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THE ARAB CASE AGAINST ISRAEL HAS BEEN AND IS NOW BEING LOST IN AFRICA BY DEFAULT

A Plea for Putting Across the Arab Viewpoint

Israel covets Africa

In this issue The Islamic Review publishes an article by the well-known Egyptian writer Muhammad Hassanein Heikal on the subject of Israel and the African countries. He analyses Israel’s designs on Africa and underlines the need for a concerted plan to alleviate the harm which Israel is doing to the Arabs there.

This is not the first time that the Arabs have had their attention drawn to the machinations of Israel in Africa. Arab summit conferences, and periodic conferences of Arab information ministers, have discussed these matters and formulated resolutions. In practice, however, little has come out of all this. Israel has had it all her own way for a long time in Africa and elsewhere (and this includes a good few non-Arab Muslim countries), and this is likely to continue unless the Arabs do something serious about it.

The reason for Israel’s success is that Israel values very much the goodwill of the world. Its very existence depends on this. The Zionists won a state in Palestine not mainly by the sword but by the weapon of propaganda. They convinced a sufficient number of the members of the United Nations that they had a right to Palestine, and antagonized them against the Arabs, Israel has consistently maintained a most efficient propaganda machine that seeks and develops friendship for Israel and hostility to or lack of sympathy for the Arabs. The Arabs have not as yet realized the value of promoting the right kind of information about themselves and their enemy. Their propaganda machine in the Western world and in Africa is naïve and impotent. They are not spending money, and what they are spending is not spent wisely; and they are not getting good results.

Audacious hypocrisy

Israel portrays itself as a benevolent guide and friend to the African countries, and most of the African countries seem to accept Israel’s pretences. The Israeli Premier made a tour of eight African countries this year, and was received with a great welcome. The irony of this is that most of these countries had been materially helped towards independence.
by loyal Arab support at the United Nations and elsewhere. Another ironic fact is that one of the countries visited by the Israeli Premier was Senegal, which is predominantly Muslim. One wonders whether the welcome given to the Israelis by the statesmen and people of Senegal would have been the same if the Arabs had sufficiently publicized the stark fact that the Zionists had uprooted from Palestine and rendered homeless more than one million Muslim Arabs who had been living peacefully in that country for more than thirteen centuries. Yet another ironic fact is that in the Congo (Leopoldville) the Congolese and Israeli Premiers issued a joint statement condemning “the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia”. And here again one wonders whether, if the Arab information machine had done its job properly, the Israelis would have had the audacity to say this about Rhodesia when what the Zionists had done in Palestine was worse — the white Rhodesians are at least allowing the African majority to stay in the country, the Israelis murdered or expelled the Palestinian Arab majority.

The simple story of Palestine

The realities about the Palestine problem are very simple — so simple, in fact, that if they were made known to the world at large the Arabs cannot fail to win sympathy and support from decent people everywhere. The story of Palestine is this: the Arabs had been the predominant majority in the country for thirteen hundred years. The Jews had left Palestine more than six hundred years before the Arabs came and settled in it. At the end of World War I the Jews comprised no more than one tenth of the country’s population. Britain, administering a League of Nations mandate over Palestine, admitted an increasing number of Jews to the country, against the wishes of the Arabs. In 1947, as a result of pressure by powerful Zionist financial and political elements and by the United States, the United Nations partitioned Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews. The Jews eventually took almost twice as much territory as was allocated to them. They also threw out the Arab inhabitants and seized all their property. The United Nations has repeatedly requested Israel to re-admit the Arabs and pay compensation, but Israel has not responded in the slightest. This, in essence, is the whole problem of Palestine.

The Arabs should lose no opportunity to make the truth about the Palestine problem known far and wide, and particularly in the new countries which Israel is trying to befriend. There may come a time when the Arabs would need the goodwill of the world at large to regain their rights in Palestine. And this theme about the rights of the Arabs should be repeated by Arab diplomatic missions everywhere. They should distribute literature on the subject, publish articles, and make speeches. They should also marshal the assistance of Arab and Muslim students and other visitors to foreign countries who should be offered simple briefings with facts and figures about the problem and encouraged to make these known to their friends and acquaintances. Some money would be needed for this. But the prime need is for a genuine realization of the vital importance of this task, and the selection of the right people to undertake it.

While Rome is burning . . .

While Israel actively canvasses support and draws up plans to bolster its edifice in the military and economic spheres (as by seeking to join the European Common Market), right-thinking Arabs from Palestine and other countries, and Muslims in many parts of the world, must have been distressed to read about what some Arab diplomats have been doing in the United States. In an article entitled "Washington’s Swinging Scene", the American magazine Newsweek for 20 June 1966 says that with “the Swing Set”, the once socially leonine British and French embassies are out, the Arab embassies are in, and that the new Arab embassy buildings are “a sort of unofficial Swing Set mecca” where some of the Set’s “swingingest” parties are held. The article gives details of the very lavish entertainment, including belly-dancing, at these parties.

Many would have wished that the money spent on these irrelevant frivolities was spent on constructive projects to alleviate poverty and promote progress in many of the Arab countries. It could have also been applied to good advantage on exposing Israel’s lies about the Arabs and making known the God-given rights of the Arabs of Palestine which Israel ignores.

Who are the Jew-baiters?

The friends of the Arabs would have wished that the Arabs spent a little time and money to tell the world, for example, that the Arabs are not heartless Jew-baiters and fascists, that their quarrel is with Zionism as a political creed which seeks to deprive the Palestinian Arabs of their homeland, and that the Arabs have never persecuted the Jews, while the Christians have. This latter fact is evidenced by the following statement by a genuinely Jewish source: “The Arabs, amongst whom the Jews have lived for more than two thousand years, have not shown any animosity towards their Jewish subjects. Whilst Europe was soaked with our blood at the various expulsions and pogroms in the Middle Ages, the Jews in the Arab countries enjoyed no less freedom and security than they have in the European countries now westernized and enlightened” (Comment, London, Vol. III, No. 7). It is also supported by a book by Paul Friedlaender on Pope Pius XII and his attitude towards the Nazi persecution of the Jews, which has recently been serialized in the American magazine Look. The reason why all this should be widely publicized is because the Zionists have gained a great deal of support in the West against the Arabs simply by labelling the Arabs and their friends as fascists!

Make known the truth

An enterprise that would be timely and rewarding for the Arabs would be to publicize in the Western world their reason for boycotting firms trading with Israel. The Zionists have always portrayed this as an act of discrimination against the Jews. The truth, however, is that the Arabs in boycotting are merely exercising the perfectly legal right of not doing business indirectly with a political entity hostile to them or against whom they have genuine, unsettled claims. No one dreams of calling the blacklisting by the United States of firms trading with People’s China as discrimination against Confucianism, Taoism or Buddhism (or any other religion practised in China), and the fact that the Arab boycott of firms trading with Israel has been understood in many quarters as anti-Jewish is proof of the skill and success of the Israeli propaganda machine in the art of distorting the truth.

There are many unpalatable facts about Israel and Zionism. The Arabs must not brood silently over injustices — they must go out and rectify them, and start by making the truth known far and wide.

MUSA E. MAZZAWI.
WHY TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR‘AN FAIL TO CONVEY THE BEAUTY OF THE ORIGINAL

Peculiarities of Arabic its Own

Prerequisites of a Qualified Translator

By MUHAMMAD ASAD

"Unlike any other book, the meaning and linguistic presentation of the Qur‘an form one unbreakable whole. The position of individual words in a sentence, the rhythm and sound of its phrases and their syntactic construction, the manner in which a metaphor flows almost imperceptibility into a pragmatic statement, the use of acoustic stress not merely in the service of rhetoric but as a means of alluding to unspoken but clearly implied ideas: all this makes the Qur‘an, in the last resort, unique and untranslatable — a fact that has been pointed out by many earlier translators and by all Arab scholars. But although it is impossible to "reproduce" the Qur‘an as such in any other language, it is none the less possible to render its message comprehensible to people who, like most Westerners, do not know Arabic at all or, as is the case with most of the educated non-Arab Muslims, not well enough to find their way through it unaided."

The Qur‘an aroused a spirit of intellectual curiosity and enquiry amongst the Arabs

"Read in the name of thy Sustainer, who has created — created man from a germ-cell!

"Read! And thy Sustainer is the Most Bountiful, One who has taught (man) the use of the pen — taught man what he knew not..."

With these opening verses of the 96th chapter — with an allusion to man’s humble biological origin as well as to his consciousness and intellect — began, early in the 7th century C.E., the revelation of the Qur‘an to the Prophet Muhammad, destined to continue during the twenty-three years of his ministry and to end, shortly before his death, with verse 281 of the second chapter:

"And be conscious of the Day on which you shall return to God, whereupon every human being shall be repaid in full for what he has earned, and none shall be wronged."

Between these first and last verses (the first and the last in the chronological order of their revelation)^1 unfolds a book which, more than any other single phenomenon known to us, has fundamentally affected the religious, social and political history of the world. No other sacred scripture has ever had a similarly immediate impact upon the lives of the people who first heard its message and, through them and the generations that followed them, on the entire course of civilization. It shook Arabia, and made a nation out of its perennially warring tribes; within a few decades, it spread its world-view far beyond the confines of Arabia and produced the first ideological society known to man; through its insistence on consciousness and knowledge, it engendered among its followers a spirit of intellectual curiosity and independent inquiry, ultimately resulting in that splendid era of learning and scientific research which distinguished the world of Islam at the height of its cultural vigour; and the culture thus fostered by the Qur‘an penetrated in countless ways and by-ways into the mind of medieval Europe and gave rise to that revival of Western culture which we call the Renaissance, and thus became in the course of time largely responsible for the birth of what is described as the "age of science": the age in which we are now living.

Never has any other book supplied so many, and over so long a period of time, a comprehensive answer to the question, How shall I behave to achieve a good life in the world and happiness in the hereafter?

All this was, in the final analysis, brought about by the message of the Qur‘an: and it was brought about through the medium of the people whom it inspired and to whom it supplied a basis for all their ethical valuations and a direction for all their worldly endeavours: for, never has any book — not excluding the Bible — been read by so many with a comparable intensity and veneration; and never has any other book supplied to so many, and over so long a span of time, a similarly comprehensive answer to the question, "How shall

1 It is to be borne in mind that, in its final compilation, the Qur‘an is arranged in accordance with the inner requirements of its message as a whole, and not in the chronological order in which the individual surah or passages were revealed. The history of its compilation and an analysis of its structure will form the subject of another article.

JUNE 1966
I behave in order to achieve the good life in this world and happiness in the life to come?" However often individual Muslims may have misread this answer, and however far many of them may have departed from the spirit of its message, the fact remains that to all who believed and believe in it, the Qur'an represents the ultimate manifestation of God's grace to man, the ultimate wisdom, and the ultimate beauty of expression: in short, the true Word of God.

This attitude of the Muslims towards the Qur'an perplexes, as a rule, the Westerner who approaches it through one or another of the many existing translations. Where the believer, reading the Qur'an in Arabic, sees beauty, the non-Muslim reader often claims to discern "crudity"; the coherence of the Qur'anic world-view and its relevance to the human condition escape him altogether and assume the guise of what, in Europe's and America's orientalist literature, is frequently described as "incoherent rambling"; and passages which, to a Muslim, are expressive of sublime wisdom often sound "flat" and "uninspiring" to the Western ear. And yet, not even the most unfriendly critics of the Qur'an have ever denied that it did, in fact, provide the supreme source of inspiration — in both the religious and cultural senses of this word — to innumerable millions of people who, in their aggregate, have made an outstanding contribution to man's knowledge, civilization and social achievement. How can this paradox be explained?

Why most of the Western translations of the Qur'an fail to bring the Qur'an nearer to the hearts of people raised in a different religious and psychological climate

It cannot be explained by the too-facile argument, so readily accepted by many modern Muslims, that the Qur'an has been "deliberately misrepresented" by its Western translators. For although it cannot be denied that among the existing translations in almost all of the major European languages there is many a one that has been inspired by malicious prejudice and — especially in earlier times — by misguided "missionary" zeal, there is hardly any doubt that some of the more recent translations are the work of earnest scholars who, without being actuated by any conscious bias, have honestly endeavoured to render the meaning of the Arabic original into this or that European language; and, in addition, there exists a number of modern translations by Muslims who, by virtue of their being Muslims, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be supposed to have "misrepresented" what, to them, was a sacred revelation. Still, none of these translations — whether done by Muslims or by non-Muslims — has so far brought the Qur'an nearer to the hearts or minds of people raised in a different religious and psychological climate and revealed something, however little, of its real depth and wisdom. To some extent this may be due to the conscious and unconscious prejudice against Islam which has pervaded Western cultural notions ever since the time of the Crusades — an intangible heritage of thought and feeling which has left its mark on the attitude towards all things Islamic on the part not only of the Western "man in the street" but also, in a more subtle manner, on the part of scholars bent on objective research. But even this psychological factor does not sufficiently explain the complete lack of appreciation of the Qur'an in the Western world, and this in spite of its undeniable and ever-increasing interest in all that concerns the world of Islam.

It is more than probable that one of the main reasons for this lack of appreciation is to be found in that aspect of the Qur'an which differentiates it fundamentally from all other sacred scriptures: its stress on reason as a valid way to faith as well as its insistence on the inseparability of the spiritual and the physical (and, therefore, also social) spheres of human existence: the inseparability of man's daily actions and behaviour, however "mundane", from his spiritual life and destiny. This absence of any division of reality into "physical" and "spiritual" compartments makes it difficult for people brought up in the orbit of other religions, with their accent on the "supernatural" element allegedly inherent in every true religious experience, to appreciate the predominantly rational approach of the Qur'an to all religious questions. Consequently, its constant interweaving of spiritual teachings with practical legislation perplexes the Western reader, who has become accustomed to identifying "religious experience" with a thrill of luminous awe before things hidden and beyond all intellectual comprehension, and is suddenly confronted with the claim of the Qur'an to being a guidance not only towards the spiritual good of the hereafter but also towards the good life — spiritual, physical and social — attainable in this world. In short, the Westerner cannot readily accept the Qur'anic thesis that all life, being God-given, is a unity, and that problems of the flesh and of the mind, of sex and economics, of individual righteousness and social equity are intimately connected with the hopes which man may legitimately entertain with regard to his life after death. This, in my opinion, is one of the reasons for the negative, uncomprehending attitude of most Westerners towards the Qur'an and its teachings. But still another — and perhaps even more decisive — reason may be found in the fact that the Qur'an itself has never yet been presented in any European language in a manner which would make it truly comprehensible.

When we look at the long list of translations — beginning with the Latin works of the Middle Ages and continuing up to the present in almost every European tongue — we find one common denominator between their authors, whether Muslims or non-Muslims: all of them were — or are — people who acquired their knowledge of Arabic through academic study alone; that is, from books. None of them, however great his scholarship, has ever been familiar with the Arabic language as a person is familiar with his own, having absorbed the nuances of its idiom and its phraseology with an active, associative response within himself, and hearing it with an ear spontaneously attuned to the intent underlying the acoustic symbolism of its words and sentences. For the words and sentences of a language — any language — are but symbols for meanings conventionally, and sub-consciously, agreed upon by those who express their perception of reality by means of this particular tongue. Unless the translator is able to reproduce within himself the conceptual symbolism of the language in question — that is, unless he hears it "sing" in his ear in all its naturalness and immediacy — his translation will convey no more than the outer shell of the literary matter to which his work is devoted, and will miss, to a higher or lesser degree, the inner meaning of the original: and the

2 Thus, for instance, Western critics of the Qur'an frequently point to the allegedly "incoherent" references to God — often in one and the same phrase — as "He", "God", "We" or "I", with the corresponding changes of the pronoun from "His" to "Ours" or "My", or from "Him" to "Us" or "Me". They seem to be unaware of the fact that these changes are not accidental, and not even what one might describe as "poetic licence", but are obviously deliberate, a linguistic device meant to stress the idea that God is not a "person" and cannot, therefore, be really circumscribed by the pronouns applicable to finite things.
greater the depth of the original, the farther must such a translation deviate from the spirit of the former.

The peculiarities of the Arabic language cannot be mastered by a translator independent of that intangible communion with the spirit of the language which can be acquired by living with and in it.

No doubt, some of the translators of the Qur'an whose work is accessible to the Western public can be described as outstanding scholars in the sense of having mastered the Arabic grammar and achieved a considerable knowledge of Arabic literature; but this mastery of grammar and this acquaintance with literature cannot by itself, in the case of a translation from Arabic (and especially the Arabic of the Qur'an), render the translator independent of that intangible communion with the spirit of the language which can be achieved only by living with and in it.

Arabic is a Semitic tongue; in fact, it is the only Semitic tongue which has remained uninterruptedly alive for thousands of years; and it is the only living language which has remained entirely unchanged for the last fourteen centuries. These two factors are extremely relevant to the problem which we are considering. Since every language is a framework of symbols expressing its people's particular sense of life-values and their particular way of conveying their perception of reality, it is obvious that the language of the Arabs — a Semitic language which has remained unchanged for so many centuries — must differ widely from anything to which the Western mind is accustomed. The difference of the Arabic idiom from any European idiom is not merely a matter of its syntactic cast and the mode in which it conveys ideas; nor is it exclusively due to the well-known, extreme flexibility of the Arabic grammar arising from its peculiar system of verbal "roots" and the numerous stem-forms which can be derived from these roots; nor even to the extraordinary richness of the Arabic vocabulary: it is a difference of spirit and life-sense. And since the Arabic of the Qur'an is a language which attained to its full maturity in the Arabia of fourteen centuries ago, it follows that in order to grasp its spirit correctly, one must be able to feel and hear this language as the Arabs felt and heard it at the time when the Qur'an was being revealed, and to understand the meaning which they gave to the linguistic symbols in which it is expressed.

The Muslims believe that the Qur'an is the Word of God, revealed to the Prophet Muhammad through the medium of a human language. It was the language of the Arabian Peninsula: the language of a people endowed with that peculiar quick-wittedness which the desert and its feel of wide, timeless expanses bestows upon its children: the language of people whose mental images, flowing without effort from association to association, succeed one another in rapid progression and often vault elliptically over intermediate — as it were, "self-understood" — sequences of thought towards the idea which they aim to conceive or express. This ellipticism called 'ilzūr by the Arab philologists) is an integral characteristic of the Arabic idiom and, therefore, of the language of the Qur'an — so much so that it is impossible to understand its method and inner purport without being able to reproduce within oneself, instinctively, something of the same quality of elliptical, associative thought. Now this ability comes to the educated Arab almost automatically, by a process of mental osmosis, from his early childhood: for, when he learns to speak his tongue properly, he subconsciously acquires the mould of thought within which it has evolved and, thus, imperceptibly grows into the conceptual environment from which the Arabic language derives its peculiar form and mode of expression. Not so, however, the non-Arab who becomes acquainted with Arabic only at a mature age, in result of a conscious effort, that is, through study: for what he acquires is but a ready-made, outward structure devoid of that intangible quality of ellipticism which gives to the Arabic idiom its inner life and reality.

A translator must acquire an instinctive "feel" of the language.

