principles of civilization in the 20th century.

The achievements of the Education Corps (1963-64)

By the end of October 1964 nearly 10,000 villages had welcomed the Education Corps. Some 300,000 children and 35,000 adults had learned to read and write. The Corpsmen built nearly 5,000 new schools with two to six classrooms, costing an estimated £2,500,000, repaired 4,700 existing buildings in other villages; they constructed 76 mosques and 250 public baths at a cost of about £130,000; they built 200 large and small bridges costing about £10,000, built or repaired 1,300 miles of roads at a cost estimated at £200,000, as well as forming some 150 post offices.

From these results it can be fairly said that the formation of the Literacy Corps in Iran was perhaps the most efficient way to fight illiteracy as well as to elevate the standards of the country's peacetime army. It can also be truly stated that the benefits rendered the people of Iran by far outweighed the cost to the Government.

---

THE BATTLE OF BADR (623 C.E.) continued from page 16

And the swords of the victors are cutting their way,
And the men from Makkah are losing the day,
And the camels turn and head for the hill,
Far from the trickling Badr rill,
And, crazed with thirst, they too must go;
It is certain death to stay below
For Abu Jahl has lost his head:
His body will sleep in a colder bed,
But not his spirit, for that will be
Far from the shouts of victory,
The victory of the Muslim clan
Rejoicing as only victors can.
Those who gain the southern hill,
Or the way to the west which is open still,
Can flee if the Muslims do not pursue,
Reach to the summit and gallop through.

So Allah won His fight that day
Against the worship of idols of clay.
And, loudly proclaimed throughout the vale,
Above the shouts and the victim's wail.
Was heard the statement that God is great
And in His hands is the web of fate.

NORMAN LEWIS.
ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Part 1—BUILDINGS

“A building is not to be seen in stark light of day, but also by starlight, in the gathering dusk and in the first flush of dawn”

By R. A. Jairazbhoy

No style of architecture springs full-blown into being. It has to grow out of its native habitat, and takes on new directions as one force after the other impinges on it — whether mental or physical. It is possible to see quite clearly the application of this rule in the case of Islam. There were on the one hand the ritual considerations guiding and controlling the limits of the art, and on the other the aesthetic impact of neighbouring cultures. From the interaction of the two there slowly emerged a Muslim sensibility that chose to enhance certain incipient trends, and to eschew others altogether. It became a kind of natural selection in which the processes were largely involuntary. The result was a distinctive style, different both from its prototypes and from contemporary trends elsewhere. Islam with its transcendental philosophy brought with it a certain propensity to abstraction. And on the other hand the rich cultures of the past and the splendours of their court led to a yearning for opulent display. The Muslim synthesis was one in which the senses would be dazzled, and yet the mind would remain on an aloof and lofty plane.

In addition to this, in each area where Muslim nations ruled, there regional differences grew. These were largely the result of racial temperament and local conditions. But since no part of the Muslim world was cut off from the rest, the differences continued to be less real than the resemblances. And when there was active interchange these were clearly perceptible in the handiwork.

Qualities of variety, beauty and originality

However, the purpose of this article and the next is not to delineate the degrees by which the Islamic style evolved and the varied influences which shaped it, but rather to focus upon some of the highlights of the matured style. The few examples which we have chosen will, we hope, convince the reader that at its best moments Islamic architecture achieved the qualities of variety, beauty and originality. The architects of traditional Islam were no doubt hamstrung by the confined limits in which they worked, and they were for the most part not accorded the prestige that was their due, but with these handicaps notwithstanding they
A Few Types of Islamic Buildings to Illustrate

Plate 8. Cairo, the Mausoleum of Emir Tankizougha (1359 C.E.)

Plate 7. Delhi, Quth

Plate 6. Erzerum (Turkey), Tchifte Minare Madrasa, entrance portal (1253 C.E.)

Plate 4. Delhi, the Red Fort.
the Qualities of Variety, Beauty and Originality

Plate 3. Cordova, the Great Mosque. mihrab and maqsura (965-68 C.E.)

Diwan-e-Khas (c. 1642 C.E.)

Plate 5. Isfahan, Musjid-i-Jami. S.W. ivan

MAY 1965
displayed a refined approach and an ability to find new solutions to recurring old problems. The dome, the vault, the arch and the pendentive were not their inventions, but it can be said that they used these to greater effect than had their predecessors. The monuments illustrated here will serve to substantiate this.

The courtyard was the space-form standard to every type of Islamic structure whether it was a mosque, palace, caravanserai or school. The vast court of the Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo (876-79 C.E.) is desolate and empty now, but in its heyday the whole town of al-Katai must have assembled there for Friday prayers and on festivals. From the point of view of design the court façades are attractively conceived with composite piers giving rise to pointed arches, sunk rosettes above, and a skyline achieved by means of crenellations which may in fact be apotropaic emblems (Plate 1). Undoubtedly the most famous court of all is that at the Alhambra Palace in Granada, Spain (1354-91 C.E.), which receives its name from the lions supporting its fountain and spouting forth jets of water. Stylistically there is little in common in the treatment of the court façades with the Cairo example, but in both instances there are decorative stucco reliefs, and in both wall masses are made to look less solid by means of various devices. At the Alhambra the effect is delicate and quite ethereal (Plate 2).

Phantasy

Another effect sought by Muslim architecture was fantasy. This is apparent in the use of arches which can be either exotic, or picturesque, or incredibly complex. Arches are seldom shaped as semicircles — which had been the rule up to the time of the Muslim advent — but they are either pointed, incurved, reverse curved, foliated, serrated, intersected, or their inner surface or circumference are decorated. A particularly bold use of the multifoil arch is made in the maqurah of the Cordova Mosque (965-68 C.E.), and one sees a leaping of little arches one above another forming an open screen (Plate 3). Often from one end of the world of Islam to the other an identical type of architectural feature is to be encountered, and this is the case with the foliated arch. The Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan, who incidentally informs us that he wished to emulate the plans of Baghdad and Isfahan, uses it in his Diwan-e-Khas in the Delhi Fort (c. 1642 C.E.). These arches subscribe a playful effect to a building which is immaculately proportioned and splendidly adorned (Plate 4).
It is instructive to compare the decorative techniques of Mughal India with Safavid Persia. We illustrate the S.W. *ivan* of the Masjid-i-Jami of Isfahan (Plate 5), whose faience dates from 1660 C.E., though inscriptions give further dates 1475 and 1531 C.E. At this place we merely wish to point out the unusual treatment of the half-dome which employs the multiple squinch form (*mukarnas*). This converts the *ivan* into a monumental portal beyond which lies the domed chamber of the sanctuary. The paired minarets atop the portal is a standard form in Iran, India, and Turkey. The Tchifte Minare Madrasa in Erzerum (1253 C.E.) in Eastern Turkey is a vigorous example with minarets of the torus form rendered in brick, the masonry portal framed in a carved brocade border, and flanked at the base by symbolic motifs of dragons guarding palms and surmounted by heraldic double eagles (Plate 6).

**The Qutb Minar at Delhi**

Towers of the torus and flanged form were not infrequent in Iran, but it was in India that they combined in the Qutb Minar at Delhi (1199-1220 C.E.), one of the finest towers built by man (Plate 7). Although in every stylistic feature it belongs to the Islamic tradition a serious scholar has recently attempted to prove that it was a Hindu monument built long before the date inscribed on it -- a theory which will be dismissed out of hand by anyone who is familiar with related buildings in India. It is strange how some of the most significant and inventive buildings sometimes appear at the very inception of a people's historical career and are never rivalled again.

Sometimes an experiment is tried, and if the result is unpleasing there is no further issue. The mausoleum built by the Mamluk Emir Tankizbougha in Cairo (1359 C.E.) appears to be such an instance, since the same person built another for himself a few years later. It was, incidentally, customary for Muslim rulers to build tombs for themselves during their own lifetime. In the building referred to above the mukarnas collar round the drum is a piece of pure superfluity, but despite this one cannot help but marvel at the dexterity of the masonwork (Plate 8).

**The Mosque of Sultan Ahmad at Istanbul**

We have only singled out rather arbitrarily a few types of Islamic buildings for illustration and comment, and we will conclude by mentioning two more. The first is the Mosque of Sultan Ahmad at Istanbul (1608-14 C.E.). There is little that distinguishes it from its prototypes, but it has a grandeur and spaciousness all its own, and is scarcely to be faulted in the composition and proportion. There is a dramatic contrast between the gently rising mound of domes and half-domes and the sharp lances of the minarets that seem to rend the sky (Plate 9). Domes and minarets are consciously grouped and contrasted elsewhere too, and in the eyes of laymen they are the distinguishable emblems of Muslim architecture. The Hollywood backgrounds of Arabian Nights films might be a travesty of the real forms, but they do not capture the spirit despite the liberties they take. For romantic stories they provide suitable romantic backgrounds, but the Romanticism of Islamic art is indeed not a delusion — it is very much there if one has but eyes to see. Look how the golden domes of Kadhimayn gleam as the light strikes their rounded bulge (Plate 10). A building is not only meant to be seen in the stark light of day, but also by starlight, in the gathering dust, and in the first flush of dawn.

---

**THE MUSLIM WOMEN AND IMAMATE Continued from page 28**

of the leading authorities on Hadith on the Saying of the Prophet Muhammad which is relied upon by those who deny women the right to hold leading positions in government and the judiciary: In *Nayl al-Awtar* it is reported of Abu Bakr that he said:

"When the Messenger of God was told that the Persians had installed the daughter of Kisra (Kosroes) as ruler over them he said, 'No people will be successful if they entrust their affairs to a woman.'" (Vol. IX, p. 105).

This hadith had previously been reported in *al-Mughazi* in this manner:

"Abu Bakr said that when the Messenger of God was told that the people of Persia had installed the daughter of Kisra (Chosroes) as ruler over them, he said to a woman, 'No people will be successful if women may be in authority in regard to those matters in which the testimony of women is acceptable.' (Vol. VI, p. 551).

In my opinion, this hadith is not adequate authority for a general proposition prohibiting women from holding all positions of leadership. Indeed, the hadith in question is clearly confined to the imaamate of prayer rather than to imaamate in general and in all forms.

---

A battle in 665 C.E., so-called because 'A'ishah rode a fast camel while urging her side in battle against 'Ali. The camel was struck and 'A'ishah fell prisoner to 'Ali, who released her.
The Muslim Woman and Imaamate*

The Imaamate in prayer and other positions of leadership by women

An Examination of the Hadith “No people will be successful if they entrust their affairs to a woman”

By Naadirah Shanan

The etymology of the word “Imaam” and its connotation

The Arabic word *imaam* is derived from *amn*; it means “to head or be chief”, particularly “to be the leader at the head of a convoy”, or “to set the right pattern or example”.

The imaamate in Islam is of two kinds: the imaamate of prayer and the imaamate of the nation — the latter, in comparison with the former, being called the “greater imaamate” (*al-imaamah al-kubra* or *al-imaamah al-‘uzma*). The fact that there are two imaamates in Islam, however, does not mean that these are altogether distinct or separate from one another, since in many cases the two imaamates are held by one person. The Prophet Muhammad, for example, held the two imaamates — he was the imaam in religious matters, and also the imaam in worldly matters. This is quite a natural thing in Islam in view of the fact that spiritual and worldly matters are treated on the same basis and equally provided for. When the Prophet Muhammad died, the Muslims elected Abu Bakr as Caliph, and the reason for this choice by the people was the fact that the Prophet Muhammad had accorded Abu Bakr precedence in congregational worship as his successor. Abu Bakr’s qualification for the imaamate in religious matters was thus considered itself to be a qualification for his assumption of the imaamate in worldly matters, for the Muslims found it only reasonable that they should accept as imaam in worldly matters the person who was accepted by the Prophet Muhammad as qualified for the imaamate in religious matters. It is thus obvious that at no time in Islam was there any rigid distinction or separation between the two imaamates. If at times there had been a distinction between the two imaamates this had been solely for the purpose of encouraging a greater measure of specialization to enable the holder of each imaamate on certain occasions to discharge his functions more efficiently. But while no rigid dividing line has been laid between the two imaamates different terms have been used in practice to designate them. The term *imaamate* was reserved for officiating at the religious function, while the term *wilayyah* (guardianship, trust, rulership) was used for the worldly function. The use of this terminology is partly derived from the practice of the Prophet Muhammad.

