THE

ISLAMIC REVIEW

&

ARAB AFFAIRS

WOKING - ENGLAND

JANUARY 1968

56th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

THREE SHILLINGS

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Orientalia Inc., 11 East 12th Street, New York 3, U.S.A.
The International Muslim Society, Inc., P.O. Box 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York, 27 N.Y. 55.00 post free; single copies 0.45 c.

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The Islamic Review
& ARAB AFFAIRS

Founded by THE LATE AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England

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18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London, S.W.1

Telephone: VIC 2591

JANUARY 1968
56TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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2
The Qur’an and Modern Scientific Knowledge on Race and Racial Prejudice

Below we print a “statement” on race and racial prejudice above the names of some renowned experts brought together by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) at Paris in September 1967 to set down their views on perhaps the most disturbing problem of mankind at the present time. For the clash of the races is assuming such frightening proportions that some knowledgeable persons seriously believe that it is threatening the peace of the world. To understand the magnitude and ominous nature of the shape of things to come, one has but to witness the happenings in some of the most civilized and technologically advanced countries. Statesmen, politicians, religious thinkers and sociologists are bemoaning the thoughts and energies to finding a solution to this deep-rooted disease of hatred between race and race. The problem of racial prejudice, coeval with man’s history, has persistently refused to yield. The text of the “statement” exposes in cogent terms the falsity of the claim to racial superiority. As far as this goes there is nothing new in it. Even if we did not accept the conclusions of the “statement”, the ever-changing world circumstances, for instance the ever-increasing annihilation of distance, is forcing us to come to the same conclusions as those embodied in the “statement”.

Despite the fact that sages and prophets of vore have expressed themselves on similar lines and indicated their lofty ideas upon their followers with a view to bringing harmony to reign supreme between race and race, there are large sections of mankind for which the belief in their racial superiority is an article of faith, pure and simple. Not only do they believe in it, they also practise it. The Aryans in India and their offshoot in Europe and the United States of America, the Anglo-Saxons, have produced Malans, Hitlers, Verwoerds whose inhumanity to man has brought untold misery and suffering to mankind. The Jews, although comparatively small in number, have not lagged behind in contributing their share to the intensification of the race problem in the world. They believe they are the “chosen” people and the belief in the purity of their race forms the basis of their social and political life. One knows what woe and misery there is to be found in the Middle East in the trail of the mystique of Israel.

The nations and races that believe and live up to their beliefs in racial superiority apart, even the peoples whose outlook should be controlled by such ideals as embodied in such phrases as “the Fatherhood of God” and “the Children of God” do not seem to be able to put them into practice. During the last 2,000 years of the existence of Christianity, literally millions of sermons must have been delivered from church pulpits emphasizing the ideal of the equality of mankind; we know the net result is nil, as is evident from the inhuman behaviour of the whites towards the blacks.

Thus it is clear that mere catch-phrases and beautiful and edifying phrases do not seem to succeed in changing the heart of man. And if men feel motivated by them at all, they just do not know how to put those ideals into practice.

Islam, like Christianity, is abreast, if not ahead, of it in preaching the idea that mankind is one and that all men descend from one progenitor. We read in the Qur’an:

“O ye mankind! surely We have made you out of male and female, and We have made you into races and tribes that you may recognize one another. Surely the most honourable of you in the sight of God is he who is most careful of his duty. Surely God is Knowing, Aware” (49:13).

“Surely We have honoured the sons of Adam... by a high degree of excellence over many whom We have created” (17:70).
"Their Lord responds to their call — 'Surely I am not going to throw away any deed of any doer amongst you, be the (doer) a male or a female; you are from one another'" (3 : 194).

"O ye mankind! Reverence your Lord Who made you from a single being and from that being made its mate and spread from the twain, He caused to spread many men and women." (4 : 1).

In addressing a gathering of over 120,000 on the occasion of his last Pilgrimage, known as the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet Muhammad spoke the following momentous words:

"O men! Your God is One, your progenitor is one. All of you are from Adam, and Adam is from earth. There is no superiority for an Arab over a non-Arab, nor for a non-Arab over an Arab, nor for a coloured person over a white person, nor for a white person over a coloured person, but through piety. Have you understood me?" All cried with one voice, "Yes."

The above verses of the Qur'an emphasize the equality of mankind and also the equality of rights and duties between men and women. Having these ideas for bases of building a social system in which colour and race do not play an important role, it has also seen to it that the instructions and ideals contained in them are put into practice. This is not the place to go into the ways and means of materializing the ideals into actions and deeds. The brotherhood of man in Islam is proverbial.

Statement on
Race and Racial Prejudice

Prepared by a Committee of Experts on Race and Racial Prejudice
which met at Unesco House, Paris, from 18 to 26 September, 1967

THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT

1. “All men are born free and equal both in dignity and in rights.” This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy wherever political, economic, social and cultural inequalities affect human group relations. A particularly striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism. Racism continues to haunt the world. As a major social phenomenon it requires the attention of all students of the sciences of man.

2. Racism stiflifes the development of those who suffer from it, perverts those who apply it, divides nations within themselves, aggravates international conflict and threatens world peace.

3. The conference of experts meeting in Paris in September 1967, agreed that racist doctrines lack any scientific basis whatsoever. It reaffirmed the propositions adopted by the international meeting held in Moscow in 1964 which was called to re-examine the biological aspects of the statements on race and racial differences issued in 1950 and 1951. In particular, it draws attention to the following points:

(a) All men living today belong to the same species and descended from the same stock.

(b) The division of the human species into “races” is partly conventional and partly arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatsoever. Many anthropologists stress the importance of human variation, but believe that “racial” divisions have limited scientific interest and may even carry the risk of inviting abusive generalization.

(c) Current biological knowledge does not permit us to impute cultural achievements to differences in genetic potential. Differences in the achievements of different peoples should be attributed solely to their cultural history. The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization. Racism grossly falsifies the knowledge of human biology.

4. The human problems arising from so-called “race” relations are social in origin rather than biological. A basic problem is racism, namely, anti-social beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory inter-group relations are justifiable on biological grounds.

5. Groups commonly evaluate their characteristics in comparison with others. Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups.

6. Faced with the exposure of the falsity of its biological doctrines, racism finds ever new stratagems for justifying the inequality of groups. It points to the fact that groups do not intermarry, a fact which follows, in part, from the divisions created by racism. It uses this fact to argue the thesis that this absence of intermarriage derives from differences of a biological order. Whenever it fails in its attempts to prove that the source of group differences lies in the biological field, it falls back upon justifications in terms of divine purpose, cultural differences, disparity of educational standards or some other doctrine which would serve to mask its continued racist beliefs. Thus, many of the problems which racism presents in the world today do not arise merely from its open manifestations, but from the activities of those who discriminate on racial grounds but are unwilling to acknowledge it.

7. Racism has historical roots. It has not been a universal phenomenon. Many contemporary societies and cultures show little trace of it. It was not evident for long periods in world history. Many forms of racism have arisen out of the conditions of conquest, out of the justification of Negro slavery and its aftermath of racial inequality in the West, and out of the colonial relationship. Among other examples is that of anti-semitism, which has played a particular role in history, with Jews being the chosen scapegoat to take the blame for problems and crises met by many societies.

8. The anti-colonial revolution of the Twentieth century has opened up new possibilities for eliminating the scourge of racism. In some formerly dependent countries, people for-
merely classified as inferior have for the first time obtained full political rights. Moreover, the participation of formerly dependent nations in international organizations in terms of equality has done much to undermine racism.

9. There are, however, some instances in certain societies in which groups, victims of racialistic practices, have themselves applied doctrines with racist implications in their struggle for freedom. Such an attitude is a secondary phenomenon, a reaction stemming from men's search for an identity which prior racist theory and racialistic practices denied them. None the less, the new forms of racist ideology, resulting from this prior exploitation, have no justification in biology. They are a product of a political struggle and have no scientific foundation.

10. In order to undermine racism it is not sufficient that biologists should expose its fallacies. It is also necessary that psychologists and sociologists should demonstrate its causes. The social structure is always an important factor. However, within the same social structure, there may be great individual variation in racialistic behaviour, associated with the personality of the individuals and their personal circumstances.

11. The committee of experts agreed on the following conclusions about the social causes of race prejudice:

(a) Social and economic causes of racial prejudice are particularly observed in settler societies wherein are found conditions of great disparity of power and property, in certain urban areas where there have emerged ghettos in which individuals are deprived of equal access to employment, housing, political participation, education and the administration of justice, and in many societies where social and economic tasks which are designed to be contrary to the ethics or beneath the dignity of its members are assigned to a group of different origins who are derided, blamed and punished for taking on these tasks.

(b) Individuals with certain personality troubles may be particularly inclined to adopt and manifest racial prejudices. Small groups, associations, and social movements of a certain kind sometimes preserve and transmit racial prejudices. The foundations of the prejudices lie, however, in the economic and social system of a society.