This does not, however, mean that a non-Arab can never understand Arabic in its true spirit: it means no more and no less than that he cannot really master it through academic study alone, but needs, in addition to philological learning, an instinctive "feel" of the language. Now it so happens that such a "feel" cannot be achieved by merely living among the modern Arabs of the cities. Although many of them, especially the educated ones, may have subconsciously absorbed the spirit of their language, they can only rarely communicate it to an outsider — for the simple reason that, however high their educative status, their daily mode of life has become, in the course of centuries, largely corrupted and estranged from pristine Arabic. Thus, in order to obtain the requisite "feel" of the Arabic language, a non-Arab must have lived in long and intimate association with people whose daily speech mirrors the genuine spirit of their language, and whose mental processes are similar to those of the Arabs who lived at the time when the Arabic tongue received its final colouring and inner form. In our day, such people are only the bedouins of the Arabian Peninsula, and particularly those of Central and Eastern Arabia. For, notwithstanding the many dialectical peculiarities in which their speech may differ from the classical Arabic of the Qur'an, it has remained, so far, very close to the idiom of the Prophet's time and has preserved all its intrinsic characteristics. In other words, familiarity with the bedouin speech of Central and Eastern Arabia — in addition, of course, to academic knowledge of classical Arabic — is the only way for a non-Arab of our time to achieve an intuitive understanding of the diction of the Qur'an. And because none of the scholars who have previously translated the Qur'an into European languages has ever fulfilled this prerequisite, their translations have remained but distant, and faulty, echoes of its meaning and spirit.

Two important points which a translator must take into account.

Unlike any other book, the meaning and linguistic presentation of the Qur'an form one unbreakable whole. The position of individual words in a sentence, the rhythm and sound of its phrases and their syntactic construction, the manner in which a metaphor flows almost imperceptibly into a pragmatic statement, the use of acoustic stress not merely in the service of rhetoric but as a means of alluding to unspoken but clearly implied ideas; all this makes the Qur'an, in the last resort, unique and untranslatable — a fact that has been pointed out by many earlier translators and by all Arab scholars. But although it is impossible to "reproduce"

It is to be noted that under the impact of modern economic circumstances, which have radically changed the time-honoured way of life of the bedouins and brought them, by means of school education and the radio, into direct contact with the Levantine culture of the cities, the purity of their language is rapidly disappearing and may soon cease to be a living guide to students of the Arabic tongue.
the Qur'an as such in any other language, it is none the less possible to render its message comprehensible to people who, like most Westerners, do not know Arabic at all or, as is the case with most of the educated non-Arab Muslims, not well enough to find their way through it unaided.

To this end, the translator must be guided throughout by the linguistic usage prevalent at the time of the revelation of the Qur'an, and must always bear in mind that some of its expressions, especially such as relate to abstract concepts, have in the course of time undergone a subtle change in the popular mind and should not, therefore, be translated in accordance with the sense given to them by post-classical usage. As has been pointed out by that great Islamic scholar, Muhammad 'Abduh, even some of the renowned, otherwise linguistically reliable Qur'an commentators, have occasionally erred in this respect: and their errors, magnified by the inadequacy of modern translators, have led to many a distortion, and sometimes to a total incomprehensibility, of individual Qur'anic passages in their European renditions.

Another (and no less important) point which the translator must take fully into account is the i'jaz of the Qur'an, that inimitable ellipticism which often deliberately omits intermediate thought-clauses in order to express the final stage of an idea as pithily and concisely as is possible within the limitations of a human language. This method of i'jaz is, as I have explained, a peculiar, integral aspect of the Arabic language, and has reached its utmost perfection in the Qur'an. In order to render its meaning into a language which does not function in a similarly elliptical manner, the thought-links which are missing — that is, deliberately omitted — in the original must be supplied by the translator in the form of frequent interpolations between brackets: for unless this is done, the Arabic phrase concerned loses all its life in the translation and often becomes a meaningless jumble.

The translator and the rendering of religious terms used in the Qur'an

Furthermore, one must beware of rendering, in each and every case, the religious terms used in the Qur'an in the sense which they have acquired after Islam had become "institutionalized" into a definite set of laws, tenets and practices. However legitimate this "institutionalization" may be in the context of Islamic religious history, it is obvious that the Qur'an cannot be correctly understood if we read it merely in the light of later ideological developments, losing sight of its original purport and the meaning which it had — and was intended to have — for the people who first heard it from the lips of the Prophet himself. For instance, when his contemporaries heard the words islam and muslim, they understood them as denoting man's "self-surrender to God" and "one who surrenders himself to God", without limiting these terms to any specific community or denomination, e.g., in 3:67, where Abraham is spoken of as having "surrendered himself unto God" (kara musilim), or in 3:52, where the disciples of Jesus say, "Bear thou witness that we have surrendered ourselves unto God" (bi-anna musilim).

In Arabic, this original meaning has remained unimpaired, and no Arab scholar has ever become oblivious of the wide connotation of these terms. Not so, however, the non-Arab of our day, believer and non-believer alike: to him, islam and muslim usually bear a restricted, historically circumscribed significance, and apply exclusively to the followers of the Prophet Muhammad. Similarly, the terms kufr ("denial of the truth") and kafir ("one who denies the truth") have become, in the conventional translations of the Qur'an, unwarrantably simplified into "unbelief" or "unbeliever" or "infidel", respectively, and have thus been deprived of the wide spiritual meaning which the Qur'an gives to these terms. Another example is to be found in the conventional rendering of the word kitab when applied to the Qur'an, as "book": for when the Qur'an was being revealed (and we must not forget that this process took twenty-three years), those who listened to its recitation did not conceive of it as a "book" — since it was compiled into one only some decades after the Prophet's death — but rather, in view of the derivation of the noun kitab from the verb kataba ("he wrote" or, topically, "he ordained"), as a "divine writ" or a "revelation". The same holds true with regard to the Qur'anic use of this term in its connotation of earlier revealed scriptures: for the Qur'an often stresses the fact that those earlier instances of divine writ have largely been corrupted in the course of time, and that the extant holy "books" do not really represent the original revelations. Consequently, the translation of ahl al-kitab as "people of the book" is not very meaningful; in my opinion the term should be rendered as "followers of earlier revelation".

Two fundamental rules of interpretation

In short, if it is to be truly comprehensible in another language, the message of the Qur'an must be rendered in such a way as to reproduce, as closely as possible, the sense which it had for the people who were as yet unburdened with the conceptual images of later Islamic developments.

A translator must observe consistently two fundamental rules of interpretation. First, the Qur'an must not be viewed as a compilation of individual injunctions and exhortations but as one integral whole: that is, as an exposition of an ethical doctrine in which every verse and sentence has an intimate bearing on other verses and sentences, all of them clarifying and amplifying one another. Consequently, its real meaning can be grasped only if we correlate every one of its statements with what has been stated elsewhere in its pages, and try to explain its ideas by means of frequent cross-references, always subordinating the particular to the general and the incidental to the intrinsic. Whenever this rule is faithfully followed, we realize that the Qur'an is — in the words of Muhammad 'Abduh, "its own best commentary".

Second, no part of the Qur'an should be viewed from a purely historical point of view: that is to say, all its references to historical circumstances and events — both at the time of the Prophet and in earlier times — must be regarded as illustrations of the human condition and not as ends in themselves. Hence the consideration of the historical occasion on which a particular verse was revealed — a pursuit so dear, and legitimately so, to the hearts of the classical commentators — must never be allowed to obscure the underlying purport of that verse and its inner relevance to the ethical teaching which the Qur'an, taken as a whole, propounds.
“Mada’in Salih”
of the Qur’an

Townships of 4,000
Years Ago in
Su‘udi Arabia

By M. A. KHALIQ

A view of Mada’in Salih, where about 4,000 years ago houses were carved out
of a solid rock

In the middle of July 1964 I had the opportunity of visiting Mada’in Salih and the neighbourhood. Having read, scores of times, the Qur’anic description of the Prophet Salih and his settlement, Mada’in Salih, I was inspired by those magnificent monuments to write a brief note about them. However, a few days later, upon my return to Jiddah, in exchanging views with my colleagues, I learned of an earlier visit to Mada’in Salih of a group of distinguished persons, and their intention of writing a detailed report. In view of someone else having anticipated me, I decided to defer writing my own notes to a later date.

A few days ago, quite accidentally, I came across, in the Aramco World, New York, for September-October 1965, an article entitled “Arabia the Beautiful”. I was delighted to see therein an excellent presentation of Mada’in Salih. In the following few lines I am presenting my own views in the light of my own findings and verses of the Qur’an as interpreted by some eminent scholars.

First, I think something should be said about the location of Mada’in Salih. Charles M. Doughty, writing on Mada’in Salih in his book Arabia Deserta, states: “Little remains of the old civil generations of al-Hijr, the caravan city”. And writing on the same subject in his Commentary of the Qur’an Mirza B. M. Ahmad, an eminent Muslim scholar, writes: “Al-Hijr, which seems to have been the capital of these people (the Thamud) lies between Medina and Tabuk and the valley in which it is situated is called Wadi Qura. Al-Hijr has also been known as Mada’in Salih, or the cities of Salih.”

From this it is quite certain that the settlement of Mada’in Salih mentioned by the Qur’an and by Western writers is one and the same place. Having accepted this, the next step is to establish the age of the Thamud, the inhabitants of Mada’in Salih where the Prophet Salih lived and preached the word of God. Speaking of the Thamud, the Qur’an says:

“And to the Thamud, we sent their brother Salih . . . and remember when He made you successors after the ‘Ad had settled you in the land. You make mansions on its plains and hew out houses in the mountains” (7:74).

In describing the two characteristics of the Thamud — making out mansions on the plains and hewing out houses in the mountains — the verse enables us to ascertain the age of the Thamud with comparative certainty.

In his Commentary of the Holy Qur’an, Mirza B. M. Ahmad writes:

“The Qur’an represents them as the immediate successors of the ‘Ad. It appears that the Thamud lived before the time of Moses.

“Another consideration leads us to the conclusion that they lived even before the time of Abraham. Towards the end of their days they ruled over Northern Arabia and Southern Palestine. It appears from the Qur’an that in the time of Moses these territories were dominated by the Midianites, who were descendants from Abraham. Midian being the son of Abraham from Keturah, his third wife. The descendants of Keturah lived in these parts, when Joseph was taken from the well and carried to Egypt. This shows that the Thamud had altogether been destroyed or their power had greatly declined before the time of Abraham otherwise the Midianites would not have been able to take possession of their territory.

“It is worthy of note that accounts of the Prophets Hud and Salih have been given at various places in the Qur’an and everywhere the order observed is the same, viz., the account of Hud precedes that of Salih, which is the true chronological order.”

Another Muslim scholar, the Maulana Muhammad ‘Ali, in commenting on the Qur’an (7:74) in his Translation, writes:

“The history of ‘Ad and Thamud, though two nearby related tribes, were separated both as regards time and place. The tribe of Samood (Thamud) is known after a grandson of Aram, the grandson of Noah. Historical traces of it are met with in Ptolemy. The tribe

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flourished more than two hundred years after ’Ad and occupied the territory known as al-Hijr and the plain known by the name of Wadi-al-Qura, which forms the southern boundary of Syria and the northern one of Arabia.

"Salih was descendant in the sixth generation after Thamud" (the great ancestor of the tribe after whom the tribe is known).

A perusal of the above two commentaries would give the impression that the Prophet Salih was probably a contemporary of the Prophet Abraham or had even lived earlier. If these interpretations of the Holy Qur'an are accepted, it would mean that in point of time the Prophet Salih flourished between 4,000 and 4,500 years ago, and not about 2,100 years as has been maintained by certain writers and researchers.

Having fixed the time of the Prophet Salih and located his settlement of Mada'in Salih, let us now proceed to clarify certain misunderstandings connected with some events which took place during that period.

THE MIRACLE OF THE CAMEL

Mirza B. M. Ahmad in his Commentary of the Holy Qur'an writes:

"Many legends have been woven round this (she-camel) of Salih. There is nothing in the Qur'an to lend support to these fanciful stories. One of these legends, for instance, is that she was miraculously born out of a rock in answer to a prayer of Salih when his people demanded from him a miracle, and that she became pregnant at the time of her coming out of the rock, giving birth to a young one immediately after. The Qur'an, however, nowhere states that there was anything miraculous about her birth. On the contrary, it is clear from the Qur'an, 26 : 154, that the birth of the she-camel was nothing out of the ordinary and that it was not her birth but the freedom of her movements that was held out as a sign. If the birth of the she-camel had been in any way miraculous, Salih, on the demand of his people for a sign, would have certainly referred them to that extraordinary happening. But, instead, he simply answered that the Promised Sign would be shown to them, if they interfered with her freedom."

NATURE OF PUNISHMENT TO THE TRIBE OF THAMUD

As regards the nature of punishment inflicted upon the tribe of Thamud, Mirza B. M. Ahmad states:

"Seven different words and expressions have been used in the Qur'an to describe the punishment which overtook the tribe of Thamud. In the verse under comment and in 54 : 32, the word used is punishment; in 7 : 79, an earthquake; in 26 : 159, chastisement; in 27 : 52, We utterly destroyed them; in 51 : 45, thunderbolt (any destructive punishment); in 69 : 6, an extraordinary punishment; and in 91 : 15, their Lord destroyed them completely. Though the words and expressions employed to describe the visitation seem to be different in form, yet they possess no discrepancy in meaning. The only words which appear to be contradictory are Ra'if, Saiha, Saiqa and Taghiya. As, however, the last three also mean punishment, therefore if the Tribe of Thamud were destroyed by means of an earthquake, all the above words may be rightly used to describe that catastrophe."

As regards the possibility of an earthquake having destroyed a part of Mada'in Salih, the following reference in Land of Achievement, Book VIII, published by the Ministry of Information, the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia, is interesting:

"Many of these cave dwellings are still standing and a gigantic heap of rubble marks the centre of the earth's upheaval that wiped out the population there."

In this connection Lady Peter Crowe has opined that a volcanic outburst might have been the mode of punishment inflicted upon the tribe of Thamud. This does not seem to be the case as no evidence has been found in the valley which might suggest that the harrah (lava) which is found on top of the hills, on the western side alone several kilometres away from the centre of the valley, had any effect on the normal way of life and activities of the people living at the time. Even the water wells now being cleaned up do not give any evidence of the extension of the lava into the valley.

In the absence of geologists having found evidence of an earthquake, as suggested by Thomas G. Barger, and no traces of lava having been found in the valley itself, which is the principal place of dwelling, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Barger that the only honest answer, of course, is "no one knows". In order to find an answer, more search of the area, and especially the valley, is very essential.

TOMBS OR DWELLINGS?

To an Easterner who has lived and travelled in the Middle and Far Eastern countries, seen and examined the mode of living there, even in modern times, the monuments of Mada'in Salih represent houses and not graves, as so often reported by certain Western writers. Given below is the typical layout of a house hewn

The façade of the entrance of a rich man's house at Mada'in Salih

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out of a solid rock (soft sandstone), located in the north-western portion of Mada'in Salih:

1. An elliptical-shaped chamber measuring about 6.60 metres long by about 6 metres wide with a decorated façade, having a door in the middle, about 2 metres high and 1 metre wide.

2. Built-in shelves, cut in the walls of the chamber.

3. Beyond the chamber, two compartments measuring about 2.45 metres long by 1.10 metres wide. These compartments are separated by a solid rock-wall about 1 metre thick.

To me the elliptical chamber would represent what we might call a living-room which is provided with built-in shelves. The two compartments behind the living-room might represent sleeping chambers, suitably partitioned. This little dwelling is provided with only one entrance, excellently finished and suitably decorated with perhaps a sphinx on the façade.

A close examination of the built-in shelves would show that these were the work of the people who had originally carved the house and were neither made in haste nor in great disorder, as had been observed by Messrs. Jaussen and Savignac. The chisel used and the angle of cut appears to be the same as found elsewhere in the main chamber or in the living compartments. An eye trained in geological and mining operations cannot but conclude that the so-called “niches” are in fact useful built-in shelves purposefully designed and cut by the original architects, owners and occupants of the dwellings.

There are many variations in the dwellings. The rich and poor appeared to have their dwellings made according to their ability, status and financial resources. A poor man’s house was simply a large cut-out hole in the rock, whereas that of a rich person consisted of a living-room as well as retiring chambers. The entrance was decorated and often provided with engraved tablets on top of it. In the corners of some of the living-rooms one can see one or two chambers cut in the rock below the ground level. These are probably mistaken for graves, but might have been used for storage of water, grain or other worldly possessions.

Moving a little northward, in the vicinity of The Great Hall, (length 11.70 metres, width 9.70 metres, height approx. 6.50 metres, flat roof, all hewn out of a large hillock), which might have been an Assembly Hall.

Nearer to Qasr Bint there is unmistakable evidence that the monuments as seen now were once dwellings. An elaborately carved-out house is provided with a built-in sentry box with view open on three sides. Were the sentries provided and posted to guard the dead or for the honour and protection of the living? The obvious inference would seem to be in favour of the latter. The dimensions and attachments of this house may encourage one to conclude unhesitatingly that this had belonged to a chieftain of the living people of the time.

FEATURES OF THE DWELLINGS OF MADA'IN SALIH

The following features can be observed on the façades of many dwellings:

1. Sphinx.
2. Eagle(?).
3. Human head with a snake attached to each ear.
4. Flowers (sunflower?).
5. Engraved tablets above the eagle.

Nature of dwellings

1. Composed of a single room only.
2. Composed of living- and bedrooms.
3. Flat ceilings.
4. At least one house has a domed ceiling.
5. Doors provided at the ground level.
6. Some dwellings had entrances 3 to 10 metres above the ground level.
7. Entrances appeared to have been provided with hinged doors of some sort.
8. Sentry-box.

9. Straight walls at perfect angles.
10. Storage vaults below ground level.

All the above features combined would give an impression of a balanced architecture and perfect engineering skill.

SOME ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF DWELLINGS

A recent publication of the Ministry of Information, the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia, Land of Achievement Book VIII, chapter “Dusty Relics of Ancient Days”, makes the following statement with reference to Mada'in Salih:

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"The inhabitants in the area built their homes in caves carved out of the solid rock on which they laboured patiently and transformed into comfortable habitations until the curse came and killed them all.

"Many of these cave dwellings are still standing and a gigantic heap of rubble marks the centre of the earth's upheaval."

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a distinguished scholar and educationalist of India, in his Essays on the Life of Muhammad, says:

"They (the Thamud) excavated various rocks and after having hewn and carved them took up their abode therein."

WATER

Mada'in Salih are and always appear to have been endowed with plenty of fresh water. A number of old water wells are found in this area. These wells are about 15 metres deep and about 7 metres in diameter, dug in soft sandstone where the static water level was at about 10 metres below the surface. At a couple of places, where debris was being removed, I was amazed to see a perfect circular shape of the wells as if they had been diamond- or calyx-drilled.

In the early stages of cleaning-up of these wells, large chunks of rock were being recovered, but in one well, near the railway station, some broken pieces of pottery were recovered from below the static water level. It was reported that the well under reference had also yielded unbroken water jugs and jars. Neither at the time of my visit, nor even now, have I any means of determining the age of the pottery recovered from these wells. However, upon enquiry I was informed by the local inhabitants that those wells were ancient, but how old nobody could say. There is said to be a large number of such wells still lying buried beneath the shifting sands.