In this article I shall deal first with the imaamate in the religious sense, i.e., imaamate at religious functions, and later with the imaamate in the second sense — the *wilayyah*.

The imaamate at religious functions

‘Abdullah Ibn Qudamah (1146-1223 C.E.) says in *al-Mughni*:

“Man can never take woman as imaam, either in the case of fardh (duties) or naafalah (supererogatory prayers), according to the generality of fuqahah. Abu Thawr says: ‘The one who prays behind her need not repeat his prayers’, and this is by analogy to the words of al-Muzani. Some of our friends say that she can be imaam for men in *taraawih* (supererogatory worship during Ramadhan), or to be behind them, in view of what is reported about Umm Waraqaah Bint ‘Abdullah Ibn al-Harith, that the Messenger of God appointed a muezzin for her and ordered her to be imaam for the members of her household (as reported by Abu Dawud). There is also the Saying of the Prophet that ‘no woman may be imaam for man’. It is because she cannot be muezzin for men that she cannot be imaam for them, as is the case with a mad person. The Saying about Umm Waraqaah in truth means only that she was given permission to be imaam for the women in her household. This was how it was reported by al-Darquti (d. 385 A.H. — 995 C.E.). This is a condition which must be accepted, and without it the matter would be contradictory, for it may be said that she was permitted to be imaam in *fardh* prayers by virtue of the fact that she was given a muezzin — and there is azan only in *fardh* prayers; while it is generally agreed that she cannot be imaam in *fardh* prayers. The specific mention of *taraawih*, and the condition that she should stand behind would be exceptional conditions not in line with usual practice. And in any case, if this were proved to be true it would be confined solely to Umm Waraqaah, in view of the fact that no *azan* and *iqamah* had been accorded to other women” (*al-Mughni*, Vol. II, p. 33).

The difference of opinion in regard to women officiating as imams

Thus in regard to the question of women officiating as imams for men, there is disagreement among the authorities. Some permit it, while others deny it, and both camps rely on versions of Hadith. Those who deny woman’s imaamate quote the Prophet Muhammad as saying, “Women shall not be imaams for men”. and when the imaamate unto the *azan* and deny women the imaamate because they are denied the function of muezzin. Those who accept the imaamate of women, on the other hand, quote the Hadith in regard to Umm Waraqaah.

In examining the arguments marshalled by the two schools on this question, it is difficult to ignore the strong arguments put forward to the effect that women cannot be imams. The chief argument of this school is the emphatic and unequivocal nature of the Saying of the Prophet Muhammad, “Woman shall not be imaam for man”. But this

---

* Courtesy, the Editor, the Arabic monthly al-Musimoon, Geneva, for September 1964.

24

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Ibn Rushd's views

These views seem to some extent to be confirmed by Ibn Rushd, who says:

"There has been disagreement about the imamaate of women. The majority are in favour of the view that she may not be imaaam for men. There is also disagreement about her being imaaam for women. Al-Sha'fi'i permits this, while Malik forbids it. On the other hand, Abu Thawr and al-Tabari permit her to be imaaam in all cases. But the majority are agreed that she may not be imaaam for men, for had this been permissible there would have been reports about it happening in the early days of Islam. Another reason is that since it is ordained that in prayers women should stand behind men they cannot take precedence over men, and that is why the Prophet has said, 'Stand them behind as God has done'. Thus some have permitted women being imaaams for other reasons — for all women are equal in rank in the matter of prayers — and this is reported to have happened during the early days of Islam. But those who permit women to be imaaams rely on the report by Abu Dawud about Umm Waraqa, that the Messenger of God used to visit her in her house, and that he appointed a muezzin for her and ordered her to be imaaam for the members of her household" (al-Mufijahid, Vol. I, p. 114).

Ibn Rushd does not quote the hadith relied upon by Ibn Qudamah — "Women shall not be imaaam for man" — and he relies mainly on deductions based on the order of precedence in prayers and the hadith, "Stand them behind as God has done" — i.e., place them in the rank in which God has ordered that they be placed: just behind male youths who stand behind adult males in prayer. The argument that had this been permissible it would have been reported that had happened in the early days of Islam is not a very strong argument, and it does not help to prove that the practice of imamaate by women is prohibited. If this were permissible it would not become prohibited merely because it had not in fact been actively practised. In any case, Ibn Rushd does not here seem to be giving his own views on this matter, but rather quoting the views of others with their arguments.

The views of al-Sha'fi'i and al-Ghazzali

Al-Sha'fi'i (767-820 C.E.) has this to say on the subject:

"If a woman were to be imaaam in a gathering of men, women and boys, then the prayers of the women would be satisfactory, while those of the men and the boys would not be. The reason is that God Almighty has made men qawwamun (The Qur'an, 4:33), i.e., men shall take full care of women (c.f. M. Asad, The Message of the Qur'an, Mecca, 1964), and not vice versa. Thus a woman can in no circumstances precede a man in prayers" (Kitab al-Umm, Vol. I, p. 145).

This, in general, is the line adopted by the Shafi'i school. On this al-Ghazzali says:

"Man cannot follow woman (in prayers), and this rule applies if she can be perceived to be a woman" (al-Wajeez fi al-Fiqh al-Shafi'i, Vol. I, p. 33).

The question is here asked, however, as to the reasons given by al-Sha'fi'i for the prohibition of the imamaate of women. Is imamaate in prayers akin to rulership? Or is it simply a matter of giving a good example? If it be a matter of rulership over those led in prayers, then it is quite obviously prohibited since there can be no argument that the Qur'an's pronouncement that "Men are qawwamun, i.e., men shall take full care of women" is categorical and definite. But if imamaate be merely a matter of setting an example, cannot women be suitable to give a good example?

The views of al-Nawawi, Ibn Hazm and Ibn 'Abdin

Al-Nawawi says:

"Man cannot pray behind a woman. Jaabir is reported to have said: The Prophet Muhammad addressed us, saying, 'Woman shall not be imaaam for man; and if he prays behind her without knowing, and later knows of this, he must repeat his prayers, for she has signed showing that she is a woman and he would not therefore have excused in his prayers" (The Majmu' Sharh al-Muhazzab, Vol. 4, p. 254).

Ibn Hazm (994-1064 C.E.) supports this view regarding the prohibition of women to act as imaaams, though he gives different reasons for this:

"Woman cannot be imaaam for man or men, and there is no disagreement about this. The Prophet Muhammad ordained that she stand behind the men. In prayers the imama must stand before those he is leading, or with those he is leading in the same rank. This would definitely prove that women cannot be imaaams for men" (al-Muhallah, Vol. 3, pp. 125-126).

Ibn 'Aabdin (1784-1856 C.E.) lists the qualifications for the imamaate, and specifies that it is reserved only for males. He says:

"The qualifications for the imamaate have been listed in Nur al-Iyyadah. For healthy men the qualifications for the imamaate are six: Islam, maturity, sanity, male sex, literacy, and freedom from defects" (al-Haashiyah, Vol. I, p. 406).

The above are representative views of the exponents of fiqh on the question of the practice of imamaate by women over men. I shall now deal with the studies of hadith and examine texts which are relied upon by both those who allow and those who forbid the imamaate of women.

An examination of the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad on the imamaate by women

Ibn Majah reports Jabir as saying that the Prophet
Muhammad said:

"Woman shall not be imam for man, an Arab shall not be imam for an immigrant, and an adulterer shall not be imam for a believer. One line of attribution of this hadith is weak, and one of the links in the report is 'Abdullah Ibn Muhammad al-Adwiy, who had been accused by Waki'iy of fabricating hadith. Another line of attribution includes 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Habib, who is accused of fabricating hadith and confusing authorities for it. The view held is that woman cannot be imam for man — and this is the view of the Hanafs, the Shafi'iyah, and others. Al-Muzani and Abu Thawr permitted the imama by women. Al-Tabari permitted her imama in tarawih, should there not be present anyone who memorized the Qur'an. The excuse they give is the hadith relating to Umm Waraqa."

(Subul al-Salaam. Vol. II, pp. 19-28)

This view seems to challenge the authenticity of the hadith quoted, and to question the authorities relied upon by those who favoured prohibition of the imama for women. It can be surmised from this that even if the hadith in question be proved to be authentic, it cannot be conclusive regarding prohibiting women from being imams for men.

Ibn Majah says about the hadith regarding Umm Waraqa:

"It is reported of Umm Waraqa, the daughter of Nawfal, the Ansar: The Messenger of God used to visit her, and he used to call her the martyr (al-Shahidah). She had collected the Qur'an, and she used to lead the members of her household in prayers. When the Messenger of God fought at Badr, she said: 'O Messenger of God, allow me to join the expedition with you'. And he ordered her to lead the members of her household in prayer." (Reported by Abu Dawud and corrected by Ibn Khuzaymah, Subul al-Salaam. Vol. II, pp. 19-28).

This hadith is proof that women can be imams for the members of their household, even though they may include men, for according to reports Umm Waraqa had a muezzin who was an old man, and she was imam for him and for her boy and her maid. This view is supported by Abu Thawr, al-Muzani and al-Tabari, but opposed by other scholars.

Ibn Qudamah's views

There has been very much less disagreement in regard to the practice of the imama by women over other women. Ibn Qudamah says:

"There have been conflicting versions: Is it desirable that woman should lead other women in prayers? It is said that this is acceptable. Those who say that women can lead other women in prayers include 'A'ishah, Umm Salma, 'Ataa', al-Thawri, al-Awniyy, al-Shafi'iyy, Ishaq and Abu Thawr. It is reported of Ahmad that this is undesirable. It has also been objected to by people of opinion, though some of them did not do so. Al-Sha'bi, al-Nakhiyy and Qatadah say that women may do so in regard to voluntary acts (al-tawwiir) but not in regard to duties (al-Maktabu). Al-Hasan and Salayman Ibn Yasaar say that women cannot be imama in a farah or naafilah (supererogatory prayers). Malik said that woman cannot act as imama for anyone in farah or naqilah.

Malik also said: 'She cannot be imama because she cannot call the azan, which is a call to the group, and since she cannot do this she cannot do that for which the azan is made. We have the hadith relating to Umm Waraqa, where they have been likened unto men in farah but not allowed the azan since this would involve raising the voice which is not permitted for them.'"

Malik's views

Malik here would appear to be categorically opposed to the imama by women. I cannot, however, understand how he has interpreted the hadith relating to Umm Waraqa, for he has placed no emphasis upon it and preferred to rely on the argument relating to azan. Thus, while I appreciate that the azan is a call to the group, I cannot see that the same qualifications are needed for the functions of muezzin as for those of imama, and proof of this is the fact that the qualifications for muezzin have never been as strict or as demanding as those of imama.

On the other side of the scales is al-Shafi'i, who permits women to be imams. He says:

"Sufyan reports through 'Amaar al-Duhan that a woman of his tribe called Hujaiah said that Umm Salma led them in prayers by standing in the midst of them. Al-Rabi' reports of al-Shafi'i, of Ibrahim, of Safwan as saying that it is a sunnah (tradition) that a woman may lead other women in prayers by standing in the midst of them. Al-Shafi'i says 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn used to order a maid of his to lead his family in prayers during the month of Ramadhân'. Al-Shafi'i also said that women can lead other women in duty prayers and other occasions. She was ordered to stand in the middle of the row, and if there were many women with her they were ordered to stand in the row behind the leader. The order of the rows will be exactly the same as in the case of men except that the woman leader would stand in the middle, and would lower her voice in takbir and zikr and other parts of the Qur'an. If a woman should lead other women in prayers then her prayers and theirs are acceptable" (al-Umm. Vol. 1, p. 145).

Rulership by women

This is only part of what has been said on the question of the imama by women over other women. I shall not go into further details on this subject because the relationship between this subject and the subject under discussion now, namely the imama or leadership of women in worldly matters, is not very strong or directly relevant.