(c) Racism tends to be cumulative. Discrimination deprives a group of equal treatment and presents that group as a problem. The group then tends to be blamed for its own condition, leading to further elaboration of racist theory.

12. The major techniques for coping with racism involve changing those social situations which give rise to prejudice, preventing the prejudiced from acting in accordance with their beliefs, and combating the false beliefs themselves.

13. It is recognized that the basically important changes in the social structure that may lead to the elimination of racial prejudice may require decisions of a political nature. It is also recognized, however, that certain agencies of enlightenment, such as education and other means of social and economic advancement, mass media, and law can be immediately and effectively mobilized for the elimination of racial prejudice.

14. The school and other instruments for social and economic progress can be one of the most effective agents for the achievement of broadened understanding and the fulfillment of the potentialities of man. They can equally much be used for the perpetuation of discrimination and inequality. It is therefore essential that the resources for education and for social and economic action of all nations be employed in two ways:

(i) The schools should ensure that their curricula contain scientific understandings about race and human unity, and that invidious distinctions about peoples are not made in texts and classrooms.

(ii) (a) Because the skills to be gained in formal and vocational education become increasingly important with the processes of technological development, the resources of the schools and other resources should be fully available to all parts of the population with neither restriction nor discrimination.

(b) Furthermore, in cases where, for historical reasons, certain groups have a lower average education and economic standing, it is the responsibility of the society to take corrective measures. These measures should ensure, so far as possible, that the limitations of poor environments are not passed on to the children.

In view of the importance of teachers in any educational programme, special attention should be given to their training. Teachers should be made conscious of the degree to which they reflect the prejudices which may be current in their society. They should be encouraged to avoid these prejudices.

15. Governmental units and other organizations concerned should give special attention to improving the housing situations and work opportunities available to victims of racism. This will not only counteract the effects of racism, but in itself can be a positive way of modifying racist attitudes and behaviour.

16. The media of mass communication are increasingly important in promoting knowledge and understanding, but their exact potentiality is not fully known. Continuing research into the social utilization of the media is needed in order to assess their influence in relation to formation of attitudes and behavioural patterns in the field of race prejudice and race discrimination. Because the mass media reach vast numbers of people at different educational and social levels, their role in encouraging or combating race prejudice can be crucial. Those who work in these media should maintain a positive approach to the promotion of understanding between groups and populations. Representation of peoples in stereotypes and holding them up to ridicule should be avoided. Attachment to news reports of racial designations which are not germane to the accounts should also be avoided.

17. Law is among the most important means of ensuring equality between individuals and one of the most effective means of fighting racism.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948 and the related international agreements and conventions which have taken effect subsequently can contribute effectively, on both the national and international level, to the fight against any injustice of racist origin.

National legislation is a means of effectively outlawing racist propaganda and acts based upon racial discrimination. Moreover, the policy expressed in such legislation must bind not only the courts and judges charged with its enforcement, but also all agencies of government of whatever level or whatever character.

Continued on page 17
WHICH OATH?
Luqman’s as given in the Qur’an or Hippocrates’s?

A Suggestion for the Consideration of Medical Faculties of
Universities in the Muslim World

By Dr. MAHMUD MUFTIC

The introduction of the Hippocratic Oath in the medical
schools of the West

It was at the beginning of the European Renaissance
that the first modern medical school was established at
Palermo as a result of the direct influence of the Arab medical
schools in Sicily. But it was characteristic of the Christian
world of those days to avoid mentioning Muslim medical
authorities and acknowledging a debt to their thought and
culture. The Catholic Church had then preferred to accept
the medical teaching derived from the old pagan schools. It
suited the opportunist policy of the Christian world to hold
up old pagan physicians as authorities in the field of medicine
in preference to the advanced Muslim scientists of those days.
All this notwithstanding the fact that the Muslims who had
been developing medical science for centuries had advanced
it more than was done by the European medical knowledge
of the Middle Ages.

This accounts for the fact that the Palermo medical
school and also all other medical institutions founded later in
Europe were called the Hippocratic medical schools after the
old pagan Greek philosopher and physician Hippocrates (460-
377 B.C.). Also it is worth mentioning that the so-called
“Asklepiades oath” as mentioned in the Codex Hippocraticus
is part of old pagan rites and that it is administered to the
medical students of today and is known as the Hippocratic
Oath. It is seldom realized that this oath contains certain
professional ethical elements which are not factual and are
even outmoded and, what is more, are even deficient morally
from the Islamic point of view. Luqman’s Oath is concerned
with the proper psychological relationship between the patient
and the physician. The which is not the case in the Hippocratic
Oath. Besides, Luqman condemns the rough and impersonal
attitude of the modern materialistic doctors and imposes a
more human and spiritual approach on them.

The text of the Hippocratic Oath

Let us read the text of the Hippocratic Oath, which runs
as follows:

“I swear by Apollo the physician, and by Asklepios,
by Hygieia and Panacea, and all gods and goddesses, whom
I call upon as witnesses, that I promise to fulfill this oath
and its obligations contained therein:

1. I will treat the person who taught me the medical
skill like my own parents, and his children like my own
brothers. I will share my earnings with them and teach them
medical skill without charge. I would give lectures and
advice to them in the same way as to my own sons. I will
not give the secrets of the skill to outsiders except when they
have given the medical pledge and sworn the obligatory oath.

2. My advice shall be to bring only benefit to the patient
and not harm and danger. To none, even at his own wish,
would I administer a poison, or any advice to that effect. I
would not give advice which induces abortion.

3. Sacred and pure shall be my life and my skill. I will
enter the houses only for the sake of patients, and will never
cause them any harm, and I will never try to exploit women
or men, free or slaves, for my pleasure. What I observe or
hear during consultation, or even by chance in the life of
people, I will never tell to another; I will preserve it as a
secret. If I fulfill my oath I shall be always successful and
honoured in my life and my skill and respected by all people
for ever, but if I am guilty of perjurious behaviour, it will be
wrong.”

In another version which probably comes to us from
the Montpellier school there is a supplementary oath: “I
swear that I will never remove bladder stones and shall leave
it to the more competent ones” (at that time there were
barbers who did the surgical work).

The striking resemblance between the teachings of Alkmaeon
and those of Luqman of the Qur’an

More than a hundred years before Hippocrates another
great philosopher and physician was born. His name was
Alkmaeon (571-497 B.C.), son of Peirithoos, a member of the
Greek colony in Kroton in south Italy. According to G. P.
Arcieri1 he is mentioned by different names in European
literature: Alcimón, Almon, Alcinon, Aelmon, Alemen and
Locmon. He was a disciple of Pythagoras and one of the most
outstanding pre-Socratic philosophers. He was, moreover, a
professional physician, and lectured on medicine to his pupils.
Three of these — Brotinos, Leon and Bathyllos — are men-
tioned in the remnants of his works. Most of the information
about Alkmaeon comes to us from the Chronicles of Diogenes
Laertios.2

The extant fragments of his work are excellent specimens
of medical literature of the time, and surprisingly resemble

2 K. Delachgraber, Xenophanes peri physeos in Rhein. Mus. f. Philol.,
1938.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS
The teachings of Alkmaeon

The teachings of Alkmaeon can be summarized in the following principles:

1. The Unity of God, His Indeterminacy, His Integral Awareness and His Infinite Knowledge.
2. Immortality of the human soul.
3. Infinite sequence of contrarieties, which are the only cause of our perception, awareness, knowledge and speculations.
4. Modesty and humility as the best characteristics of an evolved human being.
5. Uncertainty of the human knowledge and great benefits derived from it.

As to the monotheistic attitude of Alkmaeon, this is not very surprising, for he was a Pythagorean, also a mystic with pantheistic tendencies, adhering firmly to the oneness of the whole existence and was known as a bitter and avowed enemy of polytheism and polypragmatism — the belief that nature has various creative forces.

Many contemporaries of Alkmaeon believed in the One God

In that epoch it was not only Alkmaeon who believed in the One God. There were also other philosophers who defended this belief. For example, Anaximandros of Milet (610-545 B.C.) stated that everything is created by Apeiron (the words mean something infinite and indeterminate). According to him, Apeiron has no age; it is without death or destruction. It also means without a beginning and without an end.

Another philosopher, Xenonchates of Kolonhon (580 B.C.) was also a great enemy of polytheism. He said in his Elegies that there is only one God, the rest being the creation of the artistic imagination of Homer and Hesiod. Here we may also mention Heraclitus of Ephesos (504 B.C.), who said, “One from everything, and everything from One.” Alkmaeon believed that the sun, the moon and the stars moved as the human spirit by one single divine power. In the Holy Qur'an (3:29) we read: “Seest thou that God makes the night to enter into the day, and He makes the day enter into the night, and He made the sun and the moon to move — each pursues its course till a fixed time — and thy God only is Aware of what you do.” Also in the Qur'an (31:26) we read: “To God beloneth whatever is in the heavens and in the earth. Surely God is the only Self-Sufficient, and Praised.”