The number of water wells and the availability of plenty of fresh water point to a large ancient settlement of which only a part is visible these days in the shape of hewn houses. It is to be hoped that further archaeological investigations are carried out in the valleys of the region in order to unearth the history of the tribe of Thamud, i.e., the people of Salih who appear to have lived and flourished some 4,000 to 4,500 years ago.

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CODES REGULATING PERSONAL STATUS AND SOCIAL EVOLUTION IN CERTAIN MUSLIM COUNTRIES*

Limitation to or Prohibition of Polygamy in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Iraq and Syria

By M. BORRAMANS

Preliminary remarks on the present trends in polygamous marriages in Muslim countries

Everyone knows in which restrictive sense the Egyptian reformer Muhammad 'Abduh claimed to re-interpret the "passage of polygamy" in the Holy Qur'ān. This passage forbids a man to marry more than one woman unless he is able to "act equitably" towards all of them. Here we will not go into details on all the precise and numerous stipulations of Islamic law dealing with this matter. Nevertheless, it is a fact that Islam has always "allowed" man, because of this passage and a whole mass of tradition dating back to its Founder, to have as many as four legitimate wives, polyandry, incidentally, being totally prohibited. The modern evolution of Muslim countries, and the advancement of woman, which is one of its most striking aspects, as well as the social exchanges and ever-increasing contacts with monogamic peoples, all demanded that the Codes take up a clear and definite position on this very delicate point of Muslim legislation. In this connection antecedents had been none too favourable. In 1926 the King of Egypt had rejected a proposed legal measure, approved by the Egyptian cabinet, declaring that a man already married to one woman should be liable to a penalty if he contracted a second marriage without the authorization of the tribunal. So that it will not be surprising if the Codes dealt with in this article have adopted solutions which vary greatly as to the methods to be used to attain the desired objective — the restriction of polygamy.

Two groups of codes — one that recognizes the validity of a second, third and fourth marriage; the second that does not

First, it should be noted that the Syrian, Moroccan and Iraqi Codes all recognize the validity of a second, third or fourth marriage on the part of a man whose first wife is still living, since, when making reference to temporary obstacles, they mention the impossibility of having a fifth wife. In Syria "... a man cannot marry a fifth wife until he has been divorced from one of his four other wives and until after the expiration of the period of her 'widowhood'" (Article 37). The Moroccan Code places a prohibition on "... having a number of wives beyond that authorized by law" (Article 29.2). The Iraqi Code mentions, among the reasons which render a woman "illegal", "... marriage with more than four wives..." (Article 31). The Tunisian Code breaks away sharply from the others by declaring that "... polygamy is forbidden..." (Article 18), and by including this prohibition in the number of the obstacles to marriage. Thus we can distinguish two groups of Codes: first, the three Codes already mentioned which, while recognizing the validity of restricted polygamy, tend to limit it to the maximum by methods which we shall examine later on, and second, the Tunisian Code, which declares it absolutely forbidden.

The Codes of the group that recognize polygamy

The Codes of the first group simply transpose into juridical language the restrictive interpretation of the Qur'ānic text referred to above. They take into account the evolutionary aspect of social reality, and for the time being are simply intended to help in this evolution. Thus the Syrian Code declares that "... the judge is empowered to refuse permission to a married man to marry another woman if it is established that he is not in a position to support two wives..." (Article 17). Only one consideration, that of financial status, can restrain what was formerly achieved by common law, and it is the duty of the judge to use his own judgment, and, if necessary, to forbid a second marriage. The Moroccan Code lays down similar provisions, and even extends their scope. In fact, in order to reduce as far as possible the "authorization for polygamy", it undermines, so to speak, or diminishes, all that was formerly permitted by the traditional law.

Based on the conception of the "... duty of rendering equitable justice..." between wives, it extends the scope of the check, envisaged by the Syrian Code, on all forms of injustice: "If there is a likelihood of injustice towards wives...

* For previous instalment see The Islamic Review for May 1966.
(of the same husband), then polygamy is forbidden" (Article 30.1, Lam ya'uz al-ta'addud). Embodying the traditional clauses of judiciary practice common to certain rites (the "Medina" clause, the "Kairouan" clause or the "Tangiers" clause), it stipulates that "... the woman has the right to demand that the husband undertake, when contracting marriage, not to take a second wife ('co-wife'), and to recognize her right to demand a dissolution of the marriage should he violate this agreement" (Article 31). According to traditional law, the husband cannot formally renounce the exercise of a legal faculty — in this case polygamy — but it is lawful for him to give his wife "power of attorney" to repudiate the marriage itself, in a case where the violation mentioned above has occurred.23

The Moroccan Code

The Moroccan Code goes even farther by declaring that the judge can intervene in cases where marriage to a second wife would in any way be detrimental to the first wife: "If the wife has not reserved (for herself) the right of option, and her husband contracts another marriage, she can inform the judge, who will decide what detriment she would suffer on account of the second union" (Article 30.2). Finally, the same Code adopts a very wise administrative measure, since actual facts prove that the intending polygamist often conceals from the future second wife the fact that he is legally and validly married to a first wife: "The marriage document (certificate) relative to the second wife shall not be drawn up until she has been informed that the intended husband is already married" (Article 30.3). In view of these last-mentioned modifications, it is clear that the main objective of the Moroccan Code is the evolution towards a more just and equitable state of affairs, where the future of polygamous marriage is placed, so to speak, in the hands of feminine authority, of the women, since the Code gives them the means to defend themselves and to insist on the monogamous marriage which they desire. It is worthy of note that in these measures the intervention of the judge is practically nil, and on this point the law is even more discreet than the Syrian Code, since no one knows "who" will decide that there is a likelihood of injustice.

The Tunisian Code

It was Tunisia which made this step with the new Code of 1956: "Polygamy is forbidden. Any person who, having entered into a bond of marriage, contracts another marriage before the dissolution of the preceding one, is liable to one year's imprisonment and to a fine of 240,000 francs, or to only one of these penalties, even if the second marriage was not contracted in conformity with the law" (Article 18). From all that has already been said here one can appreciate the reasons which have led the Tunisian legislator to make such a decision, and to invite the Muslim citizen "... not to make use of his (legal) right..." "... By prohibiting marriage to more than one wife," declares M. M. T. al-Sanousi in his Commentary, "is evident that this clause is based on the proven fact, known for centuries, that it is impossible for the polygamist to treat his wives equitably, with equal justice. Besides, God has said: 'You are unable to act equitably towards your women (that is, your co-wives), even if you wanted to'" (The Holy Qur'ân, 4: 128). Mahmoud al-Anabbi gives three of the main reasons which, in his opinion, have weighed heavily in favour of the abolition of polygamy: the advancement of the family and of woman and the need to continue this trend, the right held by those in power to restrain the scope of "permission" (miubahîth) in the measure required by the public interest, and finally, the limitation of the birth rate.24

But what is the real significance of the prohibition of polygamy in the present Code? The text bounds in nuances which need detailed and careful study. Article 14 gives no idea at all as to the content-matter of Article 18. And yet Article 14 gives a fairly exhaustive list of the (legal) obstacles to marriage, both permanent (Articles 15, 16 and 17) and temporary (Article 20).25 Similarly, Article 21, which deals with nullities, makes no mention of Article 18. Some people have hastily concluded that it dealt only with an offence severely punishable by law, and nothing else. The marriage of a bigamist would be illegal, but not invalid. Punishable as an offence, it should be broken off by divorce, which incidentally would be a simple matter to arrange. Here we can consult judiciary practice and note that this clause figures in the section dealing with obstacles. In fact the Tunisian courts have given numerous decisions inflicting the penalty ('iqâb) provided on men who had contracted marriage with a second wife, and declaring null or void (butlaam)26 the second marriage contract. No tangible consequence arises from this invalida-
tion, but the mere fact of the consummation (of marriage) brings with it the right to the dowry, establishes consanguinity, produces the obstacle of relationship, and makes obligatory the payment of a “widow’s” pension.29

Two texts of judgments delivered (detailed in footnote) state expressly, in case No. 1, that there is invalidation of the second marriage (ibtai'a), and in case No. 2 annulment (faskh) and abrogation (ilghaa'a) of the second marriage.30 Thus, in spite of certain features which would seem to isolate Article 18, so to speak, from the other contextual articles — for various reasons which we can imagine — it nevertheless provides for the same measures and penalties, and brings about the same effects as are found in the articles which precede and follow it, and its stipulations are just as stringent. This is doubtless one of the most original features of the Tunisian Code, that it has gone to the extreme limit of a necessary evolutionary process, a process which has already made considerable headway, and has, so to speak, been accelerated in order that Tunisian society may keep pace with contemporary demands in the matter of family law. The Shaykh 'Abduh did not hesitate to write: “There is no way of educating a people among whom polygamy is prevalent.”31 This is a purely moralist point of view, but it is an attitude which is inadequate and unacceptable when it is a question of promoting and activating the evolution of an entire race. On this point a Tunisian judge declared: “It is not enough to say that moral progress and the development of more evolved ways of living will prohibit men from marrying more than one wife. Both the psychological level of the nation and its ambitions must be welded together to form a system of legislation which will set out in definite detail the ultimate objectives to be attained.” Having declared that all marriages shall henceforward be monogamous, the Code has put the Tunisian family on a sound and stable basis, declaring the part to be played by woman as being just as important as that played by man.32

**FOOTNOTES**

23 The Holy Qur’ān, 4: 3: “So marry such women as seem good to you, two and three and four. But if you fear that you will not do justice (between them), then (marry) only one! That is the best (way) to act impartially.”


24 Here one could with advantage pay particular attention to the Arabic terminology used. Whereas the Code, in its Articles 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20, uses the French expression “est prohibé” (is prohibited), Articles 15 and 16 of the “al-muhabramah” (the prohibited women), Article 17 “yuharrama” (is prohibited), Articles 19 and 20 “yu’ahara” (is prohibited), all of which are well-known terms in the traditional vocabulary of “obstacles”, it uses here the term “est interdit” (is banned) (in Arabic: yunnu’a - is prevented). It would seem there is here a nuance of meaning, used expressively, deferentially, to approximate as near as possible to the original Qur’ānic precepts.

25 This is the mandate (or authority), as well as the right of option, granted to a wife who herself might wish to repudiate marriage. This “mandate” could not be withdrawn except by revocation by the husband who had granted it, unless it was in some way bound up with a legal right granted to the wife. The pronouncement of the husband, “I give you the right to repudiate (the marriage), if I give you a ‘co-wife’;”, gave to the wife an inalienable, irrevocable right. cf. Khalil Ibn Ishaq, Abrégé de la Loi musulman selon le rite de l'Ism Mulek, new translation by G. H. Bousquet, II, Le Statut Personnel, Paris, A. Maisonneuve, 1958, p. 89.

26 Mahmud al-Annabi, art. cit., p. 109: “In order to preserve peace in the family and to protect it from breaking up, it was decided to modify the law on marriage by legislating on the principle that one cannot have two wives at one and the same time. This modification was adopted in view of the evils arising from the multiplicity of wives: family complications, revenge, bloodshed, etc. On the other hand, in view of the degree of emancipation reached by woman (new avenues of thought, liberation from all the fanciful conceptions previously held) it had become necessary to reinforce her liberty, and to preserve her dignity . . . by applying the principle that the ‘holders of power’ (the ruling classes) have the right to limit the scope of application of the morally muhabah (permitted), always taking into account the general interest of the people.”

Now the multiplicity of wives was something which was permitted, but was not obligatory, as evidenced by what the books of law say on this matter — a wife has the right to stipulate to her husband that if he takes another wife, she considers herself automatically repudiated. If this happened to be in contravention of legal obligations or prohibitions, clauses like this would have been totally invalid. Here we can mention what is laid down in the list of motives of the Ottoman Decree on Family Rights, which refer specially to the question of the multiplicity of wives:

“In view of the fact that the multiplicity of wives is permitted, but not obligatory, and that the ‘holders of power’ (ruling classes) have the right to intervene in ‘permitted’ matters, the legislator decided to prohibit this practice, or at least to stipulate that the consent of the first wife be obtained. However, he took into account certain circumstances — the numerical preponderance of women over men, and the rise in the birth-rate. So he left the permission as it was before, arguing thus: a wife who is unable to tolerate a ‘co-wife’ has only stipulated that if her husband takes another wife she will herself apply the right of talaaq (repudiation). And a woman who has not insisted on a stipulation of this kind will have to bear the consequences of such a situation.”

So that there is unanimity in recognizing that the prohibition (man’s) of polygamy cannot be declared illegal (tahrif), if the circumstances warrant it, and these circumstances are left to the consideration and discretion of the “holders of power” as is the case in Tunisia. In my opinion these circumstances are about the same everywhere in the world of Islam, and particularly the Arab world, seeing that the mere power of custom (‘aaddah) is not strong enough to make us hesitate as to whether we should, or should not, undertake legislation of this kind.

It was my privilege to read, in the illustrated weekly Arabic magazine al-Musawwar, Cairo, for August 1962, the opinion of His Excellency the Shaykh of al-Azhar on birth-control. (This was in reply to a question put to him by the representative of al-Musawwar.) He said: “There are circumstances in which it is necessary (yaunj) to limit natality, or more exactly, to regulate it (tanzim) for medical reasons, in some cases of pregnancy, or where people are not strong enough to shoulder the heavy responsibilities (which fall to their lot), and who do not receive from their governments or from those of their countrymen possessing superior resources that assistance which would lighten their burden and help them fulfill these responsibilities. And so the regulation of births, viewed from this aspect, does not run contrary to ‘nature’ (tubah), is in no way disapproved of by public opinion, and is not prohibited by religious law (la tawadu’u hu al-Shari’ah), even if it is not demanded by this law.” This is my own personal opinion. Why should we not use the same argument with regard to the banning of polygamy by regarding it as a regulating factor in the exercise of the Marriage Law, especially as the reduction of natality would be much more so the motives making a marriage permanent? Is it a known fact that many households have reached the point where they are unable to provide for not only several wives, but also numerous children.

27 It should be noted that Article 19 (another innovation, since it renders a “thrice-repeated” divorce a permanent obstacle) is also nowhere mentioned in Article 19 (which is of a general nature),
but that on the other hand, it is quoted in Article 21 as a cause of nullity.

28 Baadil and fausid, the two terms used equivalently by the Code in the chapter on "Nullity", should here be understood in the same sense — null, invalid, of no effect.


30 Case No. 1 (newspaper al-'Amal, 15 March 1961): The first wife of the accused was sterile, the marriage having taken place 15 years previously, 'ala 't-Urf al-jari. In order to obtain the hand of his second wife, aged 23, he tells her family that he is single, and they give her to him in marriage. Eight days later, at the conjugal domicile, the first wife appears on the scene. The second wife is then informed of the first marriage, and the three people live together for eleven months. Pregnant, and persecuted by the first wife, the second wife, on 23 July 1960, lodges a complaint against her husband, accusing him of contravening Article 18 of the Code of Personal Status. Although the accused declares he had "come to an arrangement . . ." with the second wife, and that he has the intention of keeping the two wives (in his household) he is sentenced to two months' imprisonment and the second contract (of marriage) is annulled (ibtidal al-'aqil).

Case No. 2 (the Arabic daily al-'Amal, Tunis, for 23 March, 1961): The first wife of the accused has lived with him for five years, has borne him a son, and is now pregnant by him. He says he will add a "co-wife" (to his household), whom he has decided to marry, bi'duni 'Agd qanuni (thus committing a twofold contravention of the law). This "co-wife" is a divorcee having the custody of two children. After the three people have lived together for several months a complaint is laid by the first wife (5th October 1960). By now the second wife is pregnant. The accused is sentenced to three months' imprisonment and it is decided that the second marriage shall be annulled (faasid).


32 In this connection it may be worthwhile mentioning the original solution found in the "Mali Code of the Family and of Guardianship" (Code Malien de la Famille et de la Tutelle), which is applicable to Muslims, Christians and animists. There is no doubt that it recognizes and maintains the Qur'anic "permission" ("The man who has four legitimate wives cannot contract another marriage," Article 8). But provision is made for an "Option for monogamy": "The man who contracts marriage for the first time, or who is legally free from previous marriage bonds, can bind himself not to contract another marriage before the preceding one has been dissolved. This undertaking can be made during the formalities of the marriage contract, or at the moment of celebration. It will be mentioned in the marriage certificate. It can also be made after the celebration ceremony by an act witnessed by a civil servant. It will be mentioned in the margin of the marriage certificate. Marriages contracted under the monogamic régime before the publication of the present law will remain subject to the said régime" (Article 43).

Thus this option creates an "obstacle"; it renders null and void any marriage contracted with a third person so long as the first marriage still exists, and contravention entails heavy penalties.

"The wife cannot contract a second marriage before the dissolution of the first. The same ruling applies to the husband who has opted for the monogamic marriage. However, a husband who has opted for the monogamic marriage has the right to modify his contract (agreement) with the special consent of the wife, and even without her consent after ten years of marriage. Any woman who, having contracted legal marriage, contracts another marriage before the dissolution of the first shall be sentenced to imprisonment of from six months to three years, and to a fine of 12,000 to 1,200,000 francs. The same ruling shall apply to the man who has opted for the monogamic marriage and to the man who, having four legitimate wives, contracts a fifth marriage. Any public officer (civil servant) who knowingly makes use of his civic functions to carry out such marriages shall incur the same penalties" (Article 7).
A MUSLIM CRITICALLY EXAMINES THE BIBLE

The Appellation of Messiah

By S. M. AHMED

If you pick up any ancient Greek coin in a museum (our library at Bangalore, India, has a collection of Greek Bactrian coins), you will find that the legends inscribed around the portraits almost invariably are: Bassillius, Sortas, Likotas, Theos, the which words mean King, Saviour, Judge and Godling — little God or the son of God — respectively. Theos, for instance, is what in the Hindi language is called Deota, lower in status than Zeus or Parmatma, and is applied flattering to a king or ruler.

We know that the Gospels were compiled in the Greek language and that their writers must necessarily be Greeks and not Hebrews. Thus we can easily trace the source of the Christian dogma and can say safely that it is nothing but a reflection of the Greek mind. But the Greek proselytes went a step further. They had heard that Jesus was called Masih (in both Aramaic and Arabic). They retained the word in the form of Messiah or Messiah, thinking that it was synonymous with the Hebrew word Mashiach, which means "anointed," and being ignorant of the Semitic grammar, they translated it in their own language as Christos; for Masih is an active participle and not active like Mashiach. The root word of the Arabic word "Masih" is msh, whose infinitive means "to measure" or "to rub" or "wipe." Jesus was an itinerant preacher whose business it was to "wipe" off the impurity of sin from his disciples, and so he was called "Masih." If St. Matthew 1:21 had used this word instead of Jesus, he would have been nearer the mark.

Jesus was never a king. Besides, to call him king would have been treason under the Roman law. According to St. Matthew II and St. Luke IX, Jesus was announced as such at his birth. But such a statement cannot be accepted at its face value. Both the synoptists — St. Matthew and St. Mark — say that Jesus himself asked people what they thought of him and the people made some replies, but it was left to the bold St. Peter to call him king and the Son of the Highest. It is reported that Jesus was pleased and flattered and made Peter the custodian of heaven and hell, and at the same time spurned him as a satan when he persisted in his eulogy. St. Matthew’s story is more improbable. He claims that the Magi from the East came, guided by a star which they had seen in the East (?) (West), and instead of going to China they came to Jerusalem and asked King Herod where the new-born babe, the future king of the Jews, was born. The star led them to Bethlehem, and it stood exactly over the house where the mother and the babe were. Herod, who had been told that the Roman Empire would be brought to an end by “the king of the Jews”, had the babies of Bethlehem killed when he found that the Magi had gone away without reporting back to him about the babe. Jesus and his mother escaped to Egypt, and remained there till the death of Herod.