It can thus be said that in the opinion of some scholars it is permissible for a woman to lead other women in prayers and be imama for them, while others do not permit this, although they do not go as far as to say that the prayers will not be acceptable. It is, however, held that it is not permissible for women to lead men in prayers although a few faqihhs have permitted it. The imama or leadership of women in politics and government, on the other hand, has evoked equally strong differences of opinion — indeed, in some respects stronger differences of opinion. The reason is that prayers are a duty for women as much as they are for men, while worldly leadership is not. I shall now examine the attitude of Islamic faqih in regard to the imama and wilayat (guardianship, governorship or rule) by women.

There are no detailed discussions on this subject to be found in books on faqih, and it would appear that this topic was not considered by Islamic scholars to be sufficiently important, or as important as it is in modern society. In
most of the works in which any mention of this subject has been made there is only a reference to the conditions for eligibility for this function of leadership, with only incidental mention of the sex of the holder without any detailed analysis of the grounds for the assumption made. In the *al-Tafsir* by al-Naysaburi it is stated:

“The ulamas have laid down the following attributes for the general imamah: Islam, wisdom, maturity, male sex, liberty, justice, sufficiency, and capacity for *ijihad* (original views on religious matters)” (Vol. 5, p. 78).

### Ibn Hazm’s views

Ibn Hazm deals with the question of *wilayah* by women. His views are summed up in the following extract:

“It is permissible for women to hold a leading position in government — and this is Abu Hanifah’s view. It is reported of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattab that he entrusted a leading position to a woman. When it was reported to him that the Prophet Muhammad had said, ‘No people will be successful if they entrust their affairs to a woman,’ he said that the Messenger of God had been speaking about general matters, namely the caliphate, and that this is evident from another Saying of the Prophet that ‘Woman is guardian over her husband’s property, and she is responsible for his flock.’ The Malikis allow women to be guardians and agents, and there is no positive provision to the effect that she cannot undertake certain matters” (Vol. IX, pp. 429-430).

This explains why Ibn Hazm, after accepting the view of Abu Hanifah, found it possible to adhere to this view without appearing to conflict with the hadith which is relied upon as authority by those who deny women permission to engage in any sphere of governmental activity. In his view, women are capable of shouldering responsibility, and he does not feel the need for authority on this subject other than the view of the Prophet Muhammad. He also finds it possible to controvert the views of those who prohibit women from undertaking leadership, by quoting authorities upon which they themselves rely. These people had found women fit enough for undertaking tasks such as guardianship over minors and agency, but when it came to women assuming the task of governor they relied on the hadith to deny this, and for this purpose they extended to a large extent the realm of this hadith and did not pay regard to the intention of the Prophet Muhammad — all of which involved them in contradictions.

Ibn Hazm’s views are not concerned solely with the “greater” imamah (*al-imamah al-'uzma*) but relate to *wilayah* (guardianship or authority) over others in all respects. On several occasions he discusses *wilayah* by women in marriage, which is considered to be part of the concept of “general” *wilayah*. He says in the same work:

“Women cannot be guardians in marriage, and if she wants to give her servant or slave in marriage she should request the man most closely related to her to act for her in the marriage. If she does not have such a relative then the ruler may give her permission regarding the marriage. This is evidenced by God’s words in the Qur’an, ‘And marry those among you who are single, and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves. If they are needy, God will make them free from want out of His grace.’ It is therefore clear that those who have authority to give in marriage both the single and the female slaves are those who are authorized to give in marriage the single generally, and this can only be done by men. It is therefore clear that women cannot be authorized to give anyone in marriage, but that she must give her permission for this” (Vol. 9, p. 469).

Ibn Hazm here appears to be more negative in his attitude than Abu Hanifah. He accepts Abu Hanifah’s views regarding *wilayah* by women in all governmental matters except the “greater” imamah (*al-imamah al-'uzma*). He does, however, appear to adhere to the aforementioned verse of the Qur’an as he understood it, and definitely controverts the view that women can never be primary guardians in marriage; while Abu Hanifah seems to hold a different view.

### Abu Hanifah’s views as quoted by Muhammad Abu Zahrah

Muhammad Abu Zahrah, author of the important *Abu Hanifah*, says:

“Abu Hanifah disagreed with the majority of scholars on the *wilayah* by women in the matter of their marriage. Only Abu Yusuf, of the leading *jaqih*, endorses his view, and this he does on two occasions. He seems to be alone in this liberal view, namely that woman may act on her own behalf in the matter of her marriage: that no one has authority over her in this matter if she be free of handicaps; that *mahir* (dowry) should be proportionate to her status; and that it is advisable that her guardian should act on her behalf in the marriage contract and that if she were to do this herself this would be undesirable, but definitely not wrong or sinful, and her word is valid in her sphere of authority. . . . This view is not without authority in Islamic jurisprudence and relies upon provisions of the Qur’an and the Hadith. The freedom thereby granted to women is, however, conditional upon their being free of handicaps and upon *mahir* being adequate, otherwise her relatives would have a right to intervene to stop the marriage” (p. 371).

But although these views are considered more reasonable than those which deny women the right to undertake their own marriage (while allowing women the right to undertake guardianship over others in various worldly matters), the author does not adequately quote specific authorities from reliable texts to be fully convincing. He also mentions other *wilayahs* such as those in the case of *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) and in *sadaqah* (charity), but does not mention male sex as one of their conditions, and in fact does not allude to the question of the sex of the *wali* at all. This lack of consideration of the question of the sex of the *wali* — which appears to be the case in many authoritative works on this subject — induces one to believe that the sex of the *wali* is not relevant, and that therefore women can undertake this function.

### Mawardi’s views

In his book *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyah*, al-Mawardi (991-1931 C.E.), who is one of the leading authorities on the Islamic system of government, also omits to deal with the question of the sex of the *wali*. He says:

“People are of two groups: one would be fit to elect an imamah for the nation, and the other is fit to be imamah. In regard to those who are qualified to elect, the primary conditions are three. One is that they should possess the full attributes of justice. The second is knowledge sufficient to discern who is fit to be imamah on the conditions required for imamah. The third qualification is wisdom and sagacity for the purpose of electing the
Ibn Kaldun's views

Ibn Kaldun (1332-1406 C.E.) follows in the footsteps of al-Mawardi, and says:

"The qualifications for this post of the greater imamaate are four: knowledge, justice, ability and soundness in body and mind, which attributes are to have effect upon opinion and ability. There has been disagreement about a fifth condition, namely membership of the tribe of Quraysh" (al-Muqaddimah, p. 193).

Ibn Kaldun does not refer to women in this connection. In another context, however, he has this to say:

"If you examine God's wisdom in the matter of the caliphat you will appreciate the reasons, because God has installed the Caliph as His deputy in looking after the affairs of his people, to help them promote their interests and to prevent them from doing harm to themselves. . . . He therefore does not entrust this function except to those capable of discharging it. Remember what the Imam Ibn al-Khatib has said in regard to women, that in many provisions of the Shari'ah they were made subservient to men, and that they were not addressed directly but by analogy. For this reason women do not have anything to do with this matter, and men are guardians over them except in matters of religion in which no person is responsible for another, and in this case they were addressed directly and not by analogy" (al-Muqaddimah, p. 196).

Ibn Kaldun must have been greatly influenced by the school of thought prevailing in his days when he endorsed the views expressed by the Imam Ibn al-Khatib in regard to women. He made no distinction between the conception of men being guardians over women and the other conception of their being superior to women. In my opinion the Imam Ibn al-Khatib saw in the use of the masculine gender in the provisions of the Qur'an evidence of the superiority of the male over the female in religious matters, and considered this evidence of the fact that women were not addressed directly but indirectly by way of analogy. He forgot, however, that it is an elementary idiom of the Arabic language that when addressing a group made up of the two sexes the masculine is used. He also seems not to have taken note of the many verses of the Qur'an in which God addressed both men and women and affirmed their equality in the matter of rights and duties, save in those matters in which there cannot be physical equality. He also disregarded the Saying of the Prophet Muhammad that "Women are the sisters of men" — a Saying which enunciated one of the most fundamental doctrines initiated by the new faith of Islam. The guardianship which God gave men over women for the purpose of protecting the family, and women, should not be taken to be analogous to a doctrine of superiority of men and inferiority of women as understood by the Imam Ibn al-Khatib in regard to religious matters with the exception of prayers. Would his view mean that men are guardians over the property of women? Or is such property to be dealt with in accordance with the rules relating to worship? Ibn Kaldun refers in his al-Muqaddimah to al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyah by al-Mawardi and accepts his views on the functions of jude, mafi (arbitrator on religious matters), and jihad (fighting in God's cause).

An examination of the saying of the Prophet, "No people will be successful if they trust their affairs to a woman"

In conclusion I should like to examine the views of some
The Kurdish Struggle for Autonomous Existence
Iranian Kurdistan

By B. A. Misri

Part 2

The Kurds have been as much a source of trouble to Iran as to Turkey. The Iranian-Kurdish relations took a new turn when Riza Shah (present Shah's father) became a dominating force in Iran. He reoriented his Kurdish policy and based it to a certain extent on that of Kemal Ataturk's. Like the latter he summoned the Kurdish chiefs to his capital and kept them there under his personal supervision. Like Ataturk he tried to impose on the Kurd a language, culture and manner other than the Kurd's. The process of Iranianization of the Kurd thus began in full swing. Again like Ataturk he refused to recognize the separate identity of the Kurd. An attempt was made to suppress his culture and his ethos. To him, Kurd was as good a citizen of Iran as any other. As such the former was considered not to merit a preferential or for that matter a different treatment. The Kurdish policy of Riza Shah which he consistently followed from 1920 to 1941 (the year of his fall) was thus not much different from Kemalist Turkey's.

Riza Shah peremptorily ordered that the Iranian Kurds in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Kermanshah be disarmed. Accordingly these provinces were subjugated and the Kurds disarmed.

Hamah Rashid

The thoughtless and unduly hasty policy of Riza Shah made the situation worse. The frustration from which the Kurd suffered was skilfully exploited by one Muhammad Ali Khan Rashid, popularly known as Hamah Rashid — a little-known chief of a little-known tribe. He bided his time, and his chance came when Iran was overrun by the Allied Forces in September 1941. It was at Baneh that Rashid, for long an exile in Iraq, was able to set up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. To the south of Baneh another chief, named Mahmud Khan, also succeeded in establishing a chieftainship which included Merivan and Avroman. The Iranian administration in Kurdish territory collapsed like a house of cards. The Iranian soldiers were in haste to leave for home. They either abandoned their arms or sold them for a song to the Kurds. The government of Iran, at least for the time being, recognized the two chiefs as the governors of those parts of Iranian territory in which they had been able to establish their authority.

Rashid was under the influence of the Soviet agents and their ideology. With the stationing of Soviet troops and infiltration of Communist workers in Iranian Kurdistan the situation had become particularly favourable for him. The close proximity of Armenian S.S.R. and Soviet Azerbaijan had further strengthened his hands. This factor expedited independence.

The fond dream of Kurdish independence at last came true. All of a sudden and unexpectedly the Kurds had been able to attain something for which they had been struggling over the past centuries. In the north the Soviet military authorities practically gave them their independence in consideration for their co-operation and supply of grain for their troops during the war. In the south the British authorities at Kermanshah treated them equally generously. This humane and wise treatment accorded to the Kurd by the war-time Anglo-Soviet authorities naturally came in sharp contrast to the one he had to endure at the hands of Iranian and Turkish governments. It was in this territory, sandwiched as it was between the Soviet sphere of influence and the British sphere of influence, that the Kurds were able to act albeit for a short time as independent people.

When the Allied forces of occupation consisting of British and Russian troops left Iran, the Kurd got another opportunity to help himself to other people's arms. The great derelict arsenals left behind by the Anglo-Soviet forces at Urmia, Sinneh, Mahabad, Kermanshah and other towns which now fell into Kurdish hands greatly strengthened the newly-established principalities of Rashid Khan and Mahmud Khan.