According to Diogenes Laertios (Chron. 8:83), Alkmaeon left to posternity a work, Peri Physis. Only a few fragments have remained of this work. It begins with the words: “O my son!” These are the same words as Luqmân used in admonishing “his son” as recorded in the Holy Qur'an (31:13-19). In verse 14 Luqmân advised his son to be grateful to his parents, and in verse 15 he said “... and if they strive with thee to make thee associate with Me (God) that of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not!” (Italics are the writer's). It is quite evident that in this case Alkmaeon does not mean his own son, but his people whom he considered as his own sons, namely, his disciples.

The teachings of Luqmân as recorded in the Qur'an

Alkmaeon was the first of the Pythagoreans to examine systematically the position of man in the Cosmos. According to him the human intelligence differs from God's intelligence in that God knows everything with the certitude of the Creator, and the human intelligence supposes and speculates only and that the animals have a much less developed awareness: they experience and react only.

In the Holy Qur'an Luqmân says: “O my son! Even a small mustard seed, be it in a rock, or in heaven or in earth, God will bring it forth, because He is the Knower of all subtleties” (31:30). We read further: “God surely has the knowledge of the hour: He sends down the rain, and He knows only what is in the womb. No human knows what he will earn tomorrow (or what will happen to him tomorrow), and in what land he will die. God alone knows everything with certainty” (31:34).

To Brotonos, one of Alkmaeon's disciples, we owe the following observation: "Alkmaeon of Croton, son of Peirithoos, said to Brotonos, Leon and Bathyllos: "Only God has certain knowledge about outwardly and inwardly things; a human being can only speculate about them".

Concerning the actual sex determination of an unborn foetus, as well as the description of its characteristics, which according to the Holy Qur’an (31:34) are unknown and uncertain, the Greek and Latin documents about Alkmaeon's works say very similar things: "De conceptione autem partus nihil minus definitae se scire Aekmanum confessus est, ratus neminem posse perspicere quid primum in infantiae fermetur." In Censorum 6.4 is mentioned: "Ex quo parente amplius seminis fuit, eius sexum representationi, dixit Aekmaeon." The above-mentioned quotation, which corresponds to the Qur’anic verses, is a further confirmation that a certain moral and ideological liaison between Alkmaeon and Luqmân exists. This has strengthened my conviction that both are one and the same person.

A comparison between Alkmaeon and Hippocrates

Hippocrates, who was born a century after Alkmaeon, was merely a medical encyclopaedist of contemporaneous knowledge. He was better known and more popular in the Hellenic world than Alkmaeon. It is probably because he declared himself always a conformist and polytheist. Monothetic philosophers were not much accented by the official Hellenic institutions, whether democratic or dictatorial, because they did not conform to the state religion. This was especially pronounced in the time of Socrates, who was executed because he preached monotheism, attacking openly the official polytheism.

Alkmaeon, who was an outstanding physician and anatomist, performed and described animal dissections, and developed his own theory of perception. According to him the light or sound impulses were transmitted from eyes or ears through small nerve pores to the brain, which is the material seat of the soul. According to him our perception and our knowledge are based upon contrarieties. Only by the presence of darkness can we see light, etc. His system of contrarieties had not only four extreme points as in Pythagorean hypothesis, but it has an infinite sequence of complementary contrarieties by which we can observe, note

3 Cicero, Crotoniae autem Alkmanon, qui soli el lumine reliquias sideribus omnibus animoque praeterea divinaturn dedit, non sensi sese mortalius rebus immortualitatem dare. De naura Dei 1. 11. 27.
4 Hippocrates' Lexicon 5. IV, p. 642 (Brotonos F.S.L. 1063).
and receive knowledge from the outer world. All impressions which we receive during our physical life are based upon this principle. Disease or health are dependent on the quantitative harmony of contrarieties, and treatment will help us in establishing again a lost natural harmony of contrarieties. This means the principle Contraria contrariis curantur was proposed one hundred years before Hippocrates by Alkmaeon.

Alkmaeon's belief that the soul is eternal and does not perish by physical death is mentioned in works referred to above. The same idea is expressed in the Qur'an about the mysticism of Luqman. It is very evident from 31:28, where we read: "Your creation or your raising is only like a single soul." Hence we can trace the mystical Islamic "Universal Self" (Nafs al-Kulli) as an essential precept of "Apparentism" (Wahdat al-Shuhud) of the Indian Muslim thinker and saint Shah Waliullah (d. 1767 C.E.). Alkmaeon says that physical death is only there because we have not discovered how to close the life cycle, where one's death will be immediately a rebirth. Luqman is a God-inspired philosopher and physician. His historical figure is for Muslims much more important than the figure of the pagan encyclopaedist Hippocrates. The Holy Qur'an mentions different degrees of special spiritual evolution of the human being with an important sociological significance: (a) God's Messengers (Rasul), (b) Prophets (anbiya), (c) Philosophers (Hukam), and (d) Scientists (Rasikhun fi al-'Ilm).

The Qur'an is the only Divine Revelation that preserves the memory of the great Greek philosopher and physician Alkmaeon who is the same person as Luqman

Luqman was a philosopher, and was a medical authority and research worker. He flourished one hundred years before Hippocrates. He is mentioned in the Holy Qur'an ("And certainly We gave Luqman wisdom") 31:12) as a God-blessed man. Muslims cannot say this much for Hippocrates.

It is clear that Muhammad, who was illiterate even in his mother tongue, Arabic, was not able to read old Greek parchments, and it is well known that the memory of Alkmaeon was overshadowed by Hippocrates. It is the only Revelation which has preserved the memory of this great Greek philosopher and physician of pre-Socratic days. The Jewish and Christian literature is silent about this great personality of ancient times.

It is true that God has mentioned Luqman in the Qur'an with a definite purpose in view. I believe therefore that for a Muslim physician the "Asklepiad or Hippocratic Oath" is not appropriate. I believe it should be replaced by that of Luqman, whose content is given in the Holy Qur'an. I shall try here to outline the text of Luqman's Oath:

The text of Luqman's (Alkmaeon's) Oath

1. "I thank Almighty God Who gives me existence and guidance, and Who gives me the chance to learn which only few people know. Whoever is thankful is thankful for his own soul." 31:12.

2. "I promise to keep up prayer and to ordain good and forbid evil and bear everything patiently that which befalls me" 31:17.

3. "I will never refuse to help any patient who asks for my help" 31:18.

4. "I will never be arrogant, proud of myself, conceited, and I will never pose as superior to other people" 31:18.

5. "I will never insult anybody and will always speak in a moderate tone and humility" 31:19.

6. "I will never give any prognosis or advice or do any manipulation concerning an unborn child. I will never give a prognosis concerning life expectancy of any human being, as well as his disease. I know that only God knows with certainty what will happen tomorrow" 31:34.

Why Luqman's Oath should be administered in the faculties of medicine in Muslim universities

This is the oath I believe should be administered to every candidate for medical studies before he is admitted to the course of studies in medicine.

In clause 1 of the Oath the student must be aware that he is one of the very few selected human beings whom the confidence of the people will be given, and for this reason he must be thankful to God Who gives him the chance and knowledge to obtain the confidence of his fellow beings.

In the Qur'an it is stated that the physician shall be above all prejudices, subjective, confessional, national, racial and social. That means he must help everybody who asks him for help.

In clause 4 the physician shall not impose moral or material burdens upon his patients, and he shall do his work in God's name in all humility.

Clause 5 stipulates that the physician shall never insult anybody or injure anybody.

Clause 6 states that the physician would not participate in advising any kind of contraception, or advise or do anything which can induce abortion. Only God knows what is in the womb, and we have no right to interfere with it or destroy this new life, which can be of great benefit to his parents, or to the whole of humanity. The physician shall not inform the patient, or his relatives, or any other person, that the patient is doomed to die or that his condition is grave or hopeless. Such suggestions, which are frequently only speculation, can aggravate the ill-health. The physician shall not refuse or delay treatment to the patient by saying it is hopeless and abandon him without help, be it a very old, or very weak person, or a person of no great social importance (insane, creton, moron or crippled). God can give us in the last moment a new method or new medicine, and His help is essential because only He knows the end of a human life. This means that the physician shall never bring himself, his patient, or his relatives, to despair by telling them that the case is hopeless and incurable. He shall always say that the Almighty is only capable of changing a morbid state to a healthy one, and his knowledge is rather speculative than certain. The physician should never be a fatalist, and abandon hope, but because of the incredulity of our knowledge we must hope for and expect the best. The physician shall not only help the patient by physical means, but also fortify his morale, his belief and his hope.