Now this is a good Sunday school story which is supported neither by history nor geography nor by other Gospels. For Jesus with his donkey and his mother would have suffered the penalty of death if he had dared cross the Desert of Sinai. Besides, the Magi could not have travelled from Persia to Jerusalem in time to see the babe there still in the cradle. Herod had died four years before this event. Also, if he had been alive, he would have reported the event to his sovereign Augustus Caesar to destroy the babe. There were no Magi in the time of the Parthians who followed the Greek cult and religion. It was during the Sasanian period, namely, three hundred years after Jesus’ birth, that we come across the existence of the Magi. The prophecy-lover St. Matthew has quoted a verse from the Old Testament which applies to David, for he was descended from Bethlehem Ephrata.

Much as Jesus or his disciples tried to conceal the implication of styling Jesus a king, he was nevertheless arrested and tried by the Romans for treason and suffered the tortures of the cross. The loyal Jews added to this charge that of blasphemy, though Pontius Pilate did not mention it in his charge sheet. He only said, “This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.” The Jews objected to it, saying that that was an admission from the Roman Governor and should be changed into what Jesus claimed. Pilate refused to change the charge-sheet and repeated what he had written. The Jews contended that this attitude of the Governor meant to say that Jesus had been recognized as king and Son of God by the Romans. Of course this lead to the rumour becoming current in the Christian world that Jesus had been accepted by the Roman Governor as king and the Son of God. No one stopped to think as to whether the Roman Governor had not done all this derisively. But whatever the motive, this title has stuck to the person of Jesus ever since. Once made a king, it was natural for his followers to await his kingdom, if it was not already there in this world. Still, one wonders why the Christians are so enthusiastic about this title. Royalty is not a rare thing among the followers of Christianity, and they have no occasion to wait for a king. Rather was it the Jews who got kingship for a very brief period, which had resulted from the revolt of the Jewish patriots, the Maccabees, between the time of the King of Syria, Antiochus IV, (175-164 B.C.) and the Roman General Pompey the Great (106-78 B.C.). It was they who had the need to fill their scriptures with that expectation, and even added chapters VII to XXI to Daniel. What need did the Christians have for kings? Why not call Jesus a king-maker? This, I venture to believe, will be more suitable and appropriate.
SURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MEDIEVAL ARABIC MEDICINE

Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, Zahrawi, Ibn Nafis, Ibn al-Quaff, Ibn Usaybi'ah

By Dr. SAMI HAMARNEH

The art of surgery in medieval Arabic medicine began to develop on a more rational and scientific basis with the translation of the surgical and anatomical works of the Greeks by Hunayn Ibn Ishaq and others. The greatest surgeon of the Western Caliphate in Cordova, Spain, was, no doubt, the renowned 19th century physician, Abulcasis al-Zahrawi. In the 13th century two other great physicians, Ibn al-Quaff and Ibn al-Nafis, practised in Damascus and Cairo and excelled all earlier surgeons in the Eastern Caliphate. However, both appeared on the scene at a time when Arabic civilization was rapidly declining, and their fame and contributions to anatomy and physiology were almost forgotten in learned circles until modern times.

Hunayn Ibn Ishaq

Muhammad Ibn Ishaq al-Nadim in his index al-Fihrist (completed in 377 A.H. — 987 C.E.) reports that Italian medical and surgical writings, although their influence was not immediately significant, were translated into Arabic in the late 8th and 9th centuries. However, the real impetus for the rational, scientific, surgical development for which the Arabs are renowned came when the Greek legacy was rendered into Arabic, particularly during the 9th century.

Yuhanna Ibn Masaawayh (777-857 C.E.) was among the first medical educators in Islam to emphasize the value of the study of anatomy for practitioners. In addition to his illustrated medical text the Kunnash al-Mushajjar, he also wrote a book on anatomy in which he relied heavily on the teaching of the Greeks. Nevertheless, the greatest medical translator from both the Syriac and Greek was none other than Masaawayh’s student the Christian Arab physician, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq (d. 873 C.E.). He was, in addition, a distinguished scholar and the author of several works. Among his books are the ten illustrated treatises on the anatomy and physiology of the eye, al-'Ashr Maqalat fi al-'Ayn, which was edited with a useful introduction and annotation by the renowned ophthalmologist Max Meyerhof (Cairo, 1928).

Hunayn’s major contribution, however, was his accurate and scholarly translation of the medical and surgical legacy of the Greeks which formed a sound basis for Arabic medicine during the Middle Ages. He translated, or supervised and corrected the translations of, almost all the important works of the Hippocratic Corpus, the best-known writing on the healing arts that has come down to us from the pre-Christian period. He also translated the available works of Galen (Jalnus, 130-201 C.E.) who, after Hippocrates (d. 377 B.C.) is considered the most influential and authoritative physician up to the European Renaissance. Among Hunayn’s translations is Galen’s On Medical Experience, which has been edited with an English translation by Richard Walzer (London, 1944). The Greek original work has been lost, and Hunayn’s Arabic translation is the only extant, authoritative version of it. Similarly, we have only treatises IX (the latter part) through XV of Galen’s antimonial discourses entitled De Anatomicis administrationibus, now extant only in the Arabic version since the Greek original has long been lost. Hunayn also translated a medical encyclopaedia, the Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta (fl. 636), which contained several chapters on anatomy and surgery. The impact of rendering such important and voluminous writings into Arabic was great and, for several centuries, surgeons as well as physicians depended on these reliable translations of Hunayn and his associates in their studies and practice. In view of Hunayn’s precision in translation and service to the healing arts, Lucien Leclerc in his Histoire de la médecine arabe considers him to be one of the greatest scholars of all times.

One physician who made good use of Hunayn’s translations was the Persian, Abû Bakr al-Râzî (d. c. 925 C.E.), the greatest clinician in Medieval Islam. His book al-Mansuri, al-Jami’ and al-Hawi fi al-Tibb contain several chapters devoted to anatomy and surgery.

The Cordovan Period: development in surgery and obstetrics

In the second half of the 10th century, Cordova, the capital of Muslim Spain, and its suburban royal city of al-Zahrâ’, became as important a centre of cultural activity as Baghdad, al-Rayy and Damascus. It is still more surprising to note that the physician-pharmacist, Abu al-Qasim Khalaf Ibn ‘Abbâs al-Zahrâwî (Latin, Abulcasis, d. 1013 C.E.), who was probably the greatest surgeon of this entire Arabic period, was a native of al-Zahrâ’. He wrote an encyclopaedia of medicine, al-Tasrif liman ‘Ajiza ‘an al-Târif, in thirty treatises (see Fig. 2). The first two contain several chapters on the anatomy of the human body. The following twenty-seven treatises are devoted to medical therapy, pharmaceutical preparations, dosage forms and techniques, the treatment of diseases, diet and general hygiene, drug synonyms, uses and properties, and weights and measures — studies which justify his consideration among the famous physician-pharmacists in the Middle Ages.

But al-Zahrâwî is chiefly remembered for his thirtieth treatise on surgery, Fi al-‘Alam bi al-Yad, translated into French by Lucien Leclerc (Paris, 1861). The original ideas and personal observations contained in this treatise revived.
interest in a neglected branch of the health professions and proved to be of the highest significance in the history of surgery. It describes, for example, the use of various types of threads for binding wounds and points out, for the first time, the danger associated with amputations above the knee and elbow. It warns against injuring veins through ignorance or lack of skill while operating and gives the first explanation of a type of haemorrhage which is difficult to check — a disease known today as haemophilia. It reports spinal paralysis caused by injury to the medulla and skilfully describes multiple, retained feti in pregnancy and the performance of cranioclasty on the foetus with illustrations of the instruments used. Furthermore, it is the first treatise to mention the Walcher position in obstetrics and to describe instrumental delivery in parturition. It also explains in detail the duties and techniques of midwifery and obstetrics. It recommends treatment for a fractured pelvis and reveals the possibility of entering the external auditory canal by incising beneath the ear.

At bedside and battlefield: development of fine surgical instruments

Of utmost interest in the history of illustrated medical texts, however, are the 200 illustrations of surgical and dental instruments included in this treatise. As illustrations for the instruction of students or the guidance of surgeons in making instruments for their particular needs, these are the earliest of their kind. A majority of these instruments which he has drawn and recommended he had personally devised and used on his own patients at the bedside and on the battlefield (see Fig. 3).

The fame of this treatise increased in the West with the Latin translation by the assiduous and commendable translator, Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187 C.E.). Thereafter, al-Zahrāwī's influence on the development of surgery in the West and throughout the late Middle Ages could hardly be exaggerated. Surgeons in Italy, later in France, and in other parts of Europe studied his treatise in Latin and quoted him repeatedly in their works. Later on, other translations and copies of his surgical treatise were circulated and printed (see Figs. 4 and 5).

The Qāmūn fi al-Tibb of Ibn Sīnā (Latin, Avicenna, d. 1037 C.E.) dominated medical and surgical thought and teaching in Islamic countries in the 11th century, and thereafter. His work on anatomy was interpreted and unravelled by later commentators, as we shall see shortly. Al-Qīfī (d. 1248 C.E.), the judge of Aleppo and a renowned historian, praises the surgical and anatomical treatises in al-Majūsī's Malāki (Liber Regius), as even superior to its counterpart in Ibn Sīnā's al-Qāmūn.2

In the 12th century, the Arab Muslim philosopher and physician Ibn Rushd (Latin, Averroes, d. 1199 C.E.), confirmed the importance of the study of anatomy. He considered that such knowledge demonstrated and strengthened faith in the greatness of the Creator as manifested in His Creation.

Existence of capillaries deduced

In the 13th century we see the final culmination of this period of Arabic intellectual productivity which by now centred mainly in Syria and Egypt. It was then that two young men, who had studied medicine, logic, and natural sciences at the Syrian capital, possibly under the same professors, were destined, because of their contributions to surgery, to become two of the greatest physicians of the Middle Ages. The first and younger contemporary was Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Quff (1233-86 C.E.), a Christian native of al-Karak, a city in Jordan. His biography first appeared in ‘Uyūn al-Anbā, written by his teacher, the historian of medicine Ibn Abī Usaybi‘ah (1203-1270 C.E.), a fact that makes it of special interest.

Continued on page 22
Dental forceps for tooth extraction — with short handles for firmer grip — are made of Indian iron or of steel. The manuscript dates from 1189 C.E. and is the earliest known of this surgical treatise. Courtesy Khudâ Bakhsh O. P. Library, Patna, India.

Surgical, obstetrical, and dental instruments of Abulcasis al-Zahrâwi are found in L. 1531 C.E. by Argellata (courtes
Surgical, obstetrical, and dental instruments duplicating those in the surgical treatise of Abulcasis al-Zahrawi are found in Latin versions of this work as in this one of 1531 C.E. by Argellata. Al-Zahrawi's techniques and instruments greatly influenced surgery in the West. Courtesy National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland.
This is an ingenious device from a manuscript by Ismā'il Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazari's Fi Ma'rifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyyah completed about 1205 C.E. According to Dr. Alfred R. Henderson, it is the first known drawing of an instrument used for recording blood volume in blood-letting. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., No. 52270 B.

The friendship between Usaybi'ah, a devout Muslim physician, and Ibn al-Quff’s father, an orthodox Malakite, is a remarkable example of the religious tolerance which prevailed in that area. Upon completing his studies, Ibn al-Quff practised in Ajlūn, Jordan, and thereafter became the physician-surgeon to the army of King al-Zahir Baybars and his successors in Damascus. There he was also sought by 2 Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAli Ibn Yusuf al-Qifī (d. 646 C.E.), Ikhwār al-ʿUlāmī bi-Akhbār al-Hukūmāt. Cairo ed., al-Sādah Press by al-Khānjī, 1326 A.H. (1908 C.E.), pp. 155-6.
The first page of Abücasis al-Zahrāwī’s al-Tasrif from the Besir Aga manuscript No. 502 dated 902 A.H. (1496 C.E.), Courtesy of the Sîleymaniye Umiti Library, Istanbul, Turkey.

many students and taught the healing arts until his early death at the age of 52. Almost four centuries before the Italian anatomist Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694 C.E.) described the capillaries, which he had observed under the microscope, Ibn al-Quff spoke of these “unseen pores” which connect the arteries and the veins in what we know today as the circulation of the blood. He was also the first to describe the number and function of the cordial valves and the direction in which they open to permit the flow of fluids. This important anatomical phenomenon was mentioned only vaguely by William Harvey, and more fully by the French anatomist Raymond de Vieussens (1641-1716 C.E.). Furthermore, Ibn al-Quff’s contribution to medical literature was significant. For example, his work al-‘Undah fī Sinā‘ al-‘Irāhah (edited in two volumes, Hyderabad, India, 1937) was the first comprehensive and independent manual on surgery for medical students and practitioners in Islam. Comprising twenty treatises, it ranks among the best texts on the subject written in the Middle Ages. The renowned historian and bibliographer Hajji Khalfah mentions this textbook twice. Then in referring to and recommending medical writings and commentaries, he lists those of Ibn al-Quff even before those of the greatest of Muslim authors such as Ibn Sīna and al-Majūsī (d. 994 C.E.).

An exact explanation of pulmonary blood circulation

The other 13th century physician is the Qarashi ‘Ala’ al-Din Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288 C.E.). After completing his studies in Damascus, he went to Egypt to head the famous, and still extant, Mansûri Hospital of Cairo. There he wrote his commentary on Avicenna’s canon, Sharh Tasrif al-Qānūn. In discussing the anatomy of the alveoli of the lungs and the heart, he presented, in opposition to the doctrines of Galen and Ibn Sīna, a clear and exact explanation of the pulmonary blood flow. The greater and lesser circulation of the blood was presented later in the monumental and epochal essay on the motion of the heart and blood entitled Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis (1628 C.E.) by William Harvey.

Ibn al-Nafīs explained simply and systematically how the blood flows from the left half of the heart to the lungs through the pulmonary artery and, after it is aerated, returns to the left half of the heart by way of the pulmonary vein. He also denied the erroneous belief propagated by Galen and others of the existence of visible or invisible openings (pores) in the thick wall (the interventricular septum) between the two cavities of the heart.

His work attained great prestige in Muslim countries, including North Africa and Spain. Thus it is very possible that it became known in the West and eventually influenced the Spanish scholar, Michael Servetus (1511-1553 C.E.), directly or indirectly through translation.

By the end of the 13th century, Arabic civilization was, unfortunately, rapidly declining, and the art of surgery was soon neglected. It fell into the hands of the unlearned, the barbers, bone-setters, old women and charlatans. After the 15th century the torch was carried to Europe, where it rekindled the efforts to advance surgical knowledge and techniques. However, it must be remembered that prior to that, and during the entire period of the Middle Ages, in both the East and the West, tradition, religious taboo and the sway of fanaticism against human dissection hindered further progress in this field of the healing arts.

ISRAEL IN AFRICA

Israel’s Two Main Objectives in Africa

By MUHAMMAD HASSANEIN HEIKAL

Israel as cat’s-paw of neo-colonialism

It is my firm belief that it is time that especially serious attention was paid to the examination of the activities of Israel in the African continent, and a clear-cut picture drawn up outlining Israeli methods and aims, in order that scientific and practical steps be formulated to tackle this problem in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

In Africa Israel has unbounded dreams. The first of its objectives is to break up the stranglehold of the Arab economic boycott. The simple fact is that the Arab countries, which Israeli plans had at one time considered rich and useful markets and a convenient sphere for expected Israeli industrial output, are not open to Israel. And they will remain completely and utterly closed to Israel for ever. The Arab countries are no longer the raw and virgin markets which Israel had desired. In more than one of the Arab countries tremendous industrial progress is under way, backed by rich natural resources of the type which is not available to Israel. Their untapped potential is also tremendously beyond anything that Israel can wish. And when the Arab world finally rid itself of imperialist exploitation of its vast natural resources the way will be clear for the forward march on this line. And so, with the Arab market utterly out of the question for Israel, and markets in the industrial countries of the world rather difficult, Israel looks to Africa as its only outlet and salvation.

Another hope entertained by Israel is an opportunity to participate in the large-scale operation which is still going on in Africa for the looting of the continent’s natural wealth. In other words, Israel wants a part to play in the new plans of neo-colonialism in Africa. This continent is the main source of some of the most expensive raw materials such as rubber, cocoa and coffee. It is also the main source of essential minerals such as uranium, diamonds, gold and copper. Under pressure of circumstances imperialism has found it necessary to change its tactics, but it has not changed its aims — it has changed its tactics, without changing its strategy. It has abandoned certain apparent and obvious positions, but without in fact relinquishing its domination and control. It granted certain countries a form of independence, but these countries remain under imperialist economic influence, which implies influence in other respects too. And the plunder of the resources of the African continent continues on a very large scale under the guise of independence. Israel wants a part to play in this, and a share in the booty. It is helped in this role by three important factors. The first is that imperialism has full confidence in its loyalty to imperialist aims and motives, and therefore has no inhibitions about pushing it forward in this enterprise. Secondly, some of the most substantial business concerns in Africa have large Jewish capital invested in them. These include the diamonds industry controlled by Oppenheim which dominates world markets in diamonds. These Jewish-controlled industries at least facilitate matters for the Israelis in Africa. There are also influential Jewish communities in some parts of Africa which can pave the way for Israel’s infiltration into the continent. In the Republic of South Africa, for example, the Jewish community numbers more than 100,000. They exert great influence upon the country’s economy (and, incidentally, it should be noted that South Africa’s guiding policy is apartheid, which aims at exploiting the Africans for the benefit of the whites).

Rallying support against Arabs

Another objective pursued by Israel is the opportunity to recruit sufficient votes at the United Nations to enable it in due course to rid itself of the terrible shadow of the resolutions of the United Nations in regard to Palestine. It hopes that when the time comes these votes will help it reverse previous United Nations resolutions and produce new resolutions for the settlement of the Palestine problem on the basis of the fait accompli. More than that, Israel hopes that the votes it secures would support it when it launches a war against its neighbours. Such votes would ward off an inconvenient decision for itself when it takes such action, and per-
haps even justify it. And if it should happen that the Arabs in fact launched war against Israel, Israel wants votes to support it against its enemies. In such cases, and in other circumstances, African votes at the United Nations would be extremely valuable, for the African countries now have about a third of the total number of votes at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and this means a great deal as far as the procuring or nullification of resolutions is concerned.