The Kurdish revolt against Iran is of unique importance inasmuch as for the first time the various Kurdish chiefs made a common cause and offered a united front to the "enemy". They all pooled their resources under the centralized leadership of Rashid Khan. Tribes at daggers drawn for centuries made their peace, and enmity going back to a remote past yielded to amity and concord, at least for the time being.

Formation of Komala

Hamah Rashid's modest initiative for Kurdish autonomy gathered great momentum and soon snowballed into a great national movement for the unification and independence of all Kurds. The movement had become prematurely ambitious. In August 1943 the Komal-i-Zhian-Kurd (Committee of Kurdish Youth), better known as Komala, came into existence. It was a cryptic organization and the members functioned with the utmost secrecy. Komala cells were established all over Kurdish territory including Turkey, Iran, Iraq and even Syria. The organization got its inspiration and strength
from the neighbouring Soviet territory. Two Muslim Soviet nationals, Messrs. Abdullah and Hajj, were especially commissioned by the Soviet authorities to help organize Komala. The Komala workers till then working underground were encouraged to come into the open. In April 1945 they broke surface and began to work overtly under the Soviet auspices. The hospitable Soviet territory provided them with an ideal venue.1

By and large the Soviet agents were happy with the doings of revolutionary Kurds. They found, however, just one fly, though a big one, in the Komala ointment. It was a democratic organization and all its office-holders were freely elected. Before it could be labelled as an "ideal institution" it was necessary to make it an authoritarian organization. The Soviet agents now directed their energies to bringing about this essential change in the constitution of Komala. Their immediate objective was to find a Kurdish chief, preferably the one with a popular appeal.

Zaki Muhammad Qazi

The Soviet agents were lucky to find a man who suited their purpose ideally. He was Zaki Muhammad Qazi of Mahabad (Sauj Bulaq), a hereditary judge, a religious leader, however, no denying that his was a one-man rule. In the course of time he was able to reorganize Komala strictly in accordance with the Soviet ideology.

Qazi's one anxiety lay in making his nascent State a viable unit and even strong enough to preserve its autonomous existence against Iran. In order that the new Sovietized constitution of Komala worked on Communist principles the existing Kurdish political party was reorganized. The new party was named as the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan". It aimed among other things to retain and preserve the autonomy of Kurdistan "within the limits of the Iranian State"; to conduct the business of the government in Kurdish language; to recruit all State officials locally; to adopt a single law for "both peasants and notables"; and to establish "unity and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people".2

The Kurd is deeply religious. He could not be a willing ally of Soviet Russia. But the exceedingly reverent personality of Zaki Qazi and the easily available material help from Russia has turned him into an ally of the Soviets. Even then there were many vocal Kurds who had raised their powerful voice against the unnatural Kurd-Soviet alliance. This powerful minority made Qazi's position difficult. He might have been overwhelmed but for the effective support he got from

a great linguist and scholar and above all man of singular integrity and sincerity. His widespread reputation for holiness combined with the naïve aura that his personality exuded, made him almost a legendary figure for the unsophisticated Kurd. The Soviets could hardly have wished for a better man.

Zaki Qazi proved himself to be a great cementing force, and he galvanized the national forces in a way that elicited admiration even from his enemies. He was meant to be an authoritarian figure but he did not act like one. There was, an influential Kurdish family of Iraq called the Barzans.

Barzani brothers

The Barzani family of North Iraq is held in very high esteem by the Kurds. Barzans are among the most turbulent of all Kurdish tribes. They are hardy seasoned soldiers and

2 Ibid.
have in the past defied almost every single government no matter what its complexion. Unruliness is in their blood. They were a constant source of trouble to the British Mandatory authorities in Iraq and almost every government that succeeded them has felt disturbed at their hands. Sheikh Ahmad was the temporal as also the spiritual head of his tribe. His spiritual domination over the Barzans was of an order that he was literally defied by his followers. He and his armed followers, about a thousand in number, joined the Qazi at Mahabad in October 1945. Mahabad had already become a sort of nucleus for Kurdish independence and it was here that further reinforcements came from all over Kurdistan. Armed Kurds from Iraq, in particular the Barzani, came in their thousands and placed themselves at the beck and call of Sheikh Ahmad and Mulla Mustafa. Heavy concentration of troops and arms turned the heads of authorities at Mahabad. Unfortunately they took an ill-advised step on 10 December 1945 and captured the Iranian town of Tabriz. Soon after that the Iranian Azerbaijan was also forced to surrender. Till then Mahabad authorities had been supposed to be acting, at least theoretically, in a subordinate position, to the government of Iran. They now had the temerity to declare themselves a sovereign government and the flag of independent Kurdistan was formally raised on 15 December 1945.

Emergence of Kurdish Republic

Mahabad having declared itself independent of Iran, there emerged the first independent republic of the Kurds. Zaki Muhammad Qazi was elected President of the Republic on 22 January 1946. His cousin, Muhammad Husain Khan Saif Qazi, was appointed the Minister of War. Mulla Barzani, Hama Rashid and some others were raised to the rank of “marshals” in the Kurdish army. Each of them accordingly donned uniforms and badges of ranks of Soviet marshals.

The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad flourished so long as Soviet troops remained on the Iranian soil. But in 1946 they were withdrawn. And soon after that Iranian forces marched against Mahabad and forced Mulla Mustafa Barzani and his followers to leave Mahabad. General Homayuni, head of the Iranian imperial forces, ultimately overwhelmed Zaki Qazi, who surrendered on 15 December 1946. The Kurdish Republic formally came to an end three days later. It lasted just for one year, from 15 December 1945 to 18 December 1946. Zaki Qazi, his brother Sadr Qazi and his cousin Saif Qazi were tried by a military court and condemned to death. All three Kurdish heroes were hanged in the square of Mahabad on 13 March 1947.

There is not the least doubt that the Qazi brothers held Pan-Kurdish aspirations and they paid for their creed with their lives. In view of this the Iranian court perhaps could not have awarded a sentence other than the one actually given. Mulla Barzani refused either to surrender or to return to Iraq and after some desultory fighting succeeded in entering the Soviet territory.

Kurds and San Francisco Conference

In April 1945 the Kurdish League submitted its representation to the San Francisco Conference. It strongly urged for Kurdish independence under the U.N.O. auspices. The representation was based on grounds identical with those contained in Sherif Pasha’s plea for Kurdish autonomy which he submitted to the League of Nations in 1919.

The Kurds have now become increasingly conscious of the value of propaganda at an international level. Their propaganda centres in Iraq, Syria, Beirut, Sauj Bulaq (Mahabad) and certain other places are presenting the Kurdish case ably albeit ineffectively.

Kurdish struggle of Soviet Russia

The Kurdish problem is serious, very serious indeed. Its potential danger to the peace of the Middle East as also to that of the world in general is such that the Free World cannot afford to ignore it for long. Something must be done to stem the tide. The global policy of the U.S. to contain Communism may get frustrated in the Middle East because of the Kurdish problem. This danger was brought to the notice of the Free World by Mr. W. L. Westermann, who feared that the Soviet game of power politics against Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria with the Kurd as its pawn would disturb the peace of the area.3

When after World War I the map of the Middle East was redrawn some 20,000 Kurds were left in Soviet Armenia. They were deliberately encouraged by the Soviets to develop their national consciousness.4 The Russians, in accordance with the principles of self-determination of nationalities, allowed the Kurd an appreciable latitude to indulge his culture and his credo in a manner that suited his fancy. The absence of interference by an Authority in matters strictly communal was a highly pleasing experience for the Kurd. The Soviet policy naturally came in sharp contrast with the policies pursued by the Muslim countries, particularly those of Turkey and Iran. The post-war Kurdish policies of Ataturk and Riza Khan insisted on forging conditions that would ultimately lead to complete integration of the Kurd with the majority community. An attempt had been made at government level to obliterate his culture, language and other features peculiar to the Kurd, so that he should, in course of time, merge his identity in the nation as a whole. This position he was not prepared to accept under any circumstances no matter what the temptations and advantages offered to him.

All attempts made with the object of Turkifying or Iranianizing the Kurd proved futile. He reacted so violently against this policy that there were as many as eight revolts from 1923 to 1942, of which three were against Turkey, three against Iran and two against Iraq. On the contrary, relations between the deeply religious Kurd and the Godless Soviet authorities remained correct, if not particularly pleasant, for no other reason than that the latter left him alone to indulge his harmless passion in his culture and the things dear to him. Whereas Turkey and Iran had effectively suppressed the language of the Kurd it had become the medium of instruction in Kurdish primary and secondary schools of Soviet Armenia. No wonder then if, “the Kurdish community in Soviet Armenia became an important nucleus for Kurdish national feeling, the effect of which was felt so far away as Syria”.5

It is a pity that no organized attempt has been made to exploit the natural links, ethnic and linguistic, between Kurds and Persians.6 It is only too obvious that if the Muslim States could somehow pacify the Kurd by conceding some of his demands, which do not give the impression of

being too exacting, it would solve the problem to the satisfaction of all concerned except perhaps Moscow, which "has long posed as the friend of the Kurds, has acquired influence among them and will certainly try to turn any new development to its own advantage".

In the event of such a possibility becoming materialized "the West's Middle Eastern allies" would in the words of Rondot "gain in strength and stability if they had the sense to convert their Kurdish subjects into satisfied citizens".7

Kurdish problem in relation to Iraq

It is a happy augury that since the end of World War II, Turkey and Iran have had little to complain of against the restless Kurd. For the past few years, however, he has been at loggerheads with the authorities at Baghdad.

There are many reasons why Kurds feel particularly bitter against Iraqis. The former are in the majority in the oil-rich area of Iraq. They feel that a rich source of Kurdish wealth is being exploited by others and what is worse, the strength gained from that is being employed to suppress them. They deeply resent the various attempts they made to invoke international intervention in their behalf were frustrated because of the determinedly hostile attitude of the Arabs of Iraq and Syria.8

The Kurds gave a good account of themselves as subjects of the British and French Mandatory administrations respectively in Iraq and Syria. The fact is that, but for the pressure exercised by the Arabs, the two Mandatory Governments would probably have honoured the Kurdish aspirations and conceded them at least an autonomy of sorts. One can at least for this reason understand the present churlish attitude of the Kurds towards Iraq and Syria.

The genesis of the present clash between the government of Iraq and its Kurd subjects may be traced from the year 1932 when the authorities employed force to recover taxes due from them. The chief and spiritual leader of the Barzani tribe, Sheikh Ahmad, set the tone of Kurdish recalcitrance by refusing point-blank to pay the taxes due from him.9 The authorities acted warily against the Sheikh and he was ordered to be detained in Sulaimaniya. There was trouble again in 1943. Iraq was short of food partly because of war and partly because of famine. Mulla Mustafa Barzani exploited the resultant conditions skillfully and caused a great deal of trouble to the government.10 Soon after that, however, his attention was diverted against Iran and for the time being the Iraqi authorities were left alone.11

It will be recalled that after the demise of the Mahabad Republic, Barzani and his followers escaped to the Armenian S.S.R. In his absence Nuri al-Said instigated another tribe, who drove away Barzani families from their homes and helped themselves to the property of the evacuees. After the Revolution of 1958 Kassem persuaded Barzani and about 600 families of his tribe to come back to their former homes. They were accorded a warm welcome. Kassem treated them generously and even made a great fuss of them. Their properties, confiscated by Nuri, were restored to them. Mustafa was granted a handsome pension and a palatial house. A Kurdish sword was added to the Iraqi coat of arms and even the Constitution was altered so as to read: "A Republic of Arabs and Kurds". Article 3 of the Constitution emphasized that "Iraqi society was based upon the co-operation of all citizens" and that the Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the Iraqi entity.12

Kassem went out of his way to emphasize the Arab-Kurd brotherhood. Furthermore, he nominated a number of prominent Kurds to his Cabinet, as also to the Sovereignty Council. All this fraternizing had little effect on Barzani and his men. In July 1959 they fell upon the Turkomans at Kirkuk and began to massacre the "reactionary Turkomans" indiscriminately. Kassem felt alarmed and sent Col. Fuad Aref (a younger brother of President Aref of Iraq) at the head of a well-equipped force which included 50 armoured cars. The revolt was suppressed after a good deal of bloodshed. Without actually naming, but obviously indicating Russia, Kassem observed that the trouble had been organized at the instance of a foreign power.13

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., p. 12 (Sharif Pasha’s representation); and Part II, p. 9 (Kurdish League’s representation).
9 Ibid., Part II, p. 7.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.