This is in a few words the Luqman or Alkmaeon Oath which the Holy Qur'an proposes for future Muslim physicians.

The Muslim medical schools should adopt this oath as obligatory for admittance to medical studies. They should educate not only skilled in their profession but also great moral and spiritual figures according to Islamic ideology and precepts.

"This is because God is the Truth, and that which they call upon beside Him is falsehood, and that God is the High and the Great" (The Qur'an, 31:30).

5 American Journal Archaeology, VII, 257.
Trade-Guilds in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*

Origin, Development and Decline

The difference between the Ideals of Western Trade Unionism and Trade Guilds in Islamic Countries

By ADOLPE FAURE

"Another point which must not be overlooked is that the guild system developed in a 'traditional' society, that is, in a social milieu where all human activity, of whatever nature, is always considered as being linked or related to a Transcendental Principle. In fact it is this which gives meaning to such activity. In a society of this type a trade was not only the means of earning a living, it was an education, an instruction, by means of which man could be linked, through the medium of purely manual activity, to this Transcendental Principle. Work, as well as prayer, was a beacon on the road to God. The nobility of work, and the worker, was thus firmly recognized, and there were no Labour Day or May Day celebrations because labour was in no need whatsoever of being glorified or rehabilitated. There is no need to point out how far trade union philosophy has become alienated from this elevated conception of work."

The introduction of foreign institutions to a people for whom they were not created inevitably leads to serious consequences. If such a people be endowed with vitality and initiative, it will not rest till it has spewed out these institutions from its very being, like a noxious organism living, as it were, on its own poison. But if it has no more fighting strength left, then it is indeed in mortal danger.

To those who propose to rebuild the New House of Islam: Let us not forget that splendid school of spirituality, of liberalism, tolerance and of chivalrous ideal... the time-honoured Muslim trade-guild. Let us conserve everything in it that was noble, great, and of good report, so that we can build a future which shall be worthy of the past. (Ed., I.R.)

Sources of information

The subject of labour and working conditions in Islamic countries during the Middle Ages cannot be studied in such detail and with such precision as in the case of Christendom. The studies of E. Martin Saint-Léon (Histoire des Corporations de Métiers), of Henri Hauser (Ouvriers du Temps Passe), of Paul Louis (Le Travail dans le Monde Romain), and the History of the Trade Guilds by Raoul Dautry, contain sources both numerous and varied in comparison with which the Muslim sources available to Orientalists wishing to draw up a plan for the study of the history of labour in Islamic countries make a rather meagre show.

The guild manuals

Fortunately, from the more limited viewpoint of the organization of labour, Orientalists have at their disposal detailed guild-manuals which give a clear idea of the structure and functioning of Muslim craft or trade associations. These documents, which date from the period following the Mongol invasion in 1258 C.E., are in the form of small handbooks containing the legendary history of the guild, its origins, the symbolism connected with the trade, the initiation rites and the ceremonial which accompanied them.

These writings, of which the oldest do not date back farther than the 13th century, are but the fragmentary remains of a copious trade-guild literature which disappeared with the gradual decline of the guilds. They were discovered mainly in Iraq and the neighbouring regions bordering on Persia.

The Muslim West has not left us any literature of this type. The manuals of hisbah, which were discovered in this part of the Islamic world, give practically no details regarding the guilds, so that in this exposé we shall be dealing chiefly with the Muslim East. But this has only a relative importance. The trade-guilds were characteristic features in the organization of labour in the traditional civilizations, such as those of Greece and Ancient Rome, Byzantium, Europe (under the old régime), and the ancient civilizations of China and India. We can therefore be certain that the guild of the Muslim West, with the exception of the rites of initiation, did not differ essentially in its spirit and its conception of work from its sister-guild in the East.

However, the origin of the Muslim trade-guilds and their development can be traced only through the medium of an

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* Courtesy, the Editor, Confluents, Rabat, Morocco, for June-July 1959.

1 The earliest sketch of the organization of Muslim guilds occurs in the eighth epistle of the Ikhwan al-Safa, which flourished about the middle of the fourth Muslim century (970 C.E.) in al-Basrah. "This trade guild movement, in the opinion of Massougn, reached the West and influenced the formation of European guilds and freemasonry" (Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 1953, Ed., I.R.).
extensive historical, social and philosophical context, and the study of such a context is indispensable if we are to obtain a clear idea of how they came into being. Thus we will in the first place endeavour to describe the social milieu which gave birth to the guilds in the territory of the Baghdad Caliphate, and to point out the religious and philosophical influences which were brought to bear on the world of labour in the 4th century A.H. (10th century C.E.).

RESEARCH INTO ORIGINS

The idea of organizing tradesmen and artisans into guilds did not originate with the Arabs. The Arab, man of the desert, the Bedouin, noble, proud, independent, disdainful of the town-dweller, would not dream of settling in one place in order to till the soil, or earn money by following a trade. As for the Arab townsmen — the Meccans, for example — they were bankers, organizers of caravans, merchants, slave-dealers, and had little liking for the lesser artisanal crafts and trades. The butchers, blacksmiths, second-hand dealers, retail drapers, wine-sellers, doctors, dentists, “coppers” (cupping-glass operators) and surgeons were for the most part Jews and Christians who, grouped in their booths and stalls, lived just outside the main current of Arab life and activity.

We can therefore conclude that it was after the conquest and occupation of countries with an ancient civilization that the Arabs, united under Islam, discovered, among other social institutions, the system of guilds and the regulation of markets, as they existed in Syria and Egypt.

It is therefore more or less logical to conclude — as has been done by some — that the Muslim guild had its beginnings in the Byzantine guild, of which it was, so to speak, the continuation, the Islamization.

This theory could have been accepted in its entirety if the Muslim guild had not manifested that distinctive characteristic which is evident in the writings previously referred to, and if it had not made its appearance only in the 10th century.

What happened then between the 7th and 10th centuries?

Over the whole of this period, about which we have only scattered and disparate fragments of information, there is a curtain of ignorance comparable to that which existed in France, on the same subject, from the 5th to the 11th centuries. One account by Ibn 'Idharī makes reference to the organization, by an Arab governor, of a market in Tunisia in the 8th century C.E. in a newly-constructed town. But this would seem rather to describe a public organization regulating markets and trades rather than a guild organization of the Muslim type. It is generally admitted that the numerous craft associations which existed in Syria and Egypt at the time of the Arab conquest continued to function. The wise Arab policy which consisted of never destroying any part of the administrative machinery of conquered countries, had spread to the preservation of such social institutions as the Byzantine guilds.

Difference between the Byzantine guilds and the Muslim guilds

But there is such a difference between the Byzantine guild and the Muslim guild — the latter is, in particular, so tinged with Shi‘ism — that other Orientalists2 have maintained that this essentially unique type of guild was the product of the propaganda put out by an heretical Muslim section. We are obliged to speak of this section, since it was this organization which is said to have “dynamised” the trade and craft communities, given them their organization, their soul and their philosophy. The section in question was the Karmats (Kar-mātīn, or Qarmātīn), whose tenets were propagated in the 10th century in a milieu of social unrest, this propaganda being facilitated at the time by particular political conditions.

A brilliant but troubled period

The period with which we are concerned is therefore the 10th century C.E., a brilliant period from the point of view of literature and activity in the domain of philosophy, but a troubled period from the political and social standpoint. At the beginning of this century the Caliph fell under the domination of a type of condottieri (captains of mercenaries) who have been aptly compared with the “palace-mayors” (maîtres du palais) of Merovingian France. The taxes were no longer being paid. At Baghdad there were continued seditions plotted by the Turkish militia, and at times the city was threatened with famine. Towards the middle of the 10th century some Persian princes entered Baghdad, declared themselves protectors of the Caliph and succeeded in establishing and maintaining a certain degree of political stability in the city itself and in the surrounding regions which still remained faithful to him. This disintegration of the empire, aggravated by the depredations of the soldiery, the bad

2 Some conclusions have been misconstrued by the orientalists. For the benefit of our readers we give here a few points which might be well be kept in mind while reading this article.

The Umayyads reduced the caliphate of public choice and consent to a hereditary monarchy; and the revived tribal wars, under their rule, mocked the authority of the Islamic Brotherhood. Furthermore, the non-Muslims were called Mawdīd, which underlined the idea of tribalism at the expense of the brotherhood of the faith. Hassan, ‘Ali’s son, accepted Mu‘āwiyah as the fifth Caliph and thus the doctrine of’ caliphs from ‘Ali’s direct line only” explodes itself. But Husayn, ‘Ali’s surviving son at the time, and grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, opposed the succession of Yazid, not for personal reasons but because he regarded the hereditary succession as an innovation to destroy the basis of the sublime democracy of Islam bequeathed by the Prophet Muhammad. It was not a theocracy but a sublime form of democracy whose place of assembly was the mosque.