Israel has entertained these objectives for a long time, and it must be admitted that it has in fact achieved a substantial measure of success in their realization. It would be wrong for the Arabs to disregard this fact, or to keep quiet about it. And it would not be enough merely to claim that there are obstacles in the way of the Arab combat of Israeli infiltration into Africa. Israel undoubtedly places obstacles in the way of the Arabs in making any positive endeavor in this respect, and the methods it uses are often not open to the Arabs or, if open, would not be practised by the Arabs. All the forces supporting Israeli infiltration into Africa harrass and thwart Arab efforts. Imperialism, which helps Israel and pushes it forward, is the most bitter enemy of the Arabs, and has in fact been locked in bloody and mortal combat with Arab nationalism. Big financial concerns, like the Oppenheim empire, are naturally expected to facilitate matters for Israel, especially in view of the fact that they have lost their interests in the Arab world. Israel also continues to confuse Zionism with Judaism, and little opposition to Israel's view on this is offered by the Jews throughout the world, with the result that Jews are often compelled to appear pro-Zionist for fear of being considered traitors to their religion and natural affiliations. On the other hand, the Arabs have no significant expatriate communities in Africa. In some of the countries of West Africa the Arab communities, which were mostly Lebanese, had got themselves so deeply involved with the old imperialist regime that they found themselves discredited after independence. In the Arab communities that remained free of this are in any case too small to exert any real influence in the political or other spheres, and the Arab world cannot therefore expect much from them.

Israel's tactics

As regards the methods employed by Israel to further its cause in Africa, I find a great deal which the Arabs cannot possibly indulge in, either because it would be physically impossible for them or because they would have serious moral scruples about them. Zionist methods have certainly paid dividends for Israel. Israel has always been ready to support whatever is the fait accompli, irrespective of whether this is in conflict with natural and legal rights, the morals of the case, or any other consideration. Israel has always been ready to strike a bargain with anyone holding the purse strings. One of the reasons for this is the fact that Israel does not feel that its future is irrevocably tied up with the African continent. It is concerned with Africa merely because of mercenary and material interests, and for these it is prepared to sacrifice everything. Perhaps this policy will continue to bring valuable dividends for a long time. But in the end it will simply founder on the rock of truth. That much happened in the Congo. The United Arab Republic, for example, chose to support the side which it believed was right — the side of Patrice Lumumba. Israel, on the other hand, chose to align itself with the champions of imperialist economic interests, and supported Moise Tshombe, who was anti-Lumumba. It likewise supported similar forces in Leopoldville, including General Mobutu, who had received his military training in

Israel. At one time it appeared as if the nationalist forces in the Congo had finally crumbled, particularly after the murder of Patrice Lumumba. But soon afterwards it became clear that the just cause was upheld by the African continent as a whole, and that the genuine nationalist forces were still strong. This happened at the African States' summit conference in Cairo. The majority of the African delegates refused to allow Tshombe, who became Prime Minister in Leopoldville, to take part in the conference. The close friend of Israel thus became the hated enemy of everybody else in Africa. Likewise, the army of General Mobutu, with Israeli training, became the laughing-stock of the African countries.

Skill and perseverance

The five methods used by Israel to fasten its feet in African countries

There is no doubting the skill with which the Israelis pursue their objectives in Africa. In almost all the African countries where Israel has made headway, Israel's tactics were as follows:

First, for the celebration of the independence of an African country a strong Israeli delegation is sent. This delegation brings with it a detailed study of the situation in the country from the economic and other angles. When it goes to offer its congratulations and best wishes to the responsible authorities it also somehow manages to start a discussion on the economic and other problems of the country and the difficulties confronting the new régime. It offers suggestions and solutions. When all the other delegations to the independence celebrations leave, the Israelis stay behind to discuss a topic near and dear to the heart of the new régime, who, naturally enough, would be interested in suggestions or practical assistance to sort out the problems of their countries. Very often, the delegation that goes to independence celebrations to offer congratulations comes back with signed economic, technical or cultural agreements with the new régime.

Second, Israel normally selects one or two spheres in which to concentrate its efforts and specialize to a high degree. Very often this is in the sphere of civil engineering, through its well-known firm, Solel Boneh. This is a straightforward sphere of activity, the risk is small and the profit assured. Furthermore, every important building erected can be held out for a long time to come as a tangible symbol of Israeli assistance. Civil engineering, in any case, is an activity for which there is an urgent and insatiable need in the African continent, and the newly-independent African countries feel a strong urge to build up their cities and capitals in order to place them prominently on the new world map. And after the construction companies the trading and shipping concerns of Israel move in, often on allegedly joint enterprises with local firms. Then come Israeli-trained centres — military, agricultural, technological, etc. All these activities appear legal and above board. But this is only what they appear to be on the surface. In fact they are integral parts of a clever master-plan.

The third characteristic method followed by Israel in its efforts to penetrate into Africa is to choose the most capable of its officials to fill posts in the African countries. Israeli diplomatic missions in the African countries have the best qualified and dedicated men. Posts in the African countries are considered by the Israelis to be of very great importance, and not less important than positions in Europe or the United
States. The Israeli officials best qualified are directed to the place where they happen to be needed most.

Another tactic employed by the Israelis in their activities in Africa is to appear at first to be generous, and eventually to manage to get someone else to foot the bill of this generosity. For example, in many of the African countries where the Israelis had offered technical experts the expenses and salaries of these experts were paid by Israel for only a short period. On one pretext or another, the United Nations soon took over and offered to meet the bill. When the United Nations seriously considers sending an expert to a particular African country Israel hastens to point out that there is already an Israeli expert in that field of activity operating there, and suggests that he be adopted as the United Nations' expert and put on the pay-roll. The Israeli expert concerned would then change flags on his desk, or outside his office, discarding the Israeli flag and taking on the United Nations'. But his loyalties do not change so easily, and he would remain part of the scheme for which Israel originally sent him to his post. The least Israel gains from this is to save the expert's salary — the money most probably to be used to send another expert to another country, to be adopted in due course as a United Nations' official. And so the game continues.

Yet another characteristic of Israeli operations in the African countries is the great skill which Israel displays in the role of public relations and liaison expert, wherever and whenever the slightest opportunity presents itself, enhancing Israeli prestige among the unsuspecting and further bolstering its stake and its interests in the African countries. Israel willingly establishes contacts between the African countries and the big Western powers, smoothing out difficulties and helping matters. It offers assistance in contacting big international firms. It helps with foreign newspapers, press agencies and radio stations, particularly in Europe and the United States. Israel also acts on its own behalf in this respect. The picture it draws up of itself is that of a country very small in size yet very powerful in its potential, a country besieged on all sides by big bad Arab enemies all waiting to pounce on it, a country courageous enough not to be induced to surrender.

Finally, Israel draws great comfort, and positive gain, from the mistakes made by its enemies, from the wrong policies, the wrong actions and the wrong men. All these mistakes it converts into positive successes for itself.

Arab attempts at exposing Israel

A scientific and practical Arab confrontation with Israeli infiltration into Africa actually began at the African summit conference in Casablanca in January 1961. At that conference President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir of the United Arab Republic succeeded for the first time in presenting the Israeli problem to the African countries in the right and accurate perspective. He succeeded in passing a resolution carrying the signatures of President Nkrumah of Ghana, President Sekou Touré of Guinea and President Keita of Mali, three of the most influential leaders of the African continent. The resolution was as follows:

"The Conference fully considered the Palestine problem, and expressed its serious concern at the present situation in Palestine resulting from the denial of Arab legitimate rights.

1. The Conference warns against the danger resulting from this situation which represents a threat to peace and security in the Middle East and results in world tension.

2. The Conference believes in the need for a just solution of this problem in line with the resolutions of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Bandung Conference, and which would restore to the Arabs of Palestine their full rights.

3. The Conference notes, with condemnation, that Israel has persistently supported imperialism whenever important problems relating to Africa were discussed, particularly the problems of Algeria, the Congo, and nuclear tests in Africa.

4. The Conference calls on all the countries of Africa and Asia to resist this new policy which is utilized by imperialism for the purpose of creating new positions for itself."

But the tremendous gain achieved by President 'Abd al-Nasir was not followed up by a comprehensive practical plan with a long-term policy of co-ordinated measures to be implemented by qualified men. There were, to be fair, some efforts in this direction, and some attempts were made to carry such a plan through. But the task soon became of a more onerous nature, for instead of the three States at the Casablanca conference there were thirty States at the Addis Ababa conference in 1963. At this latter conference President 'Abd al-Nasir again explained the problem of Israel, although he did not seek a resolution on the question. He tackled the same problem once more at the conference in Cairo in 1964. But the most important aspect of this whole problem is that the African countries should perceive the truth about Israel, and should be able to comprehend this truth in the context of the policies and tangible interests of their own countries.

Need for a comprehensive counter-plan

There is still need for a scientific and practical plan of action, a plan that is plainly capable of being implemented in the political, economic and cultural spheres. One suggestion has been that a special conference should be called to study on a scientific and meticulous basis the ramifications of Israeli activities in the African continent, and draw up a plan to counter these activities. Such a conference would be highly desirable and likely to succeed in view of the fact that the Arab world has been able to project itself favourably to the African countries at the recent summit conference, and Arab diplomatic efforts have achieved some success in enlightening certain African countries at least about the broad nature of Israeli activities.

While Israel may have achieved considerable success in certain African countries, there has in fact been a marked decline in its stock in the African continent as a whole due to the efforts made by the Arabs at the recent African summit conferences. The point has not been lost on some African countries that what the Arabs suffered at the hands of the Zionists in Palestine was in fact identical with what some African countries had suffered from the European settlers — a minority comes in to settle in a country and eventually claims original rights, and even seeks to uproot or subjugate the indigenous majority, as happens in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Finally, it must be noted that the role of the Arabs in Africa must not simply be a negative one, to rout Israel. The
PROPHECIES AND WARNINGS IN THE
HOLY QUR'AN

Triumph of Muhammad and Islam over his Adversaries

The Roman and Persian Wars of the time of the Prophet and the Prophecy of the Qur'an of the ultimate defeat of the Persians

By NUR AHMAD

The Qur'an's claim to being revealed by God to Muhammad

Muslims believe that the Holy Qur'an is a Divine Book, that it contains many prophecies, that some of these have been fulfilled while others still await their fulfilment, and that in proportion to the progress of its knowledge and learning, the world will come to appreciate the truth of this claim of the Qur'an. The Qur'an itself speaks of its Divine origin and of its collection as being part of the Divine scheme as much as its revelation. We read in the Qur'an the promise of God given in the words "On Us devolves the collecting of it and the recitation of it" (75:17).

The Qur'an claims to be the greatest miracle which God vouchsafed a prophet. The Prophet Muhammad always claimed the Qur'an as his own. To use the words of an English writer, Bosworth Smith, from his Mohammed and Mohammedanism, "Miracle indeed it is". Edward Palmer, in the Introduction to his English translation of the Qur'an, says, "That the best of the Arab writers have never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'an itself is not surprising". H. Hirshfield in his book New Researches (London 1902) observes, "The Qoran is unapproachable as regards convincing power, eloquence and even composition".

Dr. Steingass in his article "The Qur'an" in Hughes' Dictionary of Islam writes, "Here therefore its merits as a literary production, should perhaps not be measured by some preconceived maxims of subjective and aesthetic taste but by the effects which it produced in Muhammad's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. If it spoke so powerfully and convincingly to the hearts of its hearers as to weld hitherto centrifugal and antagonistic elements into one compact and well-organized body animated by ideas far beyond those which had until now ruled the Arabian mind, then its eloquence was perfect, simply because it created a civilized nation out of savage tribes and shot a fresh woof into the old warp of history".

The Qur'an contains numerous predictions and prophecies about the ultimate triumph of the Prophet Muhammad's mission. These prophecies were revealed mostly at a time when the Prophet of Islam was being persecuted and his mission seemed to be doomed to fail. It also contains warnings to all nations and especially to the Muslims about the fall of great nations and exhorts them not to follow the paths of these once mighty, powerful and prosperous nations. We shall now discuss some of these prophecies and warnings.

Prophecy of the ultimate victory of the Prophet Muhammad over his adversaries

In more than one of its chapters the Qur'an contains the prophecies of the ultimate defeat of the most powerful opponents of Islam. As remarked above, these were revealed at a time when the Prophet Muhammad and his small band of followers were being persecuted and oppressed in all possible ways. Verses 65 to 67 of chapter 6 were revealed by which the Prophet Muhammad was directed to warn the disbelievers and his opponents in these words:

"Say (O Muhammad!) He hath power to send calamities on you, from above and below or to cover you with confusion on party strife giving you taste of mutual vengeance—each from the other. See how We explain the Signs by various (symbols) that they may understand... But thy people reject this though it is the truth. Say: not mine is the responsibility for arranging your affair. For every message is a limit of time. And soon shall ye know it."

Triumph of Islam over other religions

Verse 16 of chapter 44 contains another prophecy about the utter defeat of the Quraysh in battles, beginning with that of Badr and resulting in the final conquest of Mecca by the Prophet. According to a Companion of the Prophet, Ibn Mas'ud, the words "the violent seizing" in this verse mean the day of Badr — one of the big "ifs" of history.

In verses 9 and 10 of chapter 52 there is a prediction that the mighty "mountains" (just like the Persian Empire and the Roman power) would pass away and that the greatest opponent of the Prophet who considered the Prophet as an "impostor", a "madman" or "false prophet" would be
defeated and the Prophet would be raised to the highest position and dignity.

Chapter 78 also contains a prophecy about the utter defeat of the opponents of the Prophet.

There is a clear prophecy in verse 2 of chapter 90 that a time would come when not only would the Muslims be not persecuted in the town (of Mecca), but also they would enter it as conquerors, in these words:

"And thou wilt be made free from obligations in this town (or when thou hast control over the town)."

Verse 33 of chapter 9 contains a clear prophecy about the ultimate triumph of Islam over other religions and its gradual spread and victory of the once persecuted Muslims in these prophetic words:

"He it is Who sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth to make it shine or prevail over all religions though the polytheists may be averse."

There is a clear prophecy that Islam will spread to the most distant regions of the earth. Verse 53 of Chapter 41 was revealed at a time when the cause of Islam and the mission of the Prophet apparently seemed to be hopeless. But verse 53 makes a prophecy in these words:

"We shall soon show them Our signs in remote regions and in their own souls until it becomes quite clear to them that it is the Truth. Is it not sufficient that thy Lord is a witness over all things?"

Verse 28 of chapter 48 contains another clear prophecy that Islam will triumph and would spread to every remote nook and corner of the world. The verse reads:

"He it is Who has sent his Messenger with the guidance and the religion of Truth that He may make it prevail over all religions."

Verses 8 and 9 of chapter 61 contain a prophecy of the triumph of Islam, whereas verses 36 and 37 of chapter 70 speak in clear terms that a new nation would be raised. The verses read:

"But what is the matter with those who disbelieve that they hasten to thee, from the right and from the left."

These verses predicted that there would come a time when the disbelievers who resisted Islam with vehemence would "hasten" to the Prophet en masse to accept Islam.

The Qur'ân anticipates modern knowledge by 1400 years!

Verses 14 to 17 and 19 of chapter 71 of the Qur'ân clearly predict that God's creation, namely mankind and the universe, will grow and evolve from stage to stage in these words:

"And He has created you through various stages. See you not how God hath created seven heavens in harmony? And hath made the moon a light therein and made the sun a lamp. And God has caused you to grow as a growth from the earth. And God has made the earth a wide expanse for you."

It is a fact that it was only in the 20th century that the scientific discovery was made that in creation male and female species exist in everything, including the vegetable kingdom. Verse 36 of chapter 36 runs:

"Glory be to Him Who created pairs of all things of what the earth grows and of themselves and of that which they do not know."

Mr. George Sale translates this verse as follows: "Praise be unto Him who hath created all the different kinds, both of vegetables, which on earth bring forth and of their own species by forming two sexes and also the various sorts of things which they know not." Abdullah Yusuf Ali has translated this verse in these words: "Glory to God who created in pairs all things that the earth produces, as well as their own (human) kind and (other) things of which they have no knowledge." In a footnote to this verse he says: "The mystery of sex runs through all creation — in man or in animal life, in vegetable life and possibly in other things of which we have no knowledge. Then there are pairs of opposite forces in nature, e.g., positive and negative electricity, etc. We cannot withdraw the negative. But if we withdraw the real thing, the positive, which filled the void, nothing is left but the void.

Prophecy that the opponents of the Prophet Muhammad will perish in wars and the Muslims will consolidate their affairs in the world

Verse 2 of chapter 47 reads:

"And those who believe and do good and believe in what has been revealed to Muhammad, He will remove their evil from them and improve their condition."

When this verse was revealed the Muslims were in a most hopeless condition. They had just fled from their homes, almost penniless, to save their lives and to settle in Medina. In this verse they were promised that their condition would be bettered.
The atom itself consists of a positively charged nucleus or proton surrounded by negatively charged electrons. The constitution of matters is thus referred to as pairs of opposite energies.” The truth recently discovered by science was known to the Qur’an as far back as 1400 years.

**Two great prophecies about the Romans and Persians**

Verses 2 to 9 of chapter 30 run as follows:

“The Romans are defeated in the nearer land and after their defeat will be victorious, within ten years — God’s is the command in the former case and in the latter and in that day believers will rejoice (in God’s help to victory).”

History records that the armies of the Eastern Roman Empire were defeated by the Persians in all their territories near Arabia. In 613 C.E. Jerusalem and Damascus fell, and in the following year Egypt. A Persian army invaded Anatolia and was threatening Constantinople itself in the year 615 or 616 C.E. (sixth or seventh year before the Hejira), when according to the best authorities, chapter 30 of the Qur’an was revealed at Mecca. The pagan Arabs, overjoyed at the news of Persian victories over the Romans, predicted that they too would triumph over the Prophet and his little band of followers because the Christian Romans were believers in the one God whereas the Persians were not. They argued that the power of God could not be supreme and absolute, as the Prophet kept proclaiming it to be, since the forces of the Pagan Empire had been able to defeat His worshippers.

Now chapter 30 opens with two prophecies: (1) the Romans would be victorious over the Persians, and (2) the tiny persecuted community of Muslims in Arabia would have reason to rejoice within ten years. In fact in 624 C.E. the Roman armies entered the Persian territories and in the same year a little band of Muslims led by the Prophet overthrew the flower of Arab aristocracy on the field of Badr.

The great struggle in which Persia was victorious began in 602 C.E. When Chosroes II of Persia made war on Rome his armies plundered Syria and Asia Minor and in 608 C.E. advanced to Chalcedon. In 613 and 614 C.E. his general, Shahbaraz, took Damascus and Jerusalem. In triumph he carried away the Holy Cross with him. Soon after, even Egypt was conquered. The Romans could offer but little resistance as they were torn by internal dissensions.

When the news of these conquests reached Mecca the Quraysh were jubilant as their sympathy was for the fire-worshipping Persians rather than with the Christians. It was in the years 615 and 616 C.E. that the Qur’an predicted the defeat of the victorious Persians, who had reached the very gates of Constantinople, by the Romans, who were by this time quite exhausted. What is still more miraculous is that this prophecy is accompanied by another prophecy about the defeat of the Meccans by a handful of persecuted Muslims. Both prophecies were fulfilled within nine years. In 624 C.E. he (Heraclitus) advanced into Thar (then Media), where he destroyed the great fire temple of Gondzak.

In the same year the Muslims, many of whom were new and inexperienced youths without any arms, defeated and routed the Quraysh, one thousand strong, well equipped and armed. The success of the Muslim army continued until the Quraysh were completely crushed by the conquest of Mecca in 630 C.E., whereas the Persian Empire from its apparent greatness which it had reached ten years ago sank into a hopeless anarchy.

It is the long wars between the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius and the Persian King Chosroes II that is spoken of in the Qur’an, chapter 30. The description of this long-drawn war, the result of which was predicted in the Qur’an, is based on chapters 40-42 and 45-46 of Gibbon’s *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Besides Gibbon, other authorities such as A. J. Butler's *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, Lane-Poole's *History of Egypt*, Tabary's *History* and other historical works have also been consulted.