---

STUDIES IN ISLAM

is a quarterly of world repute, based on the fruits of modern research by leading Indian and foreign authorities. Here are a few of the articles to appear in the coming issues of Studies in Islam:

The Economic Structure of Islam, by Professor Joseph de Somogyi, Brandeis University, Mass.

Some Aspects of Mughal Culture during the First Half of the 18th Century, by Dr. Zahiruddin Malik, Muslim University, Aligarh.

The Diwan of Hazrat ‘Umar, by Professor M. I. Moosa, Edinboro State College of Pennsylvania.

Annual Subscription: Rs. 15.00 (25s., $4.00). Single copy: Rs. 4.00 (7s., $1.00). Volume I, bound in half leather and gold-embossed, now available at Rs. 20.00 (30s., $5.00) per volume.

Studies in Islam is published on a non-profit basis.

Send remittances to: Secretary: INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES PANCHKUNI ROAD, NEW DELHI -1

---

Muslim Monuments in India (with illustrations), by Dr. Charles Fabri. The Nature of Morrocan Monarchy, by Professor William Zartman. Director of Studies, South Carolina University.

A Study of Muslims in the Philippines, by Dr. Peter Gowing, Silliman University, Philippines.

Arab Search for Ideology, by Professor Elie Salem. American University of Beirut.

These articles, written specially for Studies in Islam, will bring your knowledge of Islam -- past as well as present -- up to date.
The Arabic writing above is the first half of the Kalimah, which in English means:
"There is but the One God"

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

Nation and Nationality are barriers to a unified World

By Abul Hashim

Nation and nationality

At the dawn of the civilized existence man was divided into millions of small families. Each family was a nation and a State. The patriarch was the absolute head of the family and the welfare of the family was the sole concern of the family State. There would be war, prolonged family feuds and family peace between families and families. In the course of years and centuries families expanded into tribes. It was then felt and realized that a tribe was a homogeneous unit and that all the families constituting a tribe had the same blood running in their veins. At this stage of evolution of man a tribe became a nation and a State and the tribal head was the king of the tribal State. Disputes between the various families constituting a tribe were domestic and internal affairs of the tribe and these were settled by the tribe; adjustment of relations between the families and maintenance of peace, order and discipline within the tribe was the responsibility of the tribal head. Relation of one tribe with another was, therefore, an external and foreign affair of a tribal State. As civilization advanced and man’s outlook enlarged, and with the rapid production and multiplication of the human species, the tribes expanded, and it was noticed that all the tribes inhabiting a common land had affinity of blood and language and influence of their common soil and language created common habits and a common way of living. From common blood, common language and common habits, race consciousness grew. The race was then the nation and their homeland their territory and thus racial and territorial nationality and nationalism developed.

Each territory became a State. “My nation right or wrong” or the welfare of the citizens of a State became the highest virtue. Thus in succession family, tribe and race was the unit of division or constituent unit of the human race. When a family was a State there were family gods and family prophets. When tribal States came into existence they had tribal gods and tribal prophets and when territorial and racial nationalism was born there were racial and territorial gods and prophets. As unbridled individualism disturbed the peace of the family, unbridled family ego disturbed peace and order of the tribe and tribal patriotism disturbed the harmony of the race, chauvinism or exclusive and aggressive nationalism has been disturbing the peace of the world and making human existence intolerably miserable during recent years.

One is born in a particular family, tribe and race and is born in a particular territory and speaks a particular language not by choice but by accidental circumstances over which man has no control. Man cannot disown the traits of the inheritance and environment and these accidental circumstances cannot be altered by human efforts. If, therefore, family, tribal, racial or territorial and linguistic affinity and unity be accepted as a basis of division or constituent elements of the human race then humanity can never be one and the universal brotherhood of man can never be a reality and
there cannot be abiding peace and happiness in the world.

The Kalimah pulls down the barriers of nation and nationality

The Kalimah pulls down by a noble thrust all artificial barriers, family tribe and race complex and territorial and linguistic patriotism and proclaims from the top of Mount Hira, “There is no deity but God and Muhammad is His prophet”. There is one God and one Prophet for all the worlds and the Prophet of the Kalimah is described in the Sustainer and Evolver not of any particular family, tribe or race, but He is the Creator, Sustainer and Evolver of all the worlds and the Prophet of the Kalimah is described in the Holy Qur’an as a blessing for the universe. There is one God and one humanity. The Holy Qur’an defines nation and nationality in a few clear words, “Humanity was made one single nation” (2:213). This is the ideal of the Kalimah but as a step towards realization of this ideal a common outlook and view of existence for the entire humanity is essential. The religion of the Kalimah does not lose sight of it; it fully recognizes the unifying value of affinity of ideology. Affinity of ideology is a matter of free choice and it is not a permanent and invincible impediment to universal brotherhood. Acceptance of affinity of ideology as the basis of division of man will, therefore, not be inconsistent with, but will lead to the ideal, namely, universal nationalism of man; for mankind must have a common ideology before it can think of establishing the Kingdom of God on earth.

The Holy Qur’an gives man that coming common ideology. So in a secondary sense the Holy Qur’an defines nationality as brotherhood based on common ideology when it says, “The believers are but a single brotherhood” (49:10). It is in this specific sense that the Muslims all over the world constitute one nationality, but Muslins are never one nation in the racial or ethnological sense of the term. Is it then any surprise that this sublime message of the Kalimah, delivered fourteen centuries ago to the Bedouins, ever-engaged in irreconcilable internecine family and tribal feuds, did in no time revolutionise the political outlook of the Arabs, liquidated their quarrels, plucked from their memory age-old spirit of vengeance and retaliation and moulded them into a nation of supermen in twenty-three years? These wonderful Arabs carried the message of the Kalimah far and wide and preached to the world universal nationalism not in the spirit of conquest but in the spirit of humble missionaries dedicated to the noble cause of universal peace and happiness.

Political power in the hands of dishonest demagogues

Plato said, “Until philosophers are kings, or kings and princes of this world with the spirit and power of philosophy and wisdom and political leadership meet in the same city, cities will never cease from ill, nor the human race.” Statesmen and politicians ultimately mould the destiny of man and they make or mar the destiny according to their competence to perform their grave duties and responsibilities. According to the ancient philosophy of India every ill, even a premature death of a child, is a consequence of sins and incometence of kings. It is already too well known and a universally accepted theory that society, like an individual organism, is a living organism, and its birth, growth and decay are governed by fixed and rigid laws of nature. Biology governs life — life of a plant, life of animals and life of the individual and social organism of man. That branch of biology which particularly and dominantly applies to man is human biology and that part which governs social organism is sociology or social biology. What physicians are to individual organisms, sociologists are to societies or social organisms. Since the quality of a society is determined by the quality of its individuals, both physicians and sociologists must meet in statesmen and politicians. Biology, like all other sciences, is not self-contained and complete in itself but is intricately related with all other sciences and is, in fact, part of a comprehensive whole. The degree of attainment of knowledge of biology and its branches varies directly with and is proportionate to the knowledge of universal biology or the composite universal law which governs birth, growth and decay of the entire creation. This completely unified knowledge is the highest knowledge of man’s nature and destiny. Spencer, that great scientist and philosopher, whose name has become a part of the science of biology, sufficiently explains the famous political dictum of Plato when he says, “Knowledge of the lowest kind is ununified knowledge, science is partially unified knowledge, philosophy is the completely unified knowledge.”

Politics are, therefore, the science of man and the philosophy of human existence and it is not a vulgar art of seizing power and deceiving men. All the ills of the human race of the present age are due to that vicious and stupid political system which gives political leadership to inefficient and dishonest demagogues and accepts as perfect wisdom the decision of fifty-one asses against the judgment of forty-nine Arab horses by the procedure of counting noses, which they call democracy! Whether one accepts it or not, it is a hard reality that sovereignty, political or otherwise, is vested and lies not in man, in a king, a dictator or in any assembly of men, but in the completely unified law of nature and in its completely unified knowledge of God, the Creator, Sustainer and the Evolver of the Universe. The honest and efficient proponents of this knowledge are only competent to do politics or to mould the destiny of man according to the law of nature and the will of God. One can revolt against nature for a while but nature cannot be flouted for all time, as Horace said, “You may throw nature out with a pitchfork, but she will keep coming back.”

The Kalimah divests man of political sovereignty and vests it absolutely in God

The decree of the Kalimah, “There is no god (god, deity or authority) but God” at once divests man of political sovereignty and vests it absolutely in God. It is clear, therefore, that whether a positive law or a custom is in order or out of order, is intra-vires or ultra-vires, or is valid or void, must be determined not by counting noses but by ascertaining through knowledge acquired through revelation and other human efforts and experience, whether such law or custom is consistent or inconsistent with the Will of God made manifest in the law of nature. It follows as a corollary that freedom according to the Kalimah lies not in the form of a government or in the colour of the rulers but in one’s right and opportunity to rise up to the highest level of one’s genius or in other words in a social order perfectly harmonious with nature which gives rights and opportunities to each and all to be nourished and developed according to their own fitrat or nature. The Islamic conception of sovereignty, democracy, and freedom has been made concretely clear in the famous inauguration speech of the first Caliph of Islam, the venerable Abu Bakr: “I am entitled to your obedience so long as I obey God and the Prophet: follow me when I am right and correct me when I am wrong.” Inspired by this sublime and natural gospel of liberty and freedom of sovereignty and democracy a common Bedouin woman successfully challenged
the authority of 'Umar the Great, whose name was a terror to all the crowned heads of the then world, when the great Caliph attempted to restrict the rights of women in the matter of marriage contracts.

Man as the viceroy of God on earth has been gifted with creative genius. But his creative genius cannot produce something out of nothing or make, alter or amend the laws of nature which by the Will of God govern the universe. His creative genius lies in his ability to know the law, and with his knowledge of the law to produce new forms and shapes from existing and available substances and elements. Life comes into being and death occurs by some rigid natural process of metamorphosis. Since nature is knowable, if this natural process be definitely ascertained and applied with precision, life and death can be caused. Man by careful application of the laws of nature can produce natural effects but can never bid nature alter its course; he may cause life and death by his discovery of the secrets of life and death but he cannot make the sun rise in the West and sink in the East. In the narration of Abraham's dispute with his critics the Holy Qur'an puts it like this: 'Hast thou not turned thy vision to one who disputed with Abraham about his Lord, because God had granted him power? Abraham said, 'My Lord is He Who giveth life and death.' He said, 'I give life and death.' Said Abraham, 'But it is God that causeth the sun to rise from the East. Do thou then cause him to rise from the West?' Thus was he confounded who rejected faith (2:258).

The power of ideas

Man's creative genius finds expression initially in his ideals and his ideas create in him in succession desire, imagination, and the will to create. There can be no as well as abuse of this creative genius of man. Ideas actually move the world and influence the behavior of man. All the decisive battles of the world which created revolution in the affairs of man and were responsible for the rise and fall of nations and civilizations were actually battles of ideas and they were fought and won unseen, and actual armed conflicts merely recorded the result of these unseen battles. To take an instance, reference can be made of the unseen battles of ideas which were fought between the two forces of atheistic materialism, namely, Capitalism and Communism. Communitarian ideas attacked the head and the heart of the peoples of the capitalistic social order and in this unseen battle capitalism was beaten in Russia and an armed conflict between the two forces ultimately followed and registered with shining steel the result of the battle of ideas fought and won unseen.