People who carried on the work of Husayn to re-establish the sublime democracy, governed in the name of ‘Abīd, a descendant of the Abbasids, or of the Prophet Muhammad. The Abbasid-Caliphate, cemented solely by a feeling of common hatred towards a mighty foe (Umayyad caliphs), could not survive the overthrow of that foe. Those ‘Alids who had naively thought that the Abbasids were fighting the battle for the same cause of Husayn were soon disillusioned. The ‘Abīdids, in their turn, continued the hereditary succession of caliphs, and thus could not be called as orthodox Muslims, and those who continued the struggle until it degenerated into a struggle for personal gain — and stood against the king-caliphs for the sake of the fundamental principle of the sublime democracy, could not be called a heretical sect, for ‘Alids were only a political party and not a religious section which later on came to be called Shi ‘ism as a section of Islam. In this context it meant only ‘Ali’s party.

Equality, fraternity, tolerance and liberalism were not known to the world of the uncontouchables, serfs, slaves, overlords, despotic monarchs and ordained priests till the Qur‘ān established man’s dignity and equality and created the brotherhood of man and the sense of tolerance and liberalism. Histories of the peoples of the world vouch for this statement.

Although the caliphs after ‘Ali were no more elected, yet the principles of the Sublime Democracy, equality, fraternity, tolerance and liberalism, never ceased to exist in the beliefs and practices of the general public which were translated into their various organizations and movements.

3 Orientalists means Western writers on Islam or a particular part of Islam. (Ed., I.R.)
administration, and the insecurity which prevailed in the towns and the rural districts, spread a kind of gloomy despair among the masses. At the end of the 9th century a terrible "Spartacist" type of revolt had broken out at Basra. This popular movement, which has been called the "Revolt of the Zanjis", was organized by Negroes of Zanzibar extraction who had settled on the alluvial stretches of the Lower Euphrates. Under the leadership of a man who posed as a Shi‘ah they captured Basra, and for nearly thirteen years these unfortunate people spread trouble and ruin throughout the country.

The Christian and the Jewish bankers subsidised raids for black slaves

This lamentable episode in the history of the Baghdad Caliphate shows us that there existed a numerous proletariat composed of peasants, a proportion of whom were slaves. This proletarian concentration was not wholly unconnected with the industrial development of the empire and the formation of a class of bankers. These were at first Christians, but were later superseded by Jews. This was because the Christians, owing to their spiritual connections with Byzantium, had lost the confidence of the Caliph. This group of bankers drew their business from three main centres — Baghdad, Cairo and Isfahān. They loaned funds to the State, traded in gold and silver coins, financed all kinds of far-flung expeditions, and subsidised raids for black slaves. The latter were transported by boat and distributed in towns and cities, on work-sites, in rural districts and in plantations, where they toiled for private individuals.

The end of the 9th century and the 10th century are also noted for the development of a substantial urban proletariat, composed of independent artisans, bankrupt peasants, liberated slaves and slaves seeking their liberty. It included people of all races — Arabs, Persians, Turks, Greeks and Negroes. All these people were, in varying degrees, in a state of revolt against the orthodox Caliph, and ready to embrace any politico-religious doctrines which would promise them, in one form or another, deliverance, a brighter future, and above all, the justice and the order decreed for this world by God.

At this juncture it will be appropriate if we say a few words about the heretical Muslim section referred to in a previous paragraph, for it was this organization which was instrumental in reviving the trade and artisanal groups, and in imbuing them with the obvious purpose of organizing opposition to the Abbaside Caliph, traditionally orthodox.

This section is of the Shi‘ah division, that is to say, it belongs to that part of Islam which separated from orthodoxo by reason of the attitude it adopted on the important question of succession to the Prophet Muhammad. The Shi‘ahs maintain that the immediate successor of the Prophet should have been his son-in-law, ‘Ali, and that after ‘Ali the Caliphs should be chosen from among his direct descendants. Without going into details about the Shi‘ah doctrine, which would be digressing overmuch from our subject, it will suffice if we emphasize the fundamental theme of the Shi‘ahs, which is that the orthodox Caliph was nothing but a usurper, who should be overthrown and replaced by an Imam descended from ‘Ali and Fātimah, the daughter of the Prophet. This Imam, who was to become a political and religious leader because of the course of future events, soon became, in the imagination of the Shi‘ah adherents, a mahdi, a restorer of religious faith, a prince whose mission was to promote order and social justice on the earth. Because of this idea Shi‘ism had an enormous success among the masses. It is easy to understand with what joy and hope this propaganda was received by the despairing proletariat.

The Ismā‘īls

Among the numerous sections claiming to belong to the Shi‘ites there were some who had become conservative and static, who had never thought of playing an active role, or who had no wish to do so. On the other hand there were those who were animated by an intense and passionate zeal, and one of these was the Ismā‘īlīs, so-called from the name of Ismā‘īl, its Imam. The Ismā‘īlīs, grouped into secret societies, insisted on absolute obedience on the part of their adherents. They were a disciplined body, solidly united, and perfectly organized. Their members were bound by oath. Their doctrine was taught through the medium of an initiation comprising several degrees. For this purpose they employed missionaries who were usually disguised as merchants to deceive the Caliphate police and become, because they were continually on the move, they did not arouse suspicion. But Ismā‘īlism itself would not perhaps have played such an outstanding and active role if it had not suddenly been galvanized into activity by a fiery revolutionary who had been nicknamed Qarmat (the ugly-faced one). Qarmat, a bankrupt peasant, had thrown himself heart and soul into the Ismā‘īlī movement, which he had transformed into a formidable opposition force, bringing together all the malcontents, with the idea of launching an assault on the Caliphate. The success of Ismā‘īlism, under its Qarmatī form, was due to the fact that in addition to belief in the "mahdi", it preached an extremely liberal social and equalitarian doctrine, proclaiming the brotherhood of all men without distinction of race or religion. Under the influence of Greek philosophy Qarmatism had arrived at a stage where it taught, at the highest level of its secret initiation, a doctrine which, emerging from the religious and emotional plane, rose to that of the metaphysical and intellectual. The notion of God was superseded by that of universal reason. At this stage of its teaching, Qarmatism proclaimed that religions were simply signs and symbols, and allegories which were quite all right for the masses, but whose beliefs should not be imposed upon savants and, generally speaking, on educated people whose qualifications made them worthy of receiving this philosophical teaching. It is with good reason that we specify "philosophical" teaching, for in truth in the higher degrees adepts were initiated into the philosophies of Aristotel and Plato. In fact, a point was reached where philosophers were regarded as being of more importance than prophets.

4 This term applies particularly to the Negroes of East Africa.
5 "... the servile war of the Zanj (Negroes) at al-Basrah which between 868 and 893 C.E. broke out under the leadership of Abi Sa‘d al-Hassan al-Jannabī, originally a missionary of Qarmat...", Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 1953.
6 It shows how far some of the people under these king-caliphs violated the clear injunctions of the Qur‘ān which had abolished slavery and established a principle of peaceful co-existence by abolishing the aggressive wars and raids which were the means of obtaining slaves. And that the prisoners of war must be set free after the defensive war was over: the Qur‘ān decrees: "And fight in the way of God against those who fight against you but be not aggressive. Surely God loveth not the aggressors" (2:190). See also 22:39, 40; 8:61; 47:4; 2:177. (Ed., F.R.)
7 It is in conformity with the teaching and spirit of the Qur‘ān. Muslims must believe in all the Prophets of the world and the books they brought. This created a common sentiment with all the religions of the world, thus creating a world brotherhood of man. See the Qur‘ān 2:2-5, 35:24, 2:136, 2:213. (Ed., F.R.)
The Qarmatī success

Thus what is important to remember is that this Ismā‘īlī doctrine animated and energized by Qarmatism, inevitably led up, from the social and political aspects, to the following twofold conclusion:

(1) that it was imperative to overthrow the Abbaside Caliphate. This must be replaced by the Mahdī, who, to use the special Qarmatī expression, would "... saturate the world with justice", and who

(2) would organize a society based on a philosophical system which extolled tolerance and equality in the name of universal reason.

The diffusion of these ideas had been successfully undertaken, especially at the end of the 10th century, by an Encyclopaedia entitled Rasā‘īl Ikhwān al-Safā (Epistles of the Brothers of Purity).

In the East, Qarmatī Ismā‘īlīsm almost succeeded in overthrowing the Abbaside Caliphate. After organizing a socialistic type of society, it had assembled an army powerful enough to threaten Baghdad, and even capture Mecca. It was repulsed from Iraq, but founded a Republic in Bahrein. In Africa the Mahdī Ubayd Allāh founded the dynasty of the Fatimides, which continued to function in Egypt from the end of the 10th century to the end of the 12th century. Although from the political point of view Ismā‘īlīsm succeeded in attaining objectives which were politically important but limited in time, from the social standpoint it left its indelible mark on the institution of the trade-guilds.