The war between the Romans and Persians was a national war and fought out after the fall of Phocas in 610 C.E. The Persians won sweeping victories and conquered Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus and other chief Syrian cities in 611 C.E. and Jerusalem in 614-5 C.E. just six to seven years before the migration of the Prophet to Medina. Jerusalem was pillaged and burnt, the tomb of Jesus Christ was defiled and many Christian relics, including the True Cross on which the Christians believe that Jesus was crucified, were removed to Persia. The pagan Arabs were delighted at the Persian victory; for they believed that the mission of the Prophet also would fail like the Christian Roman Empire’s discomfiture. As predicted in the Qur’an, within ten years the tide turned and the Roman Emperor Heraclius dealt crushing blows to the Persians in 623, 624 and 625 C.E. by attacks from the sea. He even penetrated into Persia through Armenia and was in a position to strike at the very heart of the Persian Empire. A decisive battle was fought on the Tigris near the city of Mosul in 627 C.E.

Heraclius celebrated his victory in Constantinople with great pomp and éclat and then turned to Jerusalem to restore the Holy Cross. Either on his way or at Jerusalem he received the letter of the Prophet Muhammad inviting him to embrace Islam. He had already heard about the Prophet Muhammad. He searched for an Arab who could give correct information about him. He found one, Abu Sufyan, a bitter opponent of the Prophet, who was then in Syria in connection with his business. He called Abu Sufyan and questioned him about the Prophet. Abu Sufyan, though an adversary of the Prophet, told the truth. He spoke highly of the Prophet and of his message. Abu Sufyan also pointed out that it was the poor and the lowly who were attracted to him. He talked to him of the Prophet’s great spiritual influence and about how the people who once embraced Islam never renounced it, no matter what persecution and oppression, however inhuman and ruthless, was meted out to them. He made special mention of the meticulous care with which Muhammad observed his treaty obligations, pacts and covenants. The Emperor was impressed and treated the messenger sent by the Prophet with great honour. But the Persian king Chosroes, to whom the Prophet had also addressed a letter, treated the Prophet’s messenger in an arrogant manner. He tore the letter of the Prophet to pieces. It is reported that when the Prophet heard about the insulting behaviour and contempt of Chosroes for his letter, he said, “So will his kingdom be torn up”. Chosroes even ordered his governor of the Yemen to arrest the Prophet, but to his surprise he learnt that his governor had accepted Islam and the Yemen was lost to his empire. Chosroes died in 628 C.E. and the Muslims defeated the
Persians at Mada’in and finally conquered Persia in 637 C.E. and put an end to the Persian Empire. As to the Eastern Roman Empire it was gradually conquered by the Muslims till in 1453 C.E. Constantinople, the last of its might, fell to the attack of the Sultan Muhammad II, known as the Fatih (Conqueror) of Constantinople.

Mr. George Sale on the prophecies about the Romans and the Persians

Mr. George Sale, the translator of the Qur’an, in his *The Koran* (1734 C.E.), in commenting on verse 1 of chapter 30, writes: “The accomplishment of the prophecy continued in this passage, which is very famous among the Muhammadans, being insisted on by their doctors as a convincing proof that The Koran really came down from heaven.

“The passage is said to have revealed, on the occasion of the great victory by the Persian over the Greek, the news whereof coming to Mecca, the infidels became extremely elated and began to abuse Muhammad and his followers, imagining that this success of the Persians, who, like themselves, were idolators and supposed to have no scriptures, against the Christians who pretended as well as Muhammadans to worship one God and to have divine scriptures, was earnest of their future success against the Prophet and those of his religion, to check which vain hope it was foretold in the words of the text that however improbable so ever it might seem, yet the scale should be turned in a few years and the vanquished Greek would prevail as remarkably as the Persians.

“History informs us that the success of Khosru Parviz, King of Persia, who carried on a terrible war against the Greek Empire to revenge the death of Maurice, his father-in-law, slain by Phocas, were very great and continued in an uninterrupted course for two and twenty years, particularly in the year of Christ 615 about the beginning of the sixth year before the Hegira, the Persians having in the preceding year conquered Syria, made themselves the masters of Palestine and took Jerusalem, which seem to be that signal advantage gained over the Greeks mentioned in this passage as agreeing best with the terms here used and most likely to alarm the Arabs by reason of their vicinity to the scene of action and there was so little probability at that time of the Greeks being able to retrieve their territory, much less to distress the Persians, and not only that but in the following years the arms of the latter made still farther and more considerable progress and at length they laid siege to Constantinople itself. But in the year 625 A.C., in which the fourth year of Hegira began, about ten years after the taking of Jerusalem, the Greeks when it was least expected gained a remarkable victory over the Persians and not only obliged them to quit the territories of the empire by carrying the war into their own country but drove them to the last extremity and spoiled the capital city al-Madiyan, Heraclius enjoying henceforward a continued series of good fortune till the deposition and death of Khosru.”

Continued from page 39

68 The authorship of the *Diwan-i-Mu‘in* is attributed by some scholars to the Khwaja, while others consider it to be the work of Mu‘in Haravi. Prof. Arberry mentions a treatise *Risalat*–*Sanjari*, a Manual of Sufi training, written by the Khwaja, see DP 1175B, unpub. cat., in the India Office Library.
69 For some details on the Khwaja’s life, see *Siyar al-A‘llya*, by Mir Khur (Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani, Delhi, 1302 A.H.).
70 For the detailed accounts, see the *Akbar al-Akhyaar*, p. 25; also *Siyar al-A‘llya*, p. 48.
71 *Al-Faqir Fakhr‘.

73 Muhibb Allah Ihababdi has discussed the mystical philosophy underlying the Institution of *Samau‘*, see *Maghali*, fol. 147-148, also *Haft Akham*.
74 Akbar al-Akhyaar, p. 25.
75 "A treasure of sugar", a title which correctly suggested his even disposition. For his biography and teachings, see *Astar al-A‘llya‘*, compiled by his disciple Badr al-Din Ishaq, a *Ms.* in the India Office Library, DP 1139.
76 *Ta‘irikhi-firoshtahi*, ed. Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, 1862, p. 362.
77 For details see *Siyar al-A‘llya‘*, p. 653; *Sawaw‘*, p. 1956A; *Safinah al-A‘llya‘*, India Office Library, *Ms.* No. 114, fol. 128B.
78
80 See Etfe, p. 1024; also for his pious discourses see Miftah al-A’shiqin, compiled by his pupil Muhibb Allah (Etfe, 1089), Delhi, Persian, 1178A (unpublished catalogue).
81 See Akbar al-Akhyaar, p. 127. Grysoo Duraz was influenced by Ibn al-Arabi, and there exists his commentaries on *Fussus al-Hikam* and *Fiqh Akbar*. He also wrote commentaries on the *Risalah* of Qushayri and the *Qot al-Qulub* of Abu Talib Makkî.
82 His well-known works are *Nuzhah al-Arwaah*, *Zad al-Musafirin* and *Sirat al-Mustaqim*.
83 His well-known works are *Safinah al-A‘llya‘*, *Sakmat al-A‘llya‘*, *Hasanat al-A‘rîfin*, *Risalat al-Qa‘ q Numa‘* and the theosophic work *Majma‘ al-Bahrayn*.
84 The famous works of Shah Wali Allah are: *Fasihah Wahda al-Wujud Waal-Shuhud, Fiyud al-Haramyn, Anfas al-A‘rîfin*, *Tafhimat al-Ha‘liyyah* and *Altil al-Quds*, etc.
85 For details see *Siyar al-A‘llya‘*, p. 653; *Sawaw‘*, fol. 196A; *Safinah al-A‘llya‘*, India Office Library, *Ms.* No. 114, fol. 128B.
86 Aijadaa Nishin, a Persian word meaning the chief disciple who occupies the chair of the master after his (master)’s death.
87 He was a well-known Persian and Urdu poet and his Sufi works are: *Shami‘ Mahfil*, *Dard-i Dî*, *Nari‘ Dard*, *Ah-i Sard* and *Wafidad-i Dard*.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
THE QUR’ANIC BARZAKH AND ITS SIGNIFICATION

By HARENDRA CHANDRA PAUL

“In truth, ‘the antimonies of cause and effect, substance and attributes, good and evil, truth and error, subject and object, are due to the tendency of man to separate terms which are related. Fichte’s puzzle of self and not-self, Kant’s antimonies, Hume’s opposition of facts and laws, Bradley’s contradictions, can all be got over if we recognize that the opposite factors are mutually complementary elements based on one identity’. Therefore the Barzakh, in the way of life to resurrection, is only an apparent partition that gives way to the soul intent on realizing the Self after a lapse of time”

The meaning of the word Barzakh and its use in the Qur’an

The Arabic word Barzakh means an interval, partition, bar; a connecting link, picture of the imagination, a fancy or a whim; and one in love with a woman. It is probably connected with the Persian word farsak, or rather farsang, a parasang, a measure of length; a duration of time, an interval; a chink or cleft; quiet or repose; and one perpetual and that which continues for life. In the Qur’an it is generally used in the sense of the interval of time between the death of man and the Resurrection. The word farsang may also be connected with the Sanskrit prasanga (Greek para/saqtes), a connecting link or one that proceeds along.

According to the Qur’an there are three stages of a man’s life — his life in this world, his life in Barzakh, and the great manifestation of all spiritual realities that will take place on the Day of Resurrection. Barzakh is referred to in the Qur’an only three times. In the chapter entitled “The Mu’minun” (or Believers) of the Qur’an we find: “Before them is a partition till the day they are raised up” (23:100). There are believers and believers. The true believers can realize the self in their lives even if they only seek refuge in Him from all evil suggestions of the satans. But those so-called believers who have no real faith in Him, say (in their prayers), “I seek refuge with Thee, O my Lord. lest they should come near me”. Thus the whole life passes in vain when at the time of death he cries out, “O my Lord, send me back (to life) so that I may do righteousness in the things I neglected.” (The Qur’an, 30:37). But it cannot be; for it is only his (formal) word he utters. It is before them the Partition till the day when they realize the Self.

In the chapter entitled “The Furqan” (or that which discriminates between truth and falsehood) the Divine Voice cries out: “It is He who has let free the two bodies of flowing water, one palatable and sweet and the other salt and bitter; yet has He made a Partition between them which is forbidden to be passed” (25:53). He is the only self and there is no entity besides His Self. Only His signs and symbols are everywhere in creation. The sun and its shadow, the day and night, the air and water, and all things in nature are His symbols that point to the Divine Law and the destiny of man, good or evil. Yet what a wonder that he cannot trust his own self! So long as the relative conception of good and evil is in the soul, the man cannot leave aside his discriminating self. Otherwise, “It is He who makes the night as a robe for you and (your) sleep as a repose (therein) and makes the day a Resurrection”. Spiritually, night, sleep and dawn are every day appearing before us as the three states of life — Death, Repose (Barzakh) and Realization (of Self). We also find in the scriptures that in Iran the Nauroz (or New Year’s Day) is often considered in its significant sense as the Realization of Self.

Again, in the chapter entitled “The Rahman” (or the Most Gracious) it is thus recorded: “He has let free the two bodies of flowing water, meeting together. Between them is a Partition which they do not transgress” (55:19-20). Really He is All-Merciful. His Revelation, one of His greatest favours to man, can only be presented through apparent oppositions. So His creation is in pairs, apparently opposite, but really well-balanced. The one cannot be enjoyed without the other. But all these favours have only their relative values which will ultimately vanish away and only He will remain for eternity. The flow of good and evil will remain as long as man is with physical life. So one who has realized the Self does not transgress the Partition of this flow of good and evil (in the world) so long as he is with the body. Accordingly, the Qur’an enquires, “Which of the favours of thy Lord wilt ye deny? — out of them come pearls and coral”. These two streams are respectively the flows of spiritual and material life.

The phases of Barzakh

Le us note that in its different spheres Barzakh has been used in its three aspects — concrete or formal, moral or rational, and volitional or spiritual. These three phases may

again be divided into animal, human and divine stages of a man. In his animal state he is all-selfish, and can only follow the formal or traditional rules of life. His services to religion are only lip-service. He cannot truly understand the inner significance of the Qur’an. And referring to these all-selfish worldly people the Mawlana Rumi, the great interpreter of this holy book in Persian, thus remarked:

*Man zi-Qur’an maqhz ra bardaahtam ;
Usuukiwaan pish-i saqan andaakhtam. (*I have taken out marrow from the Qur’an, And have cast bones to the dogs.*)"

Man in his natural state of life which is rational or discriminative, always distinguishes between right and wrong and good and evil. Therefore the Qur’an is fit for him who by his intelligence or reflective thought can find out the real essence of all the revelations in the world or the signs and symbols of the holy Book. Accordingly is the chapter “al-Zumar” (the Crowds) (39 : 42): “It is God that takes the souls of (men) at death; and those do not die during their sleep. Those on whom He passed the decree of death, He keeps back from returning to life; but for the rest He sends (to their bodies) for an appointed time. Verily in this are signs for those who reflect.” And the verse is thus commented upon: “What is sleep? As far as animal life is concerned, it is cessation of the working of the nervous system, though other animal functions, such as digestion, growth and the circulation of the blood, continue, possibly at a different pace. It is the repose of the nervous system, and in this respect it is common to men and animals, and perhaps even to plants, if, as is possible, plants have a nervous system. The mental process (and certainly volition) are also suspended in sleep, except that in ordinary dreams there is a medley of recollections, which often present vividly to our consciousness things that do not or cannot happen in nature as we know it in our co-ordinated minds. But there is another kind of dream which is rarer — one in which the dreamer sees things as they actually happen, backwards or forwards in time, or in which the gifted individuals see spiritual truths otherwise imperceptible to them. How can we explain this? It is suggested that our soul or personality — that something which is above our animal life — is then in a spiritual existence akin to physical death, when we are nearer to God. In poetic imagery, ‘Sleep is twin brother to death’; and our souls are for the time being released from the bondage of the flesh. God takes them for the time being. If, as some do, we are to die peacefully in our sleep, our soul does not come back to the physical body, and the latter decays and dies. If we have still some period of life to fulfil according to God’s decree, our soul comes back to the body, and we resume our functions in this life.”

And we perform our duties of life under struggles and difficulties. The Qur’an also says, “Verily We have created man in toil and struggle” (90 : 4). It is for the purpose that we may know our Reality which is being felt every night in our sound sleep, but the desires of the world do not give us an opportunity to think over the matter; and under the pressure of troubles and difficulties we are suffering deaths throughout life, the ‘aarif (or knower of God) being always excepted — for though he is with the body, he is enjoying the eternal bliss. Again, the Qur’an declares, “What did ye think that We had created you in vain, and that you would not be returned to Us? ” (23 : 115). Our life is for the purpose that we may know the reality of life which is the realization of God. Says Jalal al-Din Rumi, “The creation of the world is for the purpose of (Divine) manifestations, so that the treasure of knowledge may not remain hidden; God said, ‘I was a hidden treasure’; listen to it, be not lost to your essence (which is the hidden treasure) and become manifest (by sacrificing your carnal desires).”

**Birth and death are only apparent changes of the Real Identity**

In the Qur’an the fall of Adam was due to his attachment for the forbidden fruit, the symbol of sin and ignorance, and the moment he understood his separation from the presence of God, he repented of his action, which repentance was the cause of lifting him again to God after a “lapse of time”; but as Satan was not aware of his own fault, he remained accursed till the Day of Resurrection. Adam was to be the “vicegerent” of God on earth. But how can He manifest Himself? For nothing can be manifest in the world without having contraries side by side. The angels represent the good qualities: they understand the Essence of God, but they cannot be produced before, as they lack the contrary qualities innate in the nature of man; hence their inability to act as the vicegerent of God on earth. Adam was then taught the “names of things”, i.e., the real nature of everything, by learning which he was raised higher than the angels that was of the status of God; but this man-God should be revealed to the earth. God created in him passion which in its subdued state represents his wife, and they together are to enjoy the bliss of the Garden, where Adam was living before his fallen state. And the moment there arose in him the desire for the forbidden fruit, which is only the uncontrolled state of his passion, symbolized by Satan, he fell from his state of man-God. The next moment Adam repented of his fallen state, and with this again begins his rise to the former state of bliss. Every life, in short, is the fallen state of Adam where he became unmindful of the presence of God, and the moment he becomes aware of this situation, he develops to his former state which everyone will ultimately enjoy. The moment of realization has been symbolized by the Day of Resurrection where Satan will have no power over the human mind and will die automatically.

Thus birth and death are only apparent changes of the Real Identity. The One is always the same, but we do not understand it as we are under the influences of evil which are the conflicts of the mind; and these conflicts take shapes necessary for the fulfilment of the desires.

To the (apparent) believer who is not mindful of the Essence of God appears the Barzakh after his (physical) death. He is conscious of his sorrows and pleasures, but he cannot rationally distinguish between them. But in that discriminating soul the conflicts of the mind, which are the effects of the relative conception of God and evil, always haunt him, standing as a Barzakh before his progress to the realization of Self where the two streams meet together.

**Hindu scriptures and epics on the kinds of knowledge — spiritual and rational**

This furqan or righteous judgment is always distinguishing between the two streams of water — the two kinds of knowledge, spiritual and rational, as is found in the allegory

3 kunna kanzan ... makhhirun: refers to the Tradition (Hadith Qudsi) that runs thus: ‘I (God) am a Hidden Treasure, and I desired that I should be known, so I created the universe.
of the story of Moses in the Qur'an: "Behold, Moses said to his attendant, 'I will not give up until I reach the junction of two seas or (until) I spend years together in travel.' But when they reached the junction, they forgot (about) their fish, which took its course through the sea (straight) as in a tunnel" (28: 60-1). Moses, a symbol for the discriminating soul, is proceeding along to meet his spiritual guide Khidr, the embodiment of spiritual knowledge. But when he meets his mysterious teacher, he forgets all about the secular knowledge symbolized in the figure fish which merges itself in spiritual knowledge where human intelligence is ready for the junction of the two. But mere merger does not itself produce spiritual knowledge. The latter has to be sought patiently. Hence is the need of a spiritual guide.

We find in a Bengali song called Baul Gana that the spiritual guide himself is compared to Barzakh. Says Faqir Kaalaa Shah:

Murshidke barjak dhare —
Kan-saagre jaore danka mar.

(Taking murshid as your barzakh,
Laughingly you come across the sea of passion.)

The knowledge as an impediment or obstacle (keelaka) is also used in the Hindu scriptures. In the Chandi we find Keelaka-stava as a preface to the textual scripture signifying as if that those who do not understand the Unity of Self are not fit persons to read through the holy Book. Again, by concentrating on the stava (or prayer) called the Keelaka one may realize the Unity of Self whose Omniscience is described in the holy text.

The same theme is also found in the epic Mahabharata of the Hindus. Here the two parties. Kauravas and Pandavas, are assembled together to fight against each other in the holy field of Kurukshetra, symbolized as the spatio-temporal order of the mental being. The Kauravas are partisans of secular knowledge, the Pandavas of spiritual knowledge. The leader (or rather charioteer) of the first is shalya (lit. bar or impediment), who is always obstructing his partisans or secular knowledge to see face to face Krishna, the Charioteer (saarathi) of the other group whose head is Yudhisthira, who is always calm in his endeavours in (spiritual) warfare. This party of Yudhisthira, like those of Moses, is to realize the Self after the end of the holy war where all conflicts of the soul will vanish away. So long as the great conflict does not die out, one is to rely on his spiritual guide symbolized in the figure Krishna, who is always attracting the soul to realize the Self (as also the meaning of the name implies).