Ideas are, however, formed from two distinct and different sources — transcendental wisdom and knowledge of truth acquired through intuition and subjective knowledge of the immediate material environment acquired through the external sense organs when intellect is detached from intuition. Ideas formed from the first source make proper use of the creative genius while ideas created by man's immediate material environment are responsible for the abuse of man's creative faculty; hence the importance of philosophy in the life of man. Man can create new forms, patterns and species, but whether such creation is really life or death for the created depends on the creative ideas. Creation of ideas born out of true knowledge and wisdom is good and natural, but creation of subjective ideas produced by the immediate material environment, however attractive it may appear to the eye, is in the long run fatal. Poultry experts are of opinion that all the beautiful cocks and hens have been created from the jungle fowls of India by different processes of feeding, breeding and rearing. The beautiful Orpington of England appears to the naked eye superior to the jungle fowl beyond comparison, but in reality the man-made Orpington is a miserable creature and if left to itself will not survive for a moment. The jungle fowl created and developed in the womb of nature will continue to survive, multiply and evolve through ages towards its ultimate destiny. Man does not merely create new breeds of fowls, horses and dogs but he creates new humanity as well. Every philosophy of life tends to create a new type and species of man. Eighteenth and nineteenth century philosophers of the West created the modern white nations. Nietzsche created Fascist Germany and Karl Marx and Engels have created the peoples of Soviet Russia. However attractive these new humanities may appear to the eye, they are no better than the English fowl. Statesmen and politicians of the world will ultimately lead man to annihilation if man in his vanity and pride renounces his viceroyalty of the sovereignty of God and assumes sovereignty for himself and thereby rejects the law of nature and creates for the guidance of man arbitrary laws by counting noses. For the proper use of man's creative genius true knowledge of and obedience to the Will of God and the law of nature or in other words acceptance of sovereignty of God and negation of sovereignty of man must be the starting-point of political philosophy.

Democracy of Islam is just and equitable distribution of rights and privileges of the State but not equal participation of all in the affairs of the State

Democracy of Islam is just and equitable distribution of rights and privileges of the State but not equal participation of all in the affairs of the State; it gives absolute freedom of discussion but demands obedience to the decision of the good and the efficient so far as it is consistent with the Will of God or the completely unified knowledge of creation, sustenance and evolution of man.

How the first four caliphs of the Prophet Muhammad were selected and how they governed

Here, as also in other matters, the admirers of Western parliamentary democracy try to adjust Islam with the wisdom of the West and lay much emphasis on the decision of the majority and advocate the omnipotence and omniscience of the judgment and the will of such a majority. According to this conception of democracy a State is a machinery through which the will of the majority is expressed. A glance at the procedure of the selection of the Caliphs will clarify the issue. It is historically incorrect to think that the first Caliph Abu Bakr was selected by counting noses.

After the death of the Prophet Muhammad some of the leading Ansars or the "helpers" of Medina assembled at a place to select a Caliph from amongst themselves. Apprehending that there would be disruption amongst the Muslims, if there be a contest between the "helpers" and the "immigrants" as such in the matter of selection of the Caliph, 'Umar at once rushed to the place with the venerable Abu Bakr, who commanded universal respect and confidence of the people. He proposed Abu Bakr for the leadership, and without waiting for any decision of the assembly he at once took the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr and others followed him spontaneously.

This procedure was not followed in the case of the selection of the second Caliph. The Caliph Abu Bakr (d.
634 C.E.), when on his death-bed, called the leading men of Medina and asked them if they would accept whomever he would propose as his successor. They agreed, and then the dying Caliph nominated 'Umar the Great (d. 644 C.E.), as his successor. The appointment of the third Caliph, 'Uthman, was made by the decision of a panel of six leaders nominated by 'Umar. During the Caliphate of 'Umar the great Caliph would often be found in vacant and in pensive mood deeply thinking and contemplating as to who should be his successor, but unfortunately he could not make a decision. He appointed a panel of six leaders and advised them to select one from amongst themselves as his successor.

'Uthman (d. 656 C.E.) was assassinated in his house and his Caliphate ended in a political turmoil. 'All in that tumultuous political context considered it his duty in the best interest of the Caliphate to take the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the State in his own hands. He declared himself as the Caliph without any hypocritical show and pretension of modesty and humility. 'Umar Ibn Abd al-'Aziz (d. 720 C.E.), generally known as 'Umar II of Damascus, is recognized as the fifth righteous Caliph of Islam. He was the nephew of the Umayyad Emperor Sulayman (d. 717 C.E.) and was married to the Emperor's only daughter. The Emperor nominated him as his successor as he had no son. 'Umar II summoned a conference of leaders of Damascus and in their presence tendered his resignation and advised them to select their own leader. He said that his appointment as the Caliph was invalid as it was inspired by Emperor Sulayman's anxiety to retain the office in his family and not by an honest sense of duty as it was in the case of 'Umar the Great's nomination by the venerable Abu Bakr. The assembly, however, unanimously elected 'Umar II as the Caliph.

In all these diverse methods and procedures of selection of a leader there is noticed a uniformity of purpose, namely, to select the best man. During the Prophet's lifetime he did not in so many words select Abu Bakr (d. 634 C.E.) as his successor but by indications he made it abundantly clear that in his opinion Abu Bakr was the best man for the purpose; Abu Bakr would always, under the direction of the Prophet himself, lead congregational prayers during the absence of the Prophet due to illness or similar other circumstances. History has amply justified the selection of 'Umar (d. 644 C.E.) as the second Caliph of Islam. 'Umar the Great in his external appearance was like a rough stone and a common man could hardly see the milk of human kindness beneath his rough and rugged exterior. If his selection was put to the vote, he would have been miserably defeated. The wise Abu Bakr proposed 'Umar's name when the leaders, assembled in his chamber, had already agreed to accept the choice of the dying Caliph. The disastrous consequence of 'Umar's failure to find out the best man is too well known to need any comment. 'Ali (d. 661 C.E.), after the martyrdom of 'Uthman (d. 656 C.E.), honestly believed that he was the best man to meet the situation created by the disturbances that led to the tragic end of 'Uthman and he did not hesitate to assert himself as the Caliph. To him the office of the Caliph was an office of responsibility and trust and not of power and privilege. Nomination, resignation and subsequent election of 'Umar II (d. 720 C.E.) clearly show that Islam cares more for the motive than for the procedure of selection of leaders. Whatever procedure may be suitable for the selection of the best men as leaders is valid in Islam. The motive for the selection of the best man must be uniformly present in every case but the method and procedure of selection may vary according to varying circumstances.

The Majlis Shuraa

For the guidance of the Caliph there was an assembly of the good and the efficient known as Majlis Shuraa. Members of this assembly were not formally selected or elected, The cream accumulates on the surface when the milk is stirred, so do the best men of a society always appear on top in the ordinary course of the active life of the society and no formal procedure of selection is necessary for the choice of leaders if there is honesty of purpose. The business of the assembly was generally transacted in the Mosque of the Prophet in the presence of all who would assemble there for prayers and, if any besides the leaders desired to participate in the discussions, he was freely permitted to do so. Decisions were taken not by majority votes but on the merits of the subject. It was not very rare when opinion of a single individual prevailed over the opinion of the whole house if that particular individual opinion was sound and reasonable. In case of failure to come to unanimity on any matter the decision of the Caliph was final and obedience to it was mandatory provided the decision of the Caliph was consistent with the Holy Qur'an and the precepts and examples of the Prophet. This natural process of transaction of business can be a practical proposition only in a social order which negates the sovereignty of man and accepts with conviction and faith the sovereignty of God which and which alone can effectively and efficiently keep under discipline mankind and lends order and power and eliminates subjective thinking. To put it from another standpoint, democracy of Islam is the rule of the laws of God executed by the good and efficient for the balanced nourishment and evolution of man.

The conception of the Caliphate in early Islam

A Muslim State is called a Caliphate and the Head of the State is called a Caliph. Caliphate means vicegerency or vicegerency of God on earth and Caliph means vicegerent or vicegerent of God on earth. Caliphate, therefore, indicates character of an Islamic State. Duties and functions of a Caliphate and a Caliph are to nourish and develop their people as vicegerent of God faithfully in the manner in which the Creator nourishes and develops. His wonderful creation and not to impose and maintain arbitrary and unnatural law and order by organized State force and violence. The office of a Caliph is not an office of power, privilege and dignity but is an office of duties, responsibilities and trust.

It is the inevitable law of nature clearly visible in the secrets of the rise, decline and fall of nations that so long as the leaders of a nation, in the matter of governance of the people, rigidly adhere to these principles, the nation is great, happy and prosperous and that when they are indifferent or hostile to these principles and go their own way, the nation, in spite of possession and control of all material resources and expansion of its empire or sphere of influence, sinks into nothingness. One may call this man or that man a Muslim ruler or this State or that State an Islamic State, but the truth is the Caliphate or the vicegerency of God is bestowed upon man when he deserves it; it is retained so long as he faithfully discharges his obligations and is withdrawn immediately as and when he disqualifies himself by his own acts and deeds. It was only when under the inspiration of the Kalimah and the direct guidance of the Prophet Muhammad, the small Muslim community developed and acquired that standard of human material which qualifies a people for the vicegerency of God on earth that God bestowed upon them His Caliphate and declared in the Holy Qur'an His favour and warning, "Now We have made you vicegerents on earth after them
The caliphs of Medina had no preference over others

Apparent expansion of empires is no indication of growing vitality and strength of nations. As soon as a nation develops pride and vanity and deviates from the right path of truth, justice and balance, it loses its vital force but continues for many years and even for centuries to expand and move forward in its momentum and inertia, and reaching the farthest point suddenly collapses in the midst of affluence. The fall of the Muslim social organism was complete long before the Pathans or the Moghuls entered India and similarly, the white nations of the world are, in reality, now completely dead, although they are still expanding and moving forward in inertia and momentum they had gathered, their national vitality had been vigorously alive and they had a progressive and revolutionary role in the evolution of human thought and action. If pedalling is stopped when a bicycle is moving it does not immediately stop and fall down or go backwards, but it continues to measure length and goes ahead in inertia although the vital force had already stopped, and it suddenly falls to the ground, reaching its highest length. This is the secret of the fall of nations in the midst of grandeur and glory and this is a sign of the omnipotence of the laws of God for those who ponder. The irony of fate is categorically stated in the Holy Qur’an as a timely warning to men in power and affluence in a few simple words, “But when they forgot the warning they had received, We opened to them the gates of all things, until in the midst of their enjoyment of Our gifts, on a sudden, We called them to account, when lo! they are plunged in despair” (6: 44).

The job of a viceroy or a vicegerent is faithfully to represent the will of his master by his words and deeds; if consciously or unconsciously he misrepresents his master he is withdrawn and a new viceroy is appointed. Misrepresentation and disobedience of the laws of nature or the Will of God in the affairs of man is the secret of man’s manifold miseries and perhaps realization of this truth inspired the poet Wordsworth to produce his famous lines:

To her fair works did Nature link
The human soul that through me ran,
And much it grieved my heart to think,
What man has made of man.

and again,

If this belief from Heaven he sent,
If such be Nature’s holy plan,
Have I not reason to lament
What man has made of man?

The Caliphs of Medina in the matter of enjoyment of rights and privileges of the State had no preference over others but were equals of common citizens of the Caliphate. The rule of the laws of the Kalimah gave no exemption to the Caliphs from the operation of its laws. How uncenemoniously a Caliph would be hauled up before a justice of the Caliphate like a common prisoner whenever he would commit an offence! How often the Caliphs would punish governors of the Caliphate when they committed any offence like common offenders! The Caliphs had no artificial material grandeur about them for display of their own dignity or prestige or potentiality of the Caliphate. The Caliphs commanded obedience of their people and the Caliphs and their people commanded admiration, respect and love of the world by the grandeur of their virtue and character. The Prophet Muhammad and his illustrious disciples and brothers-in-faith, the great Caliphs of Islam, were true representatives of God on earth; they lived the life of their common brothers and when they sat in the company of common people they could hardly be distinguished from their fellow brothers either from their dress or demeanour. Not a powerful army, a navy or air force equipped with deadly weapons like atomic or cosmic bombs did vanquish the pride and vanity of Persia and Byzantine but the might of the human materials created by the Kalimah and the rising tides of the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man swept like straws the might of emperors and empires.