In its early days, the Muslim trade-guild would have been a fraternal association of Qarmats. The propagandists of the movement seem to have acted as though the communities of craftsmen and small shopkeepers constituted a popular and democratic force which should be organized. The breaking-up of the central power and the general insecurity engendered a very lively community spirit among the masses. The consoling idea of "The Mahdī" did the rest. The community, grouped around its particular trade or craft, was somewhat like a school of heroism, a fighting force, but it was also an association for mutual protection, for charity, and a centre of education for its members. There the apprentice learnt his trade, and at the same time received moral instruction.

Since we are dealing with Qarmatī propaganda and with the milieu in which it was diffused, we must not forget to mention that the Ismā‘īlī teaching was amazingly well-received at the universities.

The Qarmatī influence in the universities

Like the Christian university of the Middle Ages, the Muslim university constituted the "trade-guild" par excellence. In the words of M. Massignon, it was comprised of people who sold their knowledge and people who bought it. Knowledge and science were transmitted from masters to pupils through the medium of formulae, just as the secrets of the craft were passed on in the manual trade guilds. One of the oldest and most famous of Islamic universities — al-Azhār — was founded towards the end of the 10th century by the Fatimide dynasty, which, as we have said, was put into power by the Ismā‘īlīs. If therefore the trade-guilds were for the Qarmatī a fighting weapon, the university guilds became the ideal type of milieu, where intellectual development was carried to the highest degree, that is to say, to the level where the initiate became a metaphysician, essentially liberal-minded and tolerant.

And now here we are at the end of the first part of our historical exposé. The general idea emerging is that the Muslim guild, in the East, was the product of a certain liberal type of propaganda, equilibrarian, very human in its objectives, based on the fundamental idea of social justice, and which functioned in a proletarian environment rendered very receptive to these ideas by political circumstances.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MUSLIM GUILD

The general principles underlying the Muslim guild organization

First, the trade-guild comprised men who were "free" in all respects, or who had been enfranchised. The craftsmen worked for his own profit, but was not one obsessed merely by the lure of gain, or one who resorted to competition with the idea of eliminating his neighbour. The hectic struggle for existence and the monopolising of trade or the tools of trade seem to have been entirely foreign to the traditional mentality of the Muslim artisan. The exercise of a trade involved a certain number of rules, and the craftsman was bound by a solemn oath to respect them. The oath was introduced to the guilds by Qarmatism, and in contrast to Catholicism, which viewed it with suspicion, it was tolerated by orthodox Islam and protected by Shi‘ism.

The essential principle of the Muslim code of work was the prohibition of usury, that is to say, illicit and excessive gain, and the régime of the just price. We must remember that the theocratic State, governed by the Imam who succeeded the Prophet, was entrusted with the vital mission of ensuring conformity with the commandments of God. To express this idea on the transcendental plane, the Caliphal State was concerned with the care of souls, and any idea of the State becoming a banker, a commercial bazaar, or a factory proprietor, was equally repugnant to the traditional mind. If therefore the necessity arose for the State to intervene in the economic domain, this was done in the name of religious morality, in order to "... command the good, and prohibit evil", in accordance with the Qur‘ānic precept. In the more modest ranks of society, the craftsman also had to conform to the norm of conduct which governed the ensemble of the community. Let us note, incidentally, that the theo-

8 It was the Qur‘ānic teachings in action: 49:13—"Surely the noblest of you with God is the most muttaqī of you — one who can control his vitiolation." It is a scientific fact that he who is a slave to his desires is a danger to his society. He will commit all sorts of sins to satisfy his desires. He can have no regard for others' rights. On the other hand, the sublime qualities can emerge only through those who can constrain themselves. The five compulsory daily prayers and one month's fasting every year are a powerful training which enables him to have self-restraint. This is the condition which empowers him to attain the lofty stature in the field of morality. Such a person is noble, and the noblest one, in the words of the Qur‘ān, is he who is best equipped with this power, and best equipped with this power can only be he who is most conscious of his duties of the prayers and the fasting.

9 Islam never had and can never have a theocratic State because there is no priestly hierarchy and no ordained priesthood in it.

10 As well as bodies. The main theme of the Qur‘ānic teaching is to bring comfort to others. (Ed., I.R.)

11 The welfare and general teaching of the Qur‘ān is to equip man with a knowledge and spirit which may enable him to live in this life also as best as possible, best for himself and best for those he comes in contact with. It is all pragmatic and nothing faceful. (Ed., I.R.)
logical distinction between good and evil, which was the guiding rule of the artisans in Islam, was the same as that which formerly held good in Christianity.

Differences between the Muslim and the European trade guild

They can, generally speaking, be summed up as follows:

1. The European guild functioned as a public service, more or less, and was officially recognized. It enjoyed concessions and privileges granted by a public authority: king, overlord or municipality. In contrast the Muslim guilds were spontaneous creations, a product of the people, responding less to the needs of the State than to the demands of the general public. Further, their attitude towards the State was one of prudent and suspicious reserve, probably due to their revolutionary origins. The intensity of this anti-authoritarian sentiment was again in evidence in Persia at the beginning of the 20th century, when the guilds participated in the revolutionary movement of 1908, to the oft-repeated slogan of Dustur, a word of Persian origin meaning “Constitution”, but which also signified “the unwritten corporate (or guild) body of law”.

2. This libertarian sentiment, combined with the stability of methods of production in the Muslim countries, gave the Muslim guild its second distinctive feature. In Europe the guilds quite soon became split up into two divisions — guilds of master-craftsmen and those of companion-craftsmen. In time this division resulted in the creation of separate organizations, the one comprising the employers and the other the proletariat. Under the influence of materialistic doctrines these became independently organized into syndicates for the purpose of waging class-warfare.

In Islamic countries, on the other hand, masters, workmen and apprentices remained united as one group within the guild, and all of them belonged to the same social class. Further, the category of “workman” was a temporary one. In some guilds it did not exist — the member passed direct from the rank of apprentice to that of master as soon as he had become a proficient (or “confirmed”) workman. Whereas in Europe the “companion” was not necessarily allowed access to the title of “master”. The companions thus came to form a social class of persons having no possible prospect of reaching the highest grade in their social category.

We can thus discern in this arrangement of the Muslim guild regulations its essentially democratic and egalitarian character, acquired when it was constituted in the 10th and 11th centuries in opposition to the government of the orthodox Caliph.

3. It was because of this egalitarian sentiment that the Muslim guild was inter-denominational to a very considerable degree. Here the Qarmatí influence is clearly seen. In Europe heretical Christians were eliminated from the guilds, whereas in Islam non-Muslims had their place in the guilds, and worked side by side with their Muslim brother-members.

4. Finally, one important consideration — the Muslim guild, in contrast to its European counterpart, was never a purely professional or trade organization. Because of its origins it was imbued with ideological principles, and, in addition to its ordinary routine codification, it possessed a moral code which was imparted to the novice at the same time as his trade.

Synthesis of trade-guilds, Sufism and Futuwwah

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how the Muslim trade-guild was always receptive to the influence of other associations, whether they were strictly religious bodies or not.

The middle of the 13th century — the period of the Mongol invasion — heralded a new era in the development of the guilds. Another influence was now at work in addition to that of the old Qarmatism — that of the religious brotherhood of Süffis. In fact the Süffí vocabulary was so rich in guild terminology that when the guild-manuals were discovered, they were at first attributed to the religious brotherhoods. The craftsmen, many of whom must have belonged to brotherhoods, described themselves in these books as Aht al-Tariqah, i.e., men of the tariqah (tariqah being the general term used to indicate “religious brotherhood”).

About the same period there came into existence in the Eastern Muslim countries associations known as Futuwwah (an Arab word meaning not only “youth”, but “generosity”, “nobility of soul”). These were associations of young men mutually united by a moral and religious code of duty. An initiation ceremony was involved. The members of a Futuwwah were under the obligation to practise certain virtues, such as courage, heroism, altruism, disinterestedness and so on, and to serve Islam as a soldier. The Futuwwah were, in a way, the counterpart of the European conception of chivalry and knighthood, and it so happened that the Muslim knights established close relations with the Ikhwan — members of the religious brotherhoods — and gradually became, so to speak, absorbed into the guilds, to such an extent that the word Futuwwah — the term used to describe the Muslim knights — came to signify the trade-guild itself. This synthesis of trade-guilds, Futuwwah and Sufism is believed to have flourished in Anatolia, from where it spread to the other Muslim countries of the East.

Thus the Muslim trade-guild, which might have remained a purely professional association, emerged in the 10th century, under the influence of Qarmatism, as a kind of active freemasonry, professing the highest of human ideals. After the Mongol invasion we find Sufism and the chivalrous ideal exerting a profound influence on the guild, and it is in this condition that we find it in the East at the end of the 19th century.