The philosophy of al-Hikam al-Mashriqiyyah

Really there is nothing besides the Self. But so long as the soul cannot realize his own Identity, he is to proceed on the "Pilgrim's Progress". The Qur'an declares: "Who has made the earth firm to live in, made rivers in its midst, set there on mountains immoveable, and made a separating bar (haajiz) between the two flowing waters? He is no other God besides the One Almighty" (27: 61). In the Unity of Self there is no separating bar. When one is imbued with the knowledge of God, all these apparent contradictions become animated with the Self. Here comes the philosophy known as al-Hikam al-Mashriqiyyah: "The Barzakh or body is dark by nature and only becomes light on receiving the light of the spirit. The celestial spheres are 'animated' or 'living' barzakh; inanimate bodies, on the other hand, are 'dead' barzakh." Therefore, for making everything enlivened with the Self, one is to be in all submission (Islam) to the One God. And the Qur'an ordains, "Put your trust in God: for you are on the path of manifest truth. Truly you cannot cause the dead or the deaf to listen to the Call (of God or the spiritual guide), specially when they turn back in retreat" (27: 79-80).

The eschatological meaning of Barzakh

In eschatology, the word Barzakh is used to describe the boundary of the world of human beings which consist of the heavens, the earth and the nether worlds, and its separation from the world of pure spirits and God. These three worlds of human beings may well be compared with the three worlds or stages, 'Aalam Naasoot, 'Aalam Malakoot and 'Aalam Jabroot, of the Sufi path, or Bhul, Bhubah and Swah of the Vedantic system. The next four worlds are respectively Laochoot, Haachooot, Baachooot and Raachooot of the Sulis or the Mahah, Janah, Topah and Satya of Vedantism. After the third stage lies the Barzakh (or parangang), which is said to be of the measure of 3½ miles. We should here only note that the mile originally did not mean a unit of lineal measure, but a spatio-temporal stage of the universal order which cannot be described beyond its third and one-fourth stage. And for this the fourth stage in Sanksrit is Tooriya, which is beyond the conception of human beings.

The Tradition also describes that on the Night of the Ascension (Mfraj) God asked the Prophet to praise Him, and he replied, Lai uhi thi an 'alayka. Really the Ascension is nothing but the realization of God, of which the Qur'an describes that when Muhammad was about to enter into the presence of God he said to Gabriel, who had been his guide thus far, "O my brother, why have you fallen behind me?" And Gabriel replied, "Were I to come one finger-tip nearer, surely I should be consumed." Spiritually, Gabriel is the state of reason and understanding which drops down when the elect is one with the Reality of God, as Rumi declares: "The reason says like Gabriel, 'O Ahmad, if I take one step more, it will burn me. Henceforth, advance alone: this was my limit, O King of the Soul.'" Again, he sings, "When Ahmad passed beyond the Lotus-Tree (on the boundary of Paradise) and the Gabriel's place of watch and station, the description of the elect losing all the senses in contemplation of the Most Elect is not but wonder and astonishment. All senselessness (and absorption in God) is only play (and enjoyment). Where is the soul there that you will describe of the soul?'" The Upamishad also declares of this state likewise: "The Reality is different from thought, and can be reached in the Tooriya (lit. the fourth) stage of highest immediacy, which transcends thought and its distinctions, where the individual coincides with the central reality. Ananda or delight is the highest fruition, where the knower, the known and the knowledge become one."

Rumi on Barzakh

The Maulana Rumi, the greatest philosopher-poet in Persian, has also referred to this Barzakh in explaining his mystic theory. He sings: "In this world there are the bitter sea and the sweet sea — between them is a Partition (Barzakh)

5 Short Encyclopaedia of Islam, Barzakh.
6 The Mathnavi, vol. i, 1066-7.
7 Ibid., vol. iv, 3801, 3805-6.
8 S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, vol. i, 165.
which they do not transgress (italics are author's). Know that both these (good and evil) flow from the same origin; pass on from them both—(and) go to their origin, i.e., avoid the distinction between good and evil and do realize God. Without the touchstone you will never know with your good judgment the distinction between the impure gold and the fine gold."19 The touchstone here, surely, is the realization of God, "Who has no like or opposite, and Who is the ultimate source of all good and evil, faith and infidelity, and all other opposites, since these are nothing more than reflections of the Divine Attributes of Beauty, Majesty, Mercy and Wrath, etc., i.e., aspects in which God reveals himself to human minds. Such contradictions, though proper to the world of appearance, are transcended and unified in the mystic vision of reality. The mystic, 'seeing by the Light of God,' knows that the infinite Divine perfections include all that we describe as good or bad. Rumi bids his readers 'break through the oneness', their evil selves and the world in which evil is at war with good, and seek union with the Absolute Good."21

Again, Rumi has sung in his Diwan-i Shamsi-Tabriz:

"This world and that world are the egg, and the bird within it—
Is in darkness and bruised of the wing, contemptible and despised,
Regard unbelief and faith as the white and yolk in this egg,
Between them, joining and dividing, a barrier which they shall not pass.
When He has graciously fostered the egg under His wing,
Infidelity and religion disappear; the bird of Unity spreads its pinions."21

Zoroastrianism on the two contrary spirits in every aspect of life

There are two contrary spirits in every aspect of life, without which nothing can be brought before. Thus, according to the Zoroastrian philosophy, there are two intellects (khruatu) — the original or spiritual intellect and the secondary intellect or the intellect heard by the ear (or the knowledge gathered through experience); two lives (ahu) — the bodily life and the mental life; and two stations — the heaven (vahishta. Persian bhishht) and the hell (duzanha. Persian duzakht). There are the four stages of the soul here in this life or after death, advancing towards eternity, the abode of Ahuramazda, as is found in Yasht (xxii, 15): "The soul of the righteous man first advanced with a step he placed upon humata (good thought); the soul of the righteous man secondly advanced with a step he placed upon hukhta (good word); the soul of the righteous man thirdly advanced with a step he placed upon huvarshta (good action); the soul of the righteous man fourthly advanced with a step he placed on the eternal luminaries".22

Hell is also called druza demona, "The House of Destruction". Between this and heaven there is the Chinvat peretu (or Chinvad Pulp), the bridge of the gatherer, the nature of which has been described in Yasna (xvi, 10-11) thus: "Whatever man or woman, O Ahuramazda, performs the best actions, known to thee, for the benefit of the (earthly) life, promoting thus the truth for the angel of truth, and spreading thy rule through the good mind, as well as gratifying all those men, who are gathered round me, to adore (the heavenly spirits): all these I will lead over the bridge of the gatherer. The sway is given into the hands of the priests and the prophets of the idols (these refer to the devas or the poets and rishis of the Vedas of India), who by their (atrocious) actions endeavour to destroy human life. Actuated by their own spirit and mind, they ought to avoid the bridge of the gatherer, to remain for ever in the dwelling-place of destruction (Hell)."23

This Chinvad Pul (or Bridge of the Gatherer) may well be compared with the Barzakh (of the Qur'an) or the Ferry of Vaitaran (of the Hindus) to cross over the Sea of Hell at the time of death. Really our life is a junction of two opposite qualities, which grow on fighting with the birth of life till its death. These conflicts are again physical, moral and spiritual. And they may be all crushed down even in the same life. Of these, the moral and spiritual are generally discussed in the sacred texts. In the Tradition these two are respectively termed as the Jihad Asghar (or Smaller Battle) and the Jihad Akbar (or Greater Battle). The winning over the smaller conflict is really the crushing of passions and over the greater is the crushing of egotism. The mystics compare the crushing of egotism with the crossing over the Barzakh, the Chinvad Pul, or the Vaitaran.

Egotism a great bar to spiritual progress

Egotism in the state of humanity is a great bar to spiritual progress. Sirdar Iqbal 'Ali Shah has carefully explained this state of Barzakh: "Life offers a scope for ego activity and death is the first test of the synthetic activity of the ego. Barzakh is a state of consciousness characterized by a change in the ego's attitude towards time and space. It was Helmholtz who first discovered that nervous excitation takes time to reach consciousness. If this is so, our present physiological structure is at the bottom of our present view of time, and if the ego survives the dissolution of this structure, a change in our attitude towards time and space seems perfectly natural. The enormous condensation of impressions which occurs in our dream life, and the exultation of memory which sometimes takes place at the moment of death, disclose the ego's capacity for different standards of time. The state of Barzakh, therefore, does not seem to be merely a passive state of expectation; it is a state in which the ego catches a glimpse of fresh aspects of reality, and prepares himself for readjustment to those aspects."24 In the state of Barzakh, there is really no pleasure-giving and pain-sustaining acts; there are only ego-sustaining and ego-dissolving acts, which prepare his future career. The ego will continue to struggle till he is able to gather himself up and win his resurrection, where he is one with the reality of God.

This egotism called 'aqi-i juzvi (or partial knowledge) or aharkara, lit. the action of the Self (in disguise in the soul), is really the distinctive quality of Satan. So long as the egotism or one's self-consciousness is not lost, he cannot regain his former position. This is the particular individual, discursive reason as opposed by Pletinus to the universal, super-individual, spiritual reason.

11 R. A. Nicholson, Selection from Diwan Shamsi Tabriz, p. 221.
12 M. Haug, Language, Writings and Religion of the Parthis, p. 221.
14 Islamic Sects, p. 189.
Positive and negative properties (good and evil) must exist side by side

The arrogance that we find in the Satan of the Qur’an is really for the purpose of creation or the manifestation of His own self. It is only the human mind that possesses the capacity to create good and evil. As long as there is creation, or rather expression of anything to the human eye, there must be good and evil, or scientifically speaking, positive and negative properties side by side. We have seen what to the rishis of India is a source of progress to goodness is an obstruction to the progress of the Zoroastrians. It may be so. And how excellently Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din clears up the matter in his scientific way: “Which of the two shall we call ‘evil’, when each of the pairs is a necessity in creating all that is going on in the world? Take the original pair, whose union creates not only a world of things, but whose comparatively recent discovery and use has contributed immensely to our happiness and comfort—namely, has galvanized the progress of civilization: I mean electricity, the union of the positive and the negative. Which of the pair, I ask, is evil, and which is good? Antagonistic and conflicting they may be to each other in their properties; but they are complementary as well to each other, and that under ‘the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing’, under whose control they all ‘float’ in their respective ‘spheres’ without hindering the movements of each other — a chemical combination that produces a result far better than cohesion, as far as our comfort is concerned. But the former takes place only in things which are contrary to each other in their properties. In short, the whole heterogeneous mass is the bedrock of universal homogeneity and must consequently indicate Spenta-Mainyuṣh (or ‘beneficent spirit’) and not Angro-Mainyuṣh (the evil spirit).” And in support the author has quoted the Qur’an 36: 36-40.

These pairs of all things — the good and the evil, the positive and the negative — are like the waves of the sea which is apparent to us through its waves; and the moment a man reaches the ultimate, the final destiny of everything, he will realize that the contrary conceptions of the mind were the necessary consequences of the birth of a man. We also find in the Qur’an that the angels could not be brought before the world, for they are the emblem of purity; in the same way Satan also could not be given vicegerency on earth, as is the emblem of impurity; and thus Adam is selected as he is the admixture of good and evil.

Now this universal homogeneity is the state of Ahriman, or that of the Supreme Lord of any religion. And the whole heterogeneous mass is composed of Spenta-Mainyuṣh, or the good spirit of any religion. For one who is proceeding to the goal nothing appears bad, as the world poet Rabindranath sings in his Raaja:

“Joy and sorrow are ruby and diamond on fate,
“Good and evil do quiver in metre troche with rhyme,
“Birth and death too in dance the one behind the other.
“Do thou clap, and do thou clap, and do thou clap.”

In truth, “the antimonies of cause and effect, substance and attributes, good and evil, truth and error, subject and object, are due to the tendency of man to separate terms which are related. Fichte’s puzzle of self and not-self, Kant’s antimonies, Hume’s opposition of facts and laws, Bradley’s contradictions, can all be got over, if we recognize that the opposite factors are mutually complementary elements based on one identity.”

Therefore the Borzakh, in the way of life to resurrection, is only an apparent partition that gives way to the soul intent on realizing the Self after a lapse of time.

15 Islam and Zoroastrianism, p. 77-8.
16 S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 179.

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exposure of Israeli designs must be part of an Arab plan to remove the barriers that stand in the way of the Arab countries positively co-operating with their natural friends in the African continent, collaborating in the complete liberation of the African countries, and helping to deliver the Africans from the legacy of imperialism and building up their economy and their stature in the various spheres. The Arab and African countries shared the same history, and are bound to have the same future. Are not six of the Arab countries in the African continent?

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The Development and Nature of Sufism in India and Pakistan

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Sufis' liberal attitude to Hindu institutions leads to their being adopted by Muslims themselves.

These liberal allowances led to the practice of many Hindu social customs (bid'ah) which is an Indian innovation not known in other Islamic countries. For instance, there could be a point of doctrine which may forbid the practices like: pilgrimages to the shrine of a saint, making offerings and vows; burning Chirag (the oil-lamp with a wick) over the tomb of a saint; partaking of sweets and food as sacred portions (taharruk), having been placed as offerings on the tombs and shrines of saints; holding fairs on the day of 'Ura (the commemoration of the death of a saint), and so forth.

Inevitably, with the passage of time, the Sufi Orders wherever they were to be found in the contemporary Indian society, were universally esteemed. As only one illustration, the truth about the popularity of Sufi Orders is borne out in the Sanskrit work Shekasubhodaya, in which it is related to what extent the Hindus venerated the Suhrawardi Sufi of Bengal, the Shaykh Jalal al-Din Tabrizi. We are told, moreover, that it became a common feature for the Indian Muslims to join one or other of the Sufi Orders, so that in our own times it has been estimated that two-thirds of India's Muslim population are under the influence of one or other of the Dervish Orders.

However, there seems to be a suggestion that Pir-Muridi (the ceremony in which the initiate formally binds himself to obey the Murshid) later came to lose its supererogatory character, and to be regarded as a compulsory formality, not to be ignored if one hoped to secure a resting-place in Heaven. It is in the order of things that all great religions, and particular spiritualities within the religions, will attract a fair proportion of passengers, intent on receiving more than they are prepared to give. Thus, no blame need be attached, if Sufism had to undergo the same fate.

It may be fitting to conclude this preamble with the following interesting anecdote from the Ganji-Fayyad:

Shaykh Khuda Baksh, proposing to seek initiation, makes a request to the Murshid, the Shaykh Ghulam Rashid Abu 'I-Fayyad:

"If you agree," he says, "I will arrange for some sweets and bread to be provided, seeing that I desire to be your disciple (Murid)."

The Murshid makes his reply:

"Yours is a great proposal. But first, I would like you to give it proper consideration, lest there be any misunderstanding: for as Rumi has said:

"'There are many devils in the form of Adam: the hand (pledge) should not be given to every hand.'"

"If you have complete faith, do not make any delay; otherwise you may be missing an opportunity to secure your proper position in the next world. So it was in the case of a pious young man: after his death, a certain friend encountered him in a dream. Observing the young man's perturbed condition, the friend asked:

"'Why do you look so, since you were known to be a pious man?'

"To which the young man replied:

"'Since I was never initiated into any Order, wherever I go, there is no one who will give me a place.'"

THE SUFI ORDERS IN INDIA

Abul Fadl, in his work A'ins-i-Akbari, belonging to Akbar's period, has listed the different Sufi Orders known to be functioning in various parts of India at that time:

1. The Habiyyah.
2. The Taymuriyyah.
3. The Karkhiyyah.
4. The Sadaqayyah.
5. The Junaydiyyah.*
6. The Gaziuniyyah.
7. The Tashtiyah.
8. The Firdausiyyah.
9. The Suhrawardiyyah.
10. The Zaydiyyah.
11. The Iyaziyah.
12. The 'Adhamiyyah.
13. The Hubayrriyyah.

These fourteen Orders enumerated by Abul Fadl are not all officially established Mystic Orders, since the author has liberally included even the small groups of remembrances of the schismatic offshoots of the original Orders. Presumably there were Sufis who, on occasion, sought to establish an Order on their own initiative, and whom Abul Fadl would probably have encountered. These small groups must have sufficiently impressed him to warrant a mention in his work. At the same time, it is hard to conceive how a
reputed scholar could have succeeded in overlooking the Orders of the Qadiriyah, the Saabiriyyah, and the Shattaariyyah all three having made a major contribution to the expansion of Sufism.

As early as the 14th century C.E., there were, according to Shihib al-Din al-Umri, about 2,000 hospices in Delhi and its surroundings. Some dervish hospices were very prominent in these later days; and till today, the semi-Sufi Madaariyyah Order has quite a number of disciples scattered over the sub-continent of India and Pakistan.

We shall now make a brief survey of those Sufi Orders which our existing historical records have brought into particular prominence. These Sufi Orders follow the similar pattern in as much as that the Order is presided over in each age by the "successor" (Khalifah) of the founder, and his supremacy is acknowledged by the heads of the several branches in different centres.

The Chishtiyyah Order

According to the Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqi Dihlavi, this Order was originally established in India by Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Chishhti al-Sijzi (d. 633 A.H.—1236 C.E.). Previously, he had passed twenty years of his life as the disciple of Khwaja 'Uthman Haruni, from whom he inherited the Succession (Khalifah) of the Chishtiyyah Order, the original foundation was laid by Khwaja 'Abd al-Chishti (d. 966 C.E.).

Mu'in al-Din was a globe-trotter, journeying through all the Muslim countries. During his travels, he came into contact with such great Sufi scholars as the Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jili (d. 561 A.H.—1161 C.E.), the Shaykh Yusuf Hamadani (d. 1140 C.E.), the Shaykh Najm al-Din al-Kubra (d. 618 A.H.—1221 C.E.), the Shaykh Najib al-Din 'Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi (A.H. 536), the Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahed Ghaznavi, Abu Sa'id Tabrizi, and the Shaykh Naseer al-Din Asturabadi. By the time he came to India in 1190 C.E., at the insistence of his spiritual Shaykh, he was profoundly experienced in the ways of Sufism.

Firstly, the Khwaja visited Lahore, in order to pay his respects at the tomb of the great Sufi Shaykh 'Ali al-Hujwiri (d. 469 A.H.—1076 C.E.), author of the Kashf al-Mahjub. Thence, he embarked on his peaceful mission for the common good of mankind and the greater glory of God. Despite persecutions received at the hands of Prithviraj, the contemporary Hindu monarch, the Khwaja never failed to treat the Hindus with love and affection.

There are two Sufi works attributed to Mu'in al-Din: The Ganji-Asrar and Anis al-Arwaah; additionally there are his lectures, entitled Dala'il al-Arifin, compiled by his pupil Khwaja Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki 'Ushi. Bakhtiyar Kaki

When the Khwaja died in 1234 C.E., his patient efforts on behalf of the Chishtiyyah Order in India bore abundant fruit in the lives of his spiritual descendants.