Anarchy or absence of government is possible

According to modern political concepts a State is a machine through which the will of the people is expressed. To start with, it is a matter of great doubt as to whether there is anything like the will of the people. In a civilized and developed state of nature where the social organism will have its natural growth and development, the people will have a will — the unified will of individuals representing the Will of God or the design of nature. In arbitrary and artificial man-made societies there is no such thing as the will of the people. The State, therefore, does not represent the will of the people, not even the will of the majority of the people, but the naked truth is that it represents only the will of an organized and powerful minority and it is machinery to impose the will of this organized minority upon the people by organized force and violence in the name of justice, law and order, to protect and safeguard vested interests of such a minority.

In this grim context, philosophers think that a State is a necessary evil and that anarchy or a society without a government and other State machineries is the ideal. Many an eminent seeker of truth deeply contemplated on this subject. We have visions of Plato on an ideal society, we have before us the dreams of the author of The Utopia; and the wings of imagination of Chancellor Bacon carried him to Atlantis, an imaginary continent across the seas. It is a pity that the story of a real anarchy, the ideal society the Kalimah created in Medina out of the rugged Bedouins four hundred years ago, is little known today, although details of that ideal society are on record and are well preserved.

The Caliphate was a society or a State without any machinery to impose its will upon the people and to maintain law and order it had the spontaneous obedience of the people. The Caliphate had no standing army, police or officers to maintain law and order or to collect dues and taxes. Every Muslim was a missionary and a soldier. Whenever occasion arose for defence of the Caliphate from foreign aggression no conscription was necessary but people voluntarily and freely rushed to the field of action and performed their military duties. No policemen were necessary to detect and punish crimes. Commission of crime was very few and far between and every Muslim had his own policeman within his own breast to detect and punish his sins and crimes. Whenever one committed an offence he would on his own initiative go to the Caliph or to one of his judges, make confessions and take judgment to purify himself. The Kalimah had taught them this sublime and natural moral principle that a sin or a crime were offences against one’s own self and
that attempting to escape from the law was deception and oppression of one's own self.

The kind of righteous men the Prophet Muhammad produced

Once a bright young man, in one of his weak moments, committed fornication. The severe punishment assigned for fornication was well known to him. But consciousness of this disobedience of the law oppressed him so much and so violently that he walked straight up to the Prophet and, standing in his presence, confessed his crimes and begged for forgiveness but judgment of the law. "O Prophet of God, I have committed fornication, please purify me," was the prayer of the gallant young Muslim. Looking at the tender age and appearance of the youth the Prophet was moved by compassion and turned his face towards his right, pretending not to have heard him. The young man came to the right and prayed that he might be purified. The Prophet turned to his left and again pretended not to have heard it. The young man walked to the left and repeated the same prayer again. The Prophet Muhammad asked one of his companions to take the young man and give him the punishment. Immediately the Prophet received a revelation, "The woman and the man guilty of adultery or fornication — flog each of them with a hundred stripes. Let not compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by God, if ye believe in God and the last day: and let a party of the believers witness their punishment" (The Qur'an, 24: 2).

This divine directive inspired Caliph 'Umar to whip to death by his own hand his son who committed fornication and confessed it. Fornication, according to the jurisprudence of the Kalimah, is the highest anti-social crime. The strict and unqualified rule of law of Islam which governs equally a common citizen, the son of the Caliph and the Caliph himself, inspired spontaneous obedience to law and maintained law and order without a policeman's club. Dues and taxes were voluntarily deposited in the Bayt a-Mal or the public treasury by the people themselves. It was none of the business of the Caliphs or of other servants of the Caliphate to collect dues and taxes but to distribute and utilize revenue voluntarily deposited for the benefit of the people.

Law and morality must coincide for absence of government

Sociologists are of opinion that there cannot be real anarchy unless law and morality coincide. If law and ethics be both man-made and coincide, then there will be no anarchy where anarchy means the ideal society but there will be perfect anarchy where anarchy means complete disregard and breach of law and morality for man-made law and morality uncongenial to nature can never inspire spontaneous obedience. Coincidence of law and morality will produce a real anarchy only when there is coincidence of law and morality founded on the principles of the natural philosophy of life. The Kalimah gives man knowledge of unity and knowledge of unified knowledge and thus lays the natural foundation of law and ethics both of which faithfully represent the nature of man, and they meet and coincide in the Kalimah, the fountainhead of natural law and morality.

The Caliphate of Medina was a practical and a maximum attainable anarchy with a minimum State organization and officials like a Caliph, a few provincial governors and judges for the maintenance of balance. Perfect anarchy will not be a practical proposition until humanity completely shakes off its artificial civilized existence and goes back to the state of nature. In the Biblical Garden of Eden, man lived in the state of nature but he lost this paradise when his pride and ego reduced him to taste the pleasures of artificial existence. Since the fall, man has been casting a longing and lingering look behind and endeavouring to regain the lost paradise by going back to the state of nature, but the chains of bondage of artificial existence drag him into a vicious circle and makes his return to nature well-nigh impossible. The realization that anarchy is the perfect state of human existence is as old as humanity itself and is by no means a new political doctrine.

As far back as two thousand years ago a Chinese philosopher, Chuang Tzu, described vividly with similitudes of horses, clay and wood how man invited his miseries by his own revolt against nature.

Horses have hoofs to carry them over frost and snow, hair to protect them from wind and cold. They eat grass and drink water, and fling up their heels. Such is the real nature of horses. Palatial dwellings are of no use to them.

One day Po Lo appeared, saying: "I understand the management of horses." So he branded them, and slipped them and pared their hoofs, and put halters on them, tying them up by the head and shackling them by the feet, and putting them in stables, with the result that two or three in every ten died. Then he kept them hungry and thirsty, trotting them and galloping them, and grooming and trimming, with the misery of the tasselled bridle before and the fear of the knotted whip behind, until more than half of them were dead.

The potter says: "I can do what I will with clay. If I want it round, I use compasses; if rectangular, a square." The carpenter says: "I can do what I will with wood. If I want it curved, I use an arc; if straight, a line." But on what grounds can we think that the natures of clay and wood desire this application of compasses and square, or arc and line? Nevertheless, every age extols Po Lo for his skill in managing horses, and potters and carpenters for their skill with clay and wood. Those who govern the empire make the same mistake. Now I regard government of the empire from quite a different point of view.

The people have certain natural instincts — to weave and clothe themselves, to till and feed themselves. These are common to all humanity, and all are agreed thereto. Such instincts are called "Heaven-sent". And so in the days when natural instincts prevailed, men moved quietly and gazed steadily. At that time, there were no roads over mountains, no boats nor bridges over water. All things were produced, each for its own proper sphere. Birds and beasts multiplied; trees and shrubs grew up. The former might be led by the hand; you could climb up and peep into the raven's nest. For then man dwelt with birds and beasts, and all creation was one. There were no distinctions of good and bad men. Being all equally without knowledge, their virtue could not go astray. Being all equally without evil desires, they were in a state of natural integrity, the perfection of human existence.

Chuang Tzu, however, made a serious mistake when he said: "When sages appeared, tripping up people over charity and fettering them with duty to their neighbour, doubt found its way into the world. And then, with their gushing over music and fusing over ceremony, the empire became divided against itself."
The fact is otherwise. The sages appeared not before but after man damned himself by his abandonment of his natural existence and entered into the vicious circle of artificial civilized life. The sages came to make the best of a bad job. They gave man wisdom and knowledge of his pristine nature and taught him how to behave so that he might once again regain his lost paradise. But for the appearance of the sages, the human race would have been completely extinct millions of years ago.

In the state of nature man required no sage and prophets, for they were then in perfect harmony with nature and, as such, they were themselves and each and all of them sages and prophets, and felt the presence of God and His laws as clearly as one sees his own image when he stands before a mirror. The Kalimah created a practical anarchy and thereby definitely indicated the way to the achievement of a perfect anarchy which must be attained through a slow and gradual process.

The sovereignty of God as enunciated in the Kalimah liberated the Arabs from all human bondage

The sovereignty of God liberated the Arabs from the bondage of all human authorities and the new nationality of the Kalimah gave them the right of citizenship of the world. The idea of the Kalimah is that sovereignty of God must be universally accepted as the cornerstone of political philosophy. The ideal of the Kalimah not only liberated the Arabs from political servitude of arbitrary law and authority but created in them a living faith that all the nations and peoples of the world had the right to enjoy complete independence and freedom from any kind of external aggression through force and violence. They loved and respected freedom of others as deeply as they loved their own freedom. The Kalimah made it incumbent upon all who had faith in it to make every peaceful effort to spread its message amongst others as missionaries, but the sense of liberty and freedom for the entire humanity it created did not permit Muslims even to impose upon others the social order of the Kalimah and the sovereignty of God by aggression, force and violence. The Holy Qur'ān categorically says, "There is no compulsion in religion" (2 : 256). Although the Kalimah definitely contemplates universal acceptance of the Law of God in the affairs of man and a universal social order for the whole world, it severely condemns use of force and aggressive warfare on any pretext or for any purpose. Consistently with its doctrine of freedom and sovereignty, the Kalimah condemns submission to violence and aggression as severely as it does the use of force and aggressive warfare to subdue others.

The conception of a defensive war in Islam

The Holy Qur'ān fully recognizes the natural instinct of self-preservation. It accordingly warns the believers not to be careless and unduly complacent in the matter of defence preparations and defensive war and clearly states, "Against them (apprehended aggressors) make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies of God and your enemies and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom God doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of God, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly." (8 : 60), and again, "O ye who believe! When ye meet a force, be firm, and call God in remembrance much, that ye may prosper" (8 : 45). So the Kalimah not only permits defensive warfare but it makes it mandatory for all, for submission to violence and aggression amounts to acceptance of arbitrary human authority besides the sovereignty and authority of God and the negation of the Kalimah.

Since a defensive war in the very nature of it is a struggle for liberty and freedom and is free from hatred and vengeance or tendency of impairing others' freedom, cessation of hostilities is mandatory as soon as peace is offered, even if material aspects of terms of peace be not favourable. The Holy Qur'ān enjoins, "But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou incline towards peace, and trust in God: for He is the One that heareth and knoweth" (8 : 61). The early Muslims never fought aggressive battles but always met aggression with grim determination, and true to their principles of peace they always sheathed their swords when the enemy offered peace. The famous Treaty of Hudaybiyya is an example to the point. The treaty was executed by the Prophet himself when the aggressive forces of the hostile city of Mecca had almost fallen before the Muslims. The terms of the treaty were very unfavourable to the Muslims.

Universal nationalism and brotherhood of man, while acknowledging as virtue the love of one's motherland, bestow upon man the right of citizenship of the world, and thus eliminate all the vices of territorial nationalism. This inculcates peace and harmony between nations and negates all the philosophy of life that fosters pride and vanity of territorial nationalism or territorial exclusiveness and emphatically abhors chauvinistic or imperial warfare.

The ethics of war in Islam

The Kalimah has its own ethics of war as well. God of the Kalimah is the nourisher of the universe and, as such, the nutritious surface of the earth has to be preserved for the nourishment of His creatures. Destruction of food materials would be an act of hostility against God. Churches, synagogues and monasteries are places of worship and religious culture. The principles of tolerance and freedom of conscience and faith make the followers of the Kalimah as zealous and jealous lovers of other's freedom of conscience, faith and worship as of their own places of worship, and other's places of worship are, therefore, inviolable. Defensive war presupposes aggression. Therefore force and violence to meet aggression must only be used against actual aggressors, and peace and security of non-combatant elements, the women, children and old men must not be violated. The Caliphs of Medina invariably on the eve of every war issued these instructions to the army and followed the crusaders up to the outskirts of the capital city of Medina all the while repeating these instructions, "Do not violate churches, synagogues and monasteries and injure priests, monks and nuns; do not kill women, children, invalids and old men; do not destroy standing crops, vineyards, fruit gardens and trees." To the Arabs, these principles of war and peace were contents of the Kalimah itself and this faith moulded their mental attitude and external behaviour accordingly. This developed in them a personality which at the same time inspired awe and reverence of the world. Whatever might have been the nature of warfare of the subsequent imperial Arabs, and whatever might have been the nature of the Crusades of King Richard of England, a crusade according to the Kalimah means a defensive war.
What our Readers Say...