A detailed description of the guild organization

1. The Patrons

Each guild was placed under the patronage of one of the great pre-Islamic or Islamic personalities. There were 72 or 73 Islamic patrons. This number corresponded to the number of trades recognized in the Hadiths. They were referred to by the expression Usul al-Futuww (the Roots of the Branches). There were seven pre-Islamic figures, sometimes eight. They were called Jadhr (the Roots), and were Adam, Seth, Idris (Enoch), David, Noah, Abraham and Jesus (sometimes Job figured in this list). These seven or eight patrons were held in great veneration by the guild, and at the opening of each assembly the guild master of ceremonies, or naqib, addressed them with a Fadthah. 13

12 Usul and Jadhr have here the same meaning.
13 According to the Qur'an, Muslims believe in all the Prophets of God raised before Muhammad, the Last Messenger of God (2:136), and they "do not make any distinction between any of them". (Ed., I.R.)
2. The Shaykh

The head of the guild held the title of Shaykh (as in the religious brotherhood). Incidentally, cases are recorded where the shaykh of a brotherhood was at the same time the shaykh of a guild. The procedure for the appointment of a shaykh, his powers, and his role within the guild, varied considerably from one country to another, and in some cases from one town to another. Generally speaking, he should have been elected by the master-craftsmen, as he had been one of them himself. He was required to know all the secrets of the craft. At Damascus, at the end of the 19th century, he was not necessarily an elderly man, and some shaykhs were twenty-five to thirty years of age. In some guilds care was taken to ensure that the shaykh was elected from among the most devout of the members. In Egypt the guilds, after the fall of the Fatimides who protected them, came under the surveillance of the State, and it seems that this situation has continued, with varying vicissitudes, up to the present period. The Mamelukes granted them an independent status. The Turks put them under the authority of the qadi or the hakim. At Mecca the shaykh was chosen by the government.

His powers were extensive. He superintended the assemblies and was the intermediary between the guild and the State. He had full power to intervene in matters of discipline and professional misdemeanours.

He was helped by assistants known as ngahba (plural of ngib). The term ngib was also in use in the religious brotherhoods. Almost everywhere the grade of ngib had the same meaning. He was the master of ceremonies of the guild, and played an important part in the assemblies when new members were received. His duties included the convocation of the guild members to the general assemblies, and he had to be fully conversant with all the affairs and the customs of the Ahl al-Tariqah. He read the shaykh's speech and kept strangers from intruding into the guild. At ceremonies of initiation it was he who pronounced the prescribed formulas. During the fraternal repasts he acted as "steward" or "butler", spreading the table-cloths and serving the dishes. And finally he was the chronicler, historian and exegetist of the guild, whose traditions were placed under his special care. He had an assistant, sometimes called the chouch.

3. The Ikhhtyariyyah

In a number of guilds the shaykh was assisted by a group of master-craftsmen who formed the Guild Council (or Ikhhtyariyyah), and who shared in the work of administration.

4. The Mu'allimun

The majority of the guild members constituted the mu'allimun (the masters), called ustâ by the Persians and the Turks.

5. The Mubtadis

After the masters (mu'allimun) came the apprentices (mubtadi - beginner). A mubtadi learned his trade under a master. Usually no definite period of time was fixed for the apprenticeship. At Damascus, at the end of the 19th century, according to some research carried out by one of the citizens (E. Qusidi), the mubtadi's apprenticeship might last several years. During that time it could happen that he did not receive remuneration. This matter seemed to depend on his skill, and on good reports from his master. After that period he became a sanî (workman, companion). He was then paid wages, but was not yet considered skilful enough to accede to the grade of master, for he had to undergo a period as workman. In some Turkish guilds the length of apprenticeship was fixed at a thousand one days. The apprentice received no wages. He was trained professionally at the workshop, and also received moral teaching at the Zawiyyah. He then became a workman for a period of at least six months, and was then eligible for the rank of master-craftsmen. It was rare to find a Muslim guild where the accomplishment of a chef d'oeuvre was obligatory, as was the case in European guilds. It was the master who fixed the date of reception of the apprentice to the rank of master. This took place at a ceremony known as shadd. This ceremony — also in usage in the brotherhoods — consisted of an ensemble of symbolic gestures carried out with objects which themselves had a symbolic significance.

'Ahd and Shadd (Pact and Tying)

It is of interest to note that in this rite there were two principal elements — the 'ahd (engagement, pact, alliance), the moral and essential part of the ceremony, and the shadd (tying or ligature), the material element of the initiation. Here the apprentice was girded with an apron, or a cord or shawl was tied round his waist.

The 'ahd and the shadd symbolised "engagement" and "fraternalisation" respectively. According to guild tradition Adam was linked with God by a pact of this nature, and the Prophet Muhammad became the brother of 'Ali through the medium of the 'ahd. Here we notice the Isma'il influence, tending to invest 'Ali with all possible merit.

The word shadd which, as we have seen, referred to the ceremony of initiation, also referred to the object with which the candidate was girded (belt, shawl, but also apron). Amongst bakers and tanners, for example, the shadd was an apron. The use of the apron can be traced in the oldest traditions. When Abraham was building the Ka'bah he wore an apron. We can go back even further — Noah wore an apron when building the Ark, and Adam also, to hide his nakedness. European initiatory groups have perpetuated this tradition, as can be seen in the wearing of the apron in masonic lodges.

The ceremony of shadd itself is associated with very venerable traditions. The Angel Gabriel is said to have initiated the Prophet Muhammad and before him Noah and Abraham. 'Ali is reputed to have initiated all the Companions of the Prophet.

The ceremony followed the granting of the Ijazah, by which the master who had instructed the apprentice gave him permission to set himself up in his trade. The granting of the licence (Ijazah) served as a means of excluding undesirable elements. A candidate wishing to be fully received into a guild chose a sponsor, preferably, it seems, a member of the guild committee. The candidate was prepared for the shadd by the sponsor and was expected to treat him with the utmost respect.

The ceremony

Present at the ceremony were those guild-members desirous of attending, the shaykh, the ngib, and the entire council. We will not describe the ceremony in full — this would take too long and would be rather complicated. We will, however, give the following details:

The ngib opened the ceremony by taking seven paces forward and addressing seven salams to the assembly.

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These paces were taken on the “initiatory carpet”, which was sometimes green in colour.

The master who taught the trade secrets to the candidate now continued with the shadd. He “boud” the companion, tying a certain number of knots, a number which varied with different guilds. Often there were seven, which were possibly related to the names of the different saints and patrons — Muhammad, ‘Ali, and so on. The shadd was presented to the candidate on a tray having the shape of an alf. The object was placed on the floor, in the direction of Mecca, by the member performing that part of the rite.

After the “binding”, the sponsor received the solemn undertaking on the part of the companion never to betray the guild and never to dishonour the craft by fraudulent practices, during which time the naqib recited the Fáthihah.

Finally, the ceremony terminated with a communal meal, during which, according to tradition, a dish of sweetmeats had to be eaten.

It appears, from studies made in the East at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, that the guild organization and these initiation rites had been conserved up to that period. At Damascus, for example, Elia Qudsi gave a very comprehensive account of the guilds in that city about the year 1855. This author, while making mention of the loyalty with which they had conserved the old traditions, noted their decline from the point of view of productivity and quality of the work. It is true that this student, who was very probably strongly partial to modernism, was comparing the Damascene craftsmen with the European and American workmen from the standpoint of the “theory of progress” introduced to the East by Europe.

The guilds in European Turkey

In European Turkey the guilds were also very active and enterprising. At the head of each guild was a president, called Kadhi Akhi Babai. He was elected by the artisans and his appointment was ratified by an agent of the Government. He had to be chosen from among the master-craftsmen having the longest membership, and be sincere, upright and charitable. He was assisted by an administrative committee composed of five members elected from those master-craftsmen who had held the title of ustâd for at least five years. This committee, presided over by the head, held an assembly on the first and third Fridays of each month in premises situated in the souqs (markets) themselves.

The Grand Council

All the guilds were represented on a Grand Council, a kind of federal bureau which met regularly on the last Friday of each month. It was presided over by a ra’i, who was elected for life, and whose duty it was to hear complaints and settle any disputes which might have arisen among the guild members. Great care was taken by the President of the Grand Council to endeavour to settle any important points of dispute arising within the guilds in order to avoid intervention by the Government. He was necessarily the one essential intermediary between the Government and the artisan bodies.

The guild banner

Each guild had its banner, which was green. At the top was the crescent and in the middle the name of God. Below this figured the sign of the trade — a sandal or shoe for the shoemakers, a bowl for the barbers, and so on. Each guild also had its crier or announcer.