The foremost disciple of the Khwaja was Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki 'Ushi (d. 1245 C.E.), to whose shining personality much of the Order's renown is due. Piety and humanity were aptly blended in his character. He so impressed the local ruler, Iltutmish, that he was accorded the privilege of a residence close to the royal palace. He, however, preferred the way of "Poverty is my pride." even going so far as to refuse outright the most reputed title of that time, the Shaykh al-Islam.

This Shaykh was a devoted member of the audience-party (Samad), itself a controversial issue amongst the orthodox theologians and mystics. It was one of these audience parties which coincided with his death. The members of the party were gathered in the house of the Shaykh 'Ali Sijzi, a relative of Khwaja Mu'in al-Din. The Shaykh died immediately following the recital of a couplet of the Shaykh Ahmad Jaam:

Kushtgaan-i Khajar-i Taslim raa
Har Zamaan az Ghaib Jaan-i deegas ast.
(Those who are killed with the dagger of submission gain a new life from the Unseen at every moment.)

At the death of Qutb al-Din, two of his disciples, the Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganji-Shakar (d. 664 A.H.—1265 C.E.), and the Shaykh Badr al-Din Ghaznavi, continued their Master's mission. The former became widely known, and we find among his disciples the Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auliya (d. 1291 C.E.), the Shaykh Badr al-Din Ishaq (d. 1291), and the Shaykh Jamal al-Din Hansavi (d. 1265 C.E.). It is interesting to note here that the Shaykh Farid al-Din was an ancestor of the Shaykh Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi, and the latter's family can be traced back authoritatively to the Caliph 'Umar through Farid al-Din.

The courting of popularity was not favoured by the Shaykh Farid; and, like his predecessors, he too had an aversion for the company of rulers and of the rich. Barni records the particular counsel he gave to one of his disciples named Sayyid Maula, who had consulted him of the wisdom of choosing to settle in Delhi. The disciple was admonished with these words: "Remember my advice, and never make the kings and courtiers your friends; rather consider their visits as a hindrance to higher spiritual attainment." He wrote a letter to the Sultan while interceding in the case of a destitute disciple in which one can glean his selflessness of purpose and complete dependence on and faith in God. He writes: "I have referred the same matter firstly to God and then to you; if you give him anything, God is the real giver and as His servant you too deserve a reward for showing this favour."

Nizam al-Din Auliya

After the death of Farid al-Din, two of his worthy successors strengthened the fraternity by following the similar practice of their predecessors. The Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auliya (O.B. 1325 C.E.) popularly known as "Muhubbi Ilahi" (the friend of God) can be considered as the most important Shaykh of this Order as it was through his numerous disciples that the Chishtiyyah mission reached in every quarter of India. The successes of his mission can be attributed to his liberal outlook and his silent attitude towards the theological disputes. The Shaykh could witness during his life-time the period of about seven incomings and outgoings of Sultans; but it is interesting to note that he always kept away from the royal courts adhering to the practice of his spiritual masters. The Sivar al-Arifin reports that 'Ala al-Din Khilji (O.B. 715-6 A.H.—1315-6 C.E.) was persuaded by some narrow-minded politicians to issue an order to the Sufis, theologians, and scholars imposing upon them the duty of attending the court. The Shaykh was also forced to follow the practice. The Shaykh politely wrote to the Sultan. "I lead a secluded life and do not go anywhere. The same has been the practice of my spiritual leaders who did not attach themselves to the court of any monarch. I may, therefore, please be excused."

The Shaykh's reputation and influence over the people can be judged from the fact that every day a large number of visitors came to pay their tribute. The suspicious Ghiyath al-Din Tughlaq saw a growing danger in the Shaykh's influential personality. On his way back to Ghiathpur (Ghisapur),
after his successful expedition of Bengal, he issued an order asking him to quit Ghiaspur. The Shaykh is reported to have given out the following proverbial expression which has not lost its place from the Persian and Urdu literature today:

"Delhi is still far off."

The Shaykh, throughout his literatures and conversations, has put much stress on the theory of love to achieve the final goal. He emphasised the broadminded outlook towards human-beings irrespective of any caste, creed or colour. The Shaykh tutored and left behind him his famous disciples like Shaykh Burhan al-Din Gharib⁷⁹ (O.B. 732 A.H. —1331 C.E.), the Shaykh Qub al-Din Munawwar (O.B. 1358 C.E.), the Shaykh Nasir-al-Din Chiragh Dihlavi⁸⁰ (O.B. 357 A.H. —1356 C.E.), and Shaykh Siraj al-Din 'Uthmani commonly known as Akhi Siraj, through whose efforts the Order spread far and wide. The Shaykh's prominence can be judged from the later followers' adoption of the title after the name "Nizami". From here a branch of the Chishtiyyah Order springs up to be styled as the Nizamiyah Order.

Although the Chishtiyyah Order contains a perfect rule of Sufi conduct admirably arranged, it was proper for spreading the mission to every corner of India by a more accurate method of sending spiritual disciples all over the country. The Shaykh Nizal al-Din Auliya and his spiritual brother the Shaykh 'Ala-al-Din Saabir who were the two great disciples of the Sufi of Farid al-Din Ganji-Shakar contributed a great deal to strengthen the Chishtiyyah Fraternity through this method. Both of them became so popular due to their piety and liberal outlook that a large number of followers, irrespective of any religious denominations, joined the Fraternity. The great point, then, is that we find the later disciples of both adopting the titles after their name "Nizami" —signifying the spiritual tutorship of the Shaykh Nizam al-Din, and "Saabiri"—signifying the tutorship of the Shaykh 'Ala-al-Din Saabir. It is from here that begins the Saabiriyyah Order to which Shamsh al-Din Turk Panipati, the Shaykh Jalal al-Din Kabir Panipati (d. 754 A.H. —1313 C.E.), the Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Rudaalavi (d. 837 A.H. —1433 C.E.), and the Shaykh Muhibb Allah Ilaahabadi belonged.

One of the most prominent disciples of Nizam al-Din, the Shaykh Burhan al-Din Gharib (d. 1340), went to Daula-tabad to strengthen the Chishti mission. Siraj al-Din 'Uthmani or Akhi Siraj established his spiritual headquarters in Bengal. Akhi Siraj's successors, the Shaykh 'Ala-al-Din 'Ala-al-Haqq (d. 1398 C.E.) and his successor Nusrat al-Din 'Ala-al-Haqq, spread the Chishti mission in Eastern India and Khwaja Muhammad Geysoo Daraz settled in Deccan during the regime of the Bahmani ruler Ahmadshah, and made Gula-burg his headquarters. Being a voluminous writer, he influenced his own generation and the later generations alike.⁸² So far as the Muslims of India had a Sufi affiliation, it was overwhelmingly Chishtiyyah. From the point of view of Sufi Orders, the 15th and 16th centuries were marked by various other Sufi movements. Here, we shall review them very briefly.

The Suhrwardiyyah Order

The Suhrwardi Order is another prominent Order that became very popular in India. The Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrwardi persuaded some of his disciples to travel to India for the peaceful missionary activities. At the Shaykh's direction, the Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyyah and the Shaykh Hamid al-Din came to India, and settled in Multan and Nagore respectively. It was rather due to their convic-

tion and sincerity of purpose that they could live successfully in the strange land to promote the activities of the fraternity. When Baha al-Din arrived in Multan, Qabaacha, the ruler, was maladministering the public affairs. Baha al-Din did not hesitate to report it to Ilutmish although there was every danger to his life and mission by falling into disfavour of Qabaacha. The author of the Fawa'id al-Fu'ad has mentioned at length the coldness with which the Shaykh replied to Qabaacha while he was asked to explain the reason for complaining to Ilutmish. The Shaykh was undaunted and boldly accepted the fact that what he had mentioned was nothing but the Truth.

It was Baha al-Din who promoted the cordial relations with the Sufis of other fraternities. Qub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, the Chishti saint, stayed in Baha al-Din's Khangah in Multan on his arrival in India. Qub al-Din's disciple, Ganji-Shakar, was a great admirer and friend of Baha al-Din, and they corresponded with each other during their lifetime. This is a remarkable example of tolerance and the unity of purpose. Much of the vigour of the Sufi life of various Orders was not displayed merely in the theological debates and controversies and secession from one or the other established Order, but it was only to reach the common object, the establishment of the relation of the human soul to God through esoteric teachings of Sufism.

The most prominent disciple of Baha al-Din Zakariyyah was the well known Sufi poet Fakhr al-Din 'Iraqi. Besides 'Iraqi, Mir Husayni, a prolific Sufi writer, was also a disciple of Baha al-Din. The Shaykh Baha al-Din's immediate successor was his son the Shaykh Sadr al-Din, who was in turn succeeded by the Shaykh Rukn al-Din. The most notable Khaliqah of Rukn al-Din was Jalal al-Din Bukhari, well known as Jahanian Jahangashr of Uch. In a brief span of time, the Suhrwardi movement spread far and wide and till today commands a large following.

The Firdausiyyah Order

The Firdausiyyah Order did not become very prominent in India, and its activities were only confined to the province of Bihar. The greatest exponent of this Order, the Shaykh Sharaf al-Din Yahya Munayri (d. 1380 C.E.), was well known throughout India. The Shaykh Sharaf al-Din Yahya Munayri was one of the first Sufis who popularized the philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi in the Indian sub-continent. He was a disciple of Najm al-Din Firdausi, and Rajgir was the centre of his mission.

The Qadiriyyah Order

The world-famous Qadiriyyah Order, which was founded by the Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jili or Jilani (d. 1165 C.E.) was introduced in India through Makhdum Muhammad Gilani and Shah N'mat Allah in the early 15th century. It was in Uch that the activities of the Qadiriyyah Fraternity began, and due to the efforts of Makhdum 'Abd al-Qadir and his grandson, the Shaykh Hamid al-Din Gani Baksh, the Qadiriyyah Order began increasing its influence all over India. Later on, Da'id Kirmani Abu Ma'naal Qadiri Lahori and Mian Mir Lahori contributed a great deal to popularize the Fraternity through their piety, sincerity and devotional life. In the 16th century, this Order received a royal patronage through the devotion of the tragic prince Dara Shikoh and his sister Jahan Ara Begum to the Fraternity. Dara himself was a great scholar of mysticism although he himself was not anything of a mystic. As the century wore on, the Qadiriyyah Order spread all over India. So numerous were the Sufis who deserve notice that it seems almost invidious to single out only some for mention.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
The Naqsbandiyyah Order

The many currents and counter-currents in the movement of Sufism in India and the conflicts over the effort to adjust the inherited beliefs to the intellectual climate of the scholarly Muslim era were not death struggles as some might have interpreted them: they were, rather, an evidence of vitality. That they were indications of vitality was confirmed by many other manifestations of vigour. The increasing effect of the Wahdak al-Wujud movement was resented strongly by the followers of the Naqshbandi; and a counter movement was launched, viz. Wahdah al-Shuhud.

The original founder of the Naqshbandiyyah was Khwaja Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 1317 A.H.—1389 C.E.), and it was introduced in India in the 16th century by Khwaja Baqi Billah (d. 1603 C.E.) who was a descendant of the family of the original founder. The greatest Sufi in this Order has been Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, popularly known as the Mujaddid Alfa al-Thani (the millenial revitalist of the faith) who championed the cause of strict practice of the Shari‘ah, the canon law of religion.

His spiritual successor was his son Khwaja Muhammad Ma‘sum. There have been very great Naqshbandi Sufis equally known for their literary works like Shah ‘Abd al-Rahim, Shah Wali Allah Dihlavi
d (d. 1762 C.E.) and Khwaja Mir Dard, the contemporary of Wali Allah. It was Shah Wali Allah who tried to bridge the gulf between the views of Wahdat al-Wujud and Wahdat al-Shuhud movements.

This is in brief the outline of the historical development of Sufism in India. Many of these Sufi Orders still exist in India and as I have quoted from Hassan Suhrwardy before, the two-thirds of India’s Muslim population are under the influence of one or other of the Sufi Orders. When the 18th century dawned, Sufi Orders in India seemed to be in a parlous state and ill-prepared to meet the tests with which the revolutionary age was confronting it. The Sufi Sajjadah-Nashin
d were worldly, lived as lords. They never attempted to grasp the great knowledge, both exoteric and esoteric, which was the proud privilege of their predecessors. They were negligent of their duties, and were intent on making provision for their families out of the collection made from their Murids (members of the Order) on their annual visits to various quarters of India. Unfortunately this practice continues till today. One must admit that in spite of all this corruption, a marked surge of life in the 19th century made Sufism a more vital and the most inevitable religious and social force than at any earlier time. Sufism still retains as a dynamic force underlying various movements of revival and reconstruction of Islamic thought in India and Pakistan. I shall endeavour to review these facts in the second part of this article.

FOOTNOTES

49 Zarrina Ahmed has given a detailed account of many popular beliefs amongst the Muslims of India in “A study of Islamic social and religious Institutions in India, with special reference of the U.P.” Thesis for M.A., University of London, 1961.
50 See Haassan Suhrwardy’s Introduction to An Introduction to the History of Sufism, by Professor Arberry, London, 1942.
51 Like Ibn al-Jauzi and the Ibn Taimiyah, the Deobandi school of thought protested against these innovations. The graduates of the Dar al-Ulum of Deoband publicly challenged these bid‘ah, while the followers of Bareli school favour the so-called “veneration for the Muslim saint, gradually merging into such phrases as are hardly distinguishable from the saint worship of Hinduism and the anamistic phases of pagan primitive religious life” (ut supra, p. XVI). For the detailed accounts of such practices refer to A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-west Frontier Province, Vol. 1, p. 525, by Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Edward Machagan, Lahore, 1919.
53 Haassan Suhrwardy’s Introduction to An Introduction to the History of Sufism, by Prof. Arberry, London, 1942.
54 Shah Wali Allah Dihlavi (d. 1176/1762-3) has given the necessary qualifications of a Murshid (the spiritual master) and the Murid (a neophyte) in his famous Sufi work Al Qul al-Jamal Fi Swa al-Saheeb, Mez Berlin 3396; Rampur 357. For the Murshid: (1) He should have a thorough practical knowledge of Islamic theology. (2) He must be a strict observer of justice and piety. (3) He should not be influenced by worldly temptations. (4) He should advise his disciples according to the obligations and prohibitions laid down by the Shari‘ah. (5) He must have obtained full training in the Spiritual Masters (Murshids). For the Murid (for discipleship): He must be sane, of the age of majority and should have strong faith in the man whose disciple he chooses to be.

55 The Ganji-Fayyadi, of Sharif-al-Din Ibn Shaykh Imam al-Din, vol. 123a, Ms. in the Cambridge University Library, No. Add. 816.
56 It was the common practice for the initiates to provide refreshments, which would be distributed among the company at the close of the ceremony. Bevan Jones also mentions this kind of initiation ceremony in his Woman in Islam, Lucknow, 1941, p. 371.
57 Taj al-Din Zakariyya (d. 1050), a Sufi of the Naqshbandiyyah Order and translator into Arabic of Jamai’s Nafahat al-Ulans and Kaashifil Rashiohaaaut, has composed an excellent treatise on the principles of Sufism, viz. Risalah Fi Suluk al-Saadaat al-Naqshbandiyah in which he emphatically says that just as a physical issue is impossible without a father, similarly a spiritual production is not possible without a spiritual leader. — Brockelmann II, 419, Loth, 1038, Berlin, 1286.
59 Al-Hujwiri has mentioned the aspirations of Sufism composed of twelve sections, two of which are condemned while the remaining one approved. The two Orders are mentioned to be approved (Maqbul). See Kashf al-Mahjib, ed. R. A. Nicholson, p. 130.
60 Masailik al-Asaaf Fi Mamaalik al-Amsar, tr. O. Spies, p. 24. —
61 In Dabistan-i-Madhaahib (p. 214), attributed to Faani, ed. by Nazr Ashraf, Calcutta, 1224/1809. A vivid account of this Dervish hospice occurs. The un-Islamic belief and practice of the followers of this Order shows the corrupted form of Sufism more or less resembling the Hindu Sanyasis (ascetics). The Dabistan has made a mention of other minor hospices whose followers were posing “as ascetics and spiritualists but had reached the lowest depth of moral degradation." See Dabistan-i-Madhaahib by Faani. For the Dervish Orders, see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, pp. 117-123, London, 1935.
62 Akbar al-Akhyar, p. 22, Muijtaba’i Press, 1332 A.H.
63 The Shaykh ‘Abdu Haqq Dihlavi calls him Sanjari (see supra, p. 22), while the correct form would be al Siizi, a native of Sijistan. Shah Wali Allah refers to this point in his work Intibah fi Salasil Auliya al-Shafi‘, p. 28.
64 Akbar al-Akhyar, p. 10.
65 Akbar al-Akhyar, p. 45, reference to his disciple.
67 Sufism in India, by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, The Islamic Culture, p. 240, vol. XXX, No. 3.

Continued on page 30
The Expulsion

A Soliloquy of Jamalú’d-in Afghani
(Winter of 1890-91)

The winter wind was bleak across the waste
And snow drifted, hissing, over all Iran,
When the tyrant Shah of our unhappy land
Required me. And I was thought secure
In the Shrine of Shah ‘Abd al-Azim, a sacred place,
But naught was sacred to the despot of Tehran.

For I, Jamalú’d-Din, had told the truth,
And this he hated, for the Iranian folk
Were ground beneath his heel of scorn
And many burdens had been place on them.

Five hundred horsemen did he send for me
(How great must be his fear!)
And took just one sick man, confined to bed,
And dragged me forth and through the snow
In the wild wastes of winterbound Iran,
Overlooked by the noble height of Demavend
Whose streaming banners of the drifting snow
Made austere beauty for the eyes of men
As once his shaft of flame quite awoke the land,
Towering three miles and more into the pale blue sky.

It was like a promise from our God,
That as the pure white banners of the snow
Hung over us, so did God’s love.

But I saw little of majestic Demavend
For I was pulled through drifts of snow,
The freezing spray upon my face
And chunks of ice hurled from the horses’ hoofs
Smiting my body, wracked with pain.

We reached the capital, and there the Shah,
Notwithstanding my illness and my need of rest,
Had me placed upon a pack, loaded down with chains,
And I was sent across the province of Tehran
To Hamadan and the mountains of the west,
I who have the blood of ‘Ali in my veins.

And now in the Sultan’s gardens
In opulent Istanbul, I see once more
The drifting, bitter snow, the bleak plain’s distance,
And I feel the rope and the tug and lurch
As horsemen pull me through the opposing drifts
To distant Tehran. And what do I think,
Here in the garden by the Golden Horn?
Here in luxury, far from snow and cold,
What are my thoughts? Just these:

That if God’s people rise and claim their rights
And break their shackles, standing free
Beneath the skies of Asia, then I say,
Looking afar to freedom’s day in sad Iran,
That snow and cold or burning thirst
Were small enough to pay, if I would know
That what I suffered showed the way
For men to rise in thousands and demand
A fairer world and justice for them all
In that same land where I was dragged
Through drifting snow. I see the land,
Full free at last from tyrants’ chains,
Where children laugh and weep no more
For need of bread. May God remove
My people’s shackles. Mine were light
To what Iranians bear throughout the years.

I see day dawn, crimson and saffron
Above the mountains of Khurasan
To light the land of Iran,
Homes that are happy, fields that bear
Abundant food, looms humming in joy,
And everywhere freedom for all
Beneath the smile of God.

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