THE MUSLIMS OF SIERRA LEONE
Naseale Dorayai,
Bhera, Pakistan.
27 February 1965.

Dear Sir,

I have read with profound interest Mr. G. Neville-Bagot’s article under the above caption published in The Islamic Review for December 1964. But it is rather strange to see that he has totally ignored such countries as Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast and Ghana, where according to the United Nations Demographic Year Book Muslims form 55, 45, 55 and 45 per cent of the total population of these countries respectively. However, a Pakistani journalist who visited Sierra Leone recently strongly challenged the validity of the U.N. statistics in respect of that country’s Muslim population. After having met people of all shades of opinion, he asserts that Sierra Leone is overwhelmingly Muslim in character.

Sierra Leone is in a peculiar and unfavourable position. Eighty per cent of the population is Muslim but the Christian minority accounting for 10 per cent of the population holds 17 Cabinet seats out of 22. The Head of the State, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Information, are all Christians; the five Muslims in the Cabinet have been given unimportant and very ordinary portfolios. It is alleged that Muslims are backward, illiterate and uneducated, and hence incapable of running the country of their own.

The condition of Muslims in Central and East Africa is also not satisfactory. They are all experiencing the same problem of acute illiteracy and general backwardness. And because of this sorry state of affairs, they continue rotting in the quagmire of poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination. This explains the present situation in most of the African countries where in places like Senegal, Tanganyika, Ethiopia, the Central African Republic, Chad, Gambia, Upper Volta, etc., where Muslims are in an overwhelming majority, the leadership is in the hands of educated but insignificant Christian minorities which control not only the administration but also the economic and political interests of those areas.

So if we want the Muslims of those areas to regain their usurped rights and privileges, it is the duty of all of us to lift them from their present state of obscurity and backwardness. And this is not possible without building the much-needed schools and colleges and helping them with qualified teachers, trained missionaries and scholarships for higher studies abroad. Unless those well-placed in life are prepared to render this indispensable assistance to their less fortunate brethren in Africa, they will be reduced to the level of the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Yours sincerely,

S. M. IKRAM.

BOOK REVIEW


It is perhaps not easy to thoroughly understand and grasp the full import of a religion that has been with mankind for close on fourteen centuries, during which long period so much has been thought, said and written on it by non-Muslims as well as Muslims all over the globe. It is hardly possible for an average reader to find the time, money and energy required to study and absorb even a small fraction of the best books that have been written on the subject in the most outstanding languages of the world. That being so, a comparatively small book in English — perhaps the most widely diffused international language of the day — is sure to be a welcome addition to the world literature on Islam.

One such book, of a little over 200 pages, is Islam, Its Meaning for Modern Man, written by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, who is now serving as a Judge of the International Court of Justice at the Hague for a second term, after having retired from the office of the President, U.N. General Assembly, and serving as Pakistan’s Permanent Representative at the United Nations in New York. The book is the seventh in a series named “Religious Perspectives” which is being published both in the U.S.A. and England. The series is designed to counteract the widely prevalent modern drift away from religion that started with the rise and phenomenal progress of science beginning about three centuries ago. These books seek to show that there is, in reality, no irreconcilable opposition between religion and science, between revelation and reason, between faith and knowledge. The subjects dealt with in the book on Islam will appear from the following list of contents: Background; Muhammad; Early Years; The Prophet at Mecca; The Prophet at Medina; The Concluding Years; The Excellent Exemplar; Revelation; The Qur’an; Concept of God; Man and the Universe; Prayer; Fasting; Pilgrimage; Moral and Spiritual Values; Social Values; Economic Values; Public Affairs; International Relations; Peace; International Relations; War; Life after Death; The Role of Islam.

A book with these contents, it will be generally agreed, leaves out nothing that is fundamental and includes nothing that is not basic. The author has successfully managed to discuss all that an intelligent book and discerning reader would expect to find in a book bearing its particular title. The matter of each chapter is systematically arranged and its contents interrelated. No statement that is made in an ex cathedra spirit as it were, but everything is invariably authenticated and supported by quoting the relevant chapter and verses from the Qur’an, either in the words of Holy Writ or in the author’s own paraphrase of them. Where necessary and desirable, the Qur’anic verses are further supported by quotations from authentic traditions which explain and elucidate them. In fact, it may not, in this writer’s considered opinion, be easy to find a small book on Islam that is so well documented and supported by reference to the fundamental sources of that religion. The author’s language is plain and unambiguous, chaste and unadorned. In brief, the book is very well worth reading and the learned author has, by writing it, rendered a service of lasting value to Islam and the world.
Books on Islam and Allied Subjects

Customers are advised not to order books by Air Mail. Air Mail Postage is expensive. It costs approximately 16¢ per lb.

Books marked * are specially recommended — Postage Extra

The Holy Qur’ân

*The Holy Qur'an with Arabic text, English translation and commentary, (The best and the most authentic work on the market. Indispensable for students and scholars.) By the Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, LX+1256 pp...

- Leather bound — 1st Quality...
- Cloth bound — 2nd Quality...

*The Holy Qur'an with Arabic text, English translation and commentary by 'Abdul Ya'wuf 'Ali (three-volume edition)

*The Holy Qur'an without Arabic text, English translation and brief commentary by Muhammad 'Ali (Limited number of copies available).

*The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an (without Arabic text) by Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthull

- Library Edition...
- Priced in Sensitive...

*The Tafsir al-Misri Vol. I. English translation of the commentary on First Chapter of the Qur'an by Abdul Kazim Arif. (Edited and revised by Syed Abdul Latif.)

*The Message of the Holy Qur'an. English translation without Arabic text, and commentary by Muhammad Asad. Pp. XXIV+377. Published by the Muslim World League, Mecca, Volume I. Up to Chapter 9 of the Qur'an. (Other volumes would be available soon.)

*The Qur'an Interpreted. English translation of the Qur'an in verse by Professor A. J. Arberry. In two volumes. Library Edition...


Baidawi's Commentary on Chapter 12 of the Qur'an. Text, accompanied by an interpretative rendering and notes by A. F. L. Cowan

The Holy Qur'an on one page (Arabic text only)

The Holy Qur'an amulet with necklace (miniature Qur'an)

Note: Other translations of the Qur'an by non-Muslim scholars, although not recommended for general study for the beginners, could also be supplied on request. Information could also be obtained about translation in other languages.

Hadith, Fiqh (Jurisprudence) Etc,

*A Manual of Hadith, by the Maulama Muhammad 'Ali...

The Sahih of al-Bukhari. English translation of the first four books by Aflatoun-Din Ahmadi, 344 pp...

Ditto. Books 5-8 (bound)

An Introduction to Islamic Law. (This book contains an account of our present knowledge of the history and the outlines of the system of Islamic law.) By Joseph Schacht...

Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, by Joseph Schacht...

Islamic Jurisprudence — Shift of Risalas. Translation with introduction by Majid Khudduri, 376 pp...

Muhammadan Law by Professor A. A. Fyvie..."
Books on Islam and Allied Subjects (Continued)

- Mysteries of Selflessnss A Philosophical Poem by Dr. S. Muhammad Iqbal. Translated with notes by Professor A. J. Arberry ... 6.0
- Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an. (Warning to the Christians. Discussion about Gog and Magog. Signs of the appearance of the Anti-Christ. Nuclear War. Destruction of the Modern One-eyed civilization, etc.) By 'Ali Akbar ... 2.6
- Political Thought in Medieval Islam, by E. I. J. Rosenthal. Paperback, 331 pp. ... 17.6
- The Middle East in World Affairs, by George Lenczewski. 8vo. 556 pp. Paperback Edition ... 2.15

A History of Urdu Literature. (A scholarly appraisal of Urdu literature from its inception to the beginning of the seventeenth century down to Iqbal and Iqbal, setting a new standard in criticism) ... 2.15

Three Centuries, Family Chronicles of Turkey and Egypt. (An extraordinary panoramic of riches and revolutions in the years before the First World War.) By Emine Fatma Tajali ... 2.20

Islam in East Africa. (Most complete treatment of the subject.) By J. Spencer Trimingham ... 1.80

A History of Medieval Islam. (This is an introduction to the history of the Muslim East from the rise of Islam to the Mongol conquests. It explains and indicates the main trends of Islamic historical evolution during the Middle Ages and will help to understand something of the relationship between Islam and Christendom in those centuries.) By J. T. Saunders. Qur'anic Advice. (Selections from the Holy Qur'an of guides for a better way of life.) Arabic text with Urdu and English translations ... 1.12

A Muslim Catechism, by Muhammad Rafeeq ... 1.0

The Islamic Conception of Freedom, Trust and Responsibility, by S. Muhammad Tutai ... 6.0

Barriers Between Muslims Must Go. (There are no sects in Islam.) By S. Muhammad Tutai ... 6.0

Art, Crafts and Architecture

*Islamic Architecture and its Decoration A.D. 800-1500. (A photographic survey by Derek Hill with an introductory text by Oleg Grabar. Derek Hill photographed nearly every important example of early Islamic architecture in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Russian Central Asia, paying particular attention to their decorative features.) ... 6.6

Early Islamic Pottery: Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia, with 244 half-tone illustrations, four of them in colour, by Arthur Lane ... 2.2

Later Islamic Pottery: Persia, Syria, Egypt and Turkey, with 190 half-tone illustrations, four of them in colour, reproductions of marks and a double-page map, by Arthur Lane. Islamic Pottery, from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries A.D. in the collection of Sir Eldred Hichcock, with 70 halftone illustrations, eight of them in colour, by Arthur Lane ... 10.0

Islamic Pottery and Italian Maiolica in Private Collection, with five colour halftone plates, 478 monochrome halftone reproductions and a page of line diagrams, by Bernard Rackham. Icons. English translation revised by Professor Talbot Rice, with 151 reproductions in colour, 28 monochrome halftone illustrations and four diagrams in line, by Konrad Otlesch ... 12.12

Oriental Rugs. (An illustrated guide edited and translated by George and Cornelia Wingfield-Digby, with eight colour plates, 36 monochrome halftone illustrations, 36 drawings and a folding map.) By Hermann Haack ... 1.15

Byzantine Icons. (Introduction and notes on the plates. 10 colour halftone illustrations.) By David Talbot Rice ... 15.0

Byzantine Painting. (Introduction and notes on the plates. 10 colour halftone illustrations.) By David Talbot Rice ... 12.6

Persian Painting of the Fourteenth Century. (Introduction and notes on the plates. 10 colour halftone illustrations.) By Douglas Barrett ... 12.6

Persian Painting of the Fifteenth Century. (Introduction and notes on the plates. 10 colour halftone illustrations.) By R. H. Pinder-Wilson ... 15.0

Prayer Books

*Islam and the Muslim Prayer. Illustrated with Arabic text, transliteration and translation by Kh. Khamal-ul-Din ... 6.0

*Muslim Prayer Books with Arabic text, transliteration and translation by the Mufti Muhammad 'Ali ... 3.0

Prayer in Islam, with transliteration and translation by Muhammad Yaqub Khan ... 2.0

Islamic Conception of Worship (A companion to any of the above prayer books.) By S. Muhammad Tutai ... 1.0

---

The Holy Qur'an

Translated from the Original Arabic with Lexical, Grammatical, Historical, Geographical and Eschatological comments and explanations and sidelights on comparative religion in two volumes.

By 'Abdul Majid Daryabadi

Price £3.10.0

The Qur'anic Advises

Selections from the Qur'an as guidance for a better way of life.

Arabic text with Urdu and English translations. Beautiful get-up.

Price £10.0

The Holy Qur'an

Text, Translation & Commentary

By 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali

Three Volume Edition

Price £3.10.0

Can be obtained from:

---

Printed by A. A. Versterga, Ltd., of Beingsoke and Published by the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Woking, Surrey, England. REGD. L3016