General reunions of the guilds

The guilds organized themselves general reunions, one of the most important of these being the annual “Hospitality Meeting”, which lasted a month. Each guild took turns in supplying the meals for the reunion. After the azr prayer texts were recited extolling the merits of the Prophet, and his intercession was invoked in favour of all Believers and all members of the guilds who were entrusted with works of charity and the administration of charitable trust property.

To settle the litigious problems

When the need arose to settle litigious problems with the State, the Grand Council was convoked, together with three members from each trade body. The problems in question were studied and decisions made. The President of the Grand Council then informed the hakim as to the decisions made by the body over which he presided. The meeting could be arranged to include notabilities or members of the ‘Ulemâ, who were invited to attend, and in such cases the deliberations took place in the Grand Mosque. During all this time the shops were closed and the keys handed over to the hakim.

An important detail

Each guild maintained a fund which, among other uses, was devoted to helping guild-members who were in need, the ‘Ulemâ and the Sharaâd.

Decadence and disappearance of guilds

For the Turkish guilds, as also for those of Damascus, it seems that the period 1885-1900 was one of decadence. It is common knowledge that the trade-guilds in the ensemble of the Muslim world are in the process of disappearing. Modernism, wherever it takes command, condemns them to complete obliteration. About thirty-five years ago in Morocco an extensive enquiry on the guilds was made, under the leadership of M. Louis Massignon. The results were published in the Revue du Monde Musulman. (It would be interesting to ascertain the present situation of these same guilds at Fez, where they continue to flourish with tenacity.)

The guilds in Morocco

This enquiry showed that the Fez guild was not so very different from its Eastern counterpart, from the point of view of organization. In Morocco the shaykh is called amin. He is assisted by a Khalifah and a council consisting of the influential members of the guild. He is elected to his office but his election is submitted for ratification by the muhtasib, who represents the State. The guild thus comes under the surveillance of the authorities.

This official approval by a muhtasib was the practice in Spain, and it was, doubtless, adopted at a very early period in Egypt after the fall of the Fatimides. It was Saladin who introduced surveillance and control of the guilds. Orthodox Islam has always regarded the guilds with suspicion, and has made a point of keeping them under control.

Further, in Morocco, as in North Africa, it seems there has always been a tendency to restrain the power of the guild, and to ensure that it remained an organism with limited influence. In Europe the guilds acted similarly, in order to obtain and keep the privilege of monopoly, and ensure a
satisfactory profit for their work. In exchange for monopoly concessions the Moroccan guilds would undertake public services, such as work for the Habous, various odd jobs, etc.

But we find that in the Muslim guild there existed the benevolent fund and that same attention paid to moral development and religious education which characterized the guilds in the East. Not so very long ago there were numerous artisans who belonged to a religious brotherhood, and did not consider their affiliated trade and the congregation of their choice to be in any way separate. But it would seem that in the Maghreb, in contrast to the East, guild initiation rites did not exist.

THE POSITION OF MUSLIM MODERNISM

We do not get the impression that the orthodox "Reformism" of the Salafiyah, whose objective is the renovation of Muslim society while at the same time safeguarding Tradition, has brought forward any definite and clearly-expressed original doctrine in a work it has produced dealing with labour and its particular problems. Any doctrine of this type should aim at the establishment of a parallel between the system of trade-guilds and that of trade unionism. It should study the philosophical basis of each of these two forms of labour organization, and go seriously into the possibility of a new kind of synthesis.  

Some ten years or so ago we remember having read an article by the Moroccan leader, M. ‘Alíl al-Fásí, dealing with the guilds and trade unionism. In this article M. al-Fásí, recalling the heyday of the old trade-guild, expressed his esteem and admiration for it, but went on finally to decide that it was an anachronism. We are certainly bound to agree with this author that the guild, as a body for the organization of labour, is a method of production which has become outmoded in our technical civilization. Our modern epoch is one of mass-production, using numerous machines embodying the most ingenious features. All conceivable kinds of products are made. Their super-abundance and their cheapness now satisfy the thousand needs which an industrial society continues, very ingeniously, to multiplay. These articles, produced by machines, do not resemble those which are hand-made, any more than the present-day factory-hand resembles the craftsman of yesterday. The guild was the creation of the craftsman, the workers' trade union the creation of the proletariat. This is an indisputable fact, but nevertheless one about which we can make a number of observations.

Conservatism and change the forms

The fact of the matter is that the error made by "conservatives" is in persisting in trying to preserve, in their reputedly inviolable form, institutions which have become out of date, with the idea of safeguarding the principles which gave them life. But these principles must be distinguished from the forms. The form taken by an institution is dependent on contingency, and as such, is subject to the law of "wear and tear". But in our opinion the error of "progressive" rationalism consists not so much in proclaiming the decadence of institutions unadapted to new living conditions as in replacing the old traditions which gave them birth by the exclusive omnipotence of reason.

The wiser course of action, it seems, would be to adopt new forms, while at the same time conserving the eternal principles on which the older forms were based.

‘Aql and Naql

The opposition between ‘aql (reason) and naqîl (integral transmission) is well known to Muslim thinkers. It would be of interest to re-examine this question — the opposition between the two tendencies of the human mind — and to bring out a few nuances. There are good examples of this tentative suggestion. The doctrinal disputes about socialism which took place in France at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th resulted — at least partially — in the restoration of respect for Tradition in the circles where they made pretense of ignoring it completely. The school of thought of Georges Sorel and Edouard Berth, which was opposed to bourgeois, destructive and sterilizing intellectualism, was at pains to point out the beneficent character of Tradition when it is offered, not as a subject for contemplation, but as an inexhaustible source of energy. At first it was with a kind of inebriation or stupor that the peoples of Black Africa and those of the Muslim countries experienced the dismal effects of rationalism. Now the former are discovering that as a definite ethnic division they have a long history and rich heritage, with unequalled possibilities for the future, and rights which they are asserting with force and enthusiasm, while the latter are preparing to defend their traditions with vigour and determination. They are instinctively abandoning the conception of the "abstract man", void of everything which makes such conception a concrete reality, and at the same time are coming to realize the great need for them to escape from the terrible process of "standardisation", a theme studied by the writer Germaine Tillon.

This attitude is a good sign, but it should be definitely related to the political and social domain. Taqlid — servile imitation of the ancients and slavish kowtowing to the dictates of authority — can, it is true, lead to desuetude, but when applied to foreign innovations and intrusions, on the pretext of modernism, it can lead to the destruction of the soul and personality of the entire people. In his Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines, the author, Gobineau, maintains that the introduction of foreign institutions to a people for whom they were not created inevitably leads to serious consequences. If such a people be endowed with vitality and initiative, it will not rest till it has spewed out these institutions from its very being, like a noxious organism living, as it were, on its own poison. But if it has no more fighting strength left, then it is indeed in mortal danger.

All this would seem to indicate that if the guild of tradition is now condemned as a system for the organization of labour, it is none the less true that it represents a valuable religious and philosophical ideal which should receive the utmost consideration from Muslim society where attachment to Tradition among the masses has remained intact.

Ought we to find it so difficult to come to the defence of the time-honoured trade-guild, when considered from the point of view of principles, in an epoch such as ours when the highest emphasis is being placed on the ideas of social justice and democracy?

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14 Any constitution of the guilds subject to the principles of the Sublime Democracy of Islam is bound to yield good fruits. (Ed., I.R.)
15 Al-Ash'arī's (936-6 C.E.) new principle of bi'da kayf, which was contrary to the teachings of the Qur'ān, served as a damper on Muslim free-thought and research. (Ed., I.R.)
The most democratic institution

The guild was one of the most democratic of institutions, whose value to society was in no way inferior to that of the trade union today. We believe we have adequately shown that it was a spontaneous creation, the product of the masses; that it constituted a community with "libertarian", that is to say, anti-State tendencies; that it was animated by a spirit of the utmost tolerance — the greatest tolerance possible; that it was engaged — entirely independent of State control — in helping those of its members who were in need. Now to set up an organization outside the control of the State, to avoid as much as possible all interference by an all-powerful bureaucracy only too prone to behave more tyrannically than the most odious of tyrants — here is one aspect of democracy by no means negligible. We can in fact say without exaggeration that the trade guilds of the East were veritable cradles of heroism and liberty.

Another point which must not be overlooked is that the guild system developed in a "traditional" society, that is to say, in a social milieu where all human activity, of whatever nature, is always considered as being linked or related to a Transcendental Principle. In fact it is this which gives meaning to such activity. In a society of this type a trade was not only the means of earning a living, it was an education, an instruction, by means of which man could be linked, through the medium of purely manual activity, to this Transcendental Principle. Work, as well as prayer, was a beacon on the road to God. The nobility of work, and the worker, was thus firmly recognized, and there were no Labour Day or May Day celebrations because labour was in no need whatsoever of being glorified or rehabilitated. There is no need to point out how far trade union philosophy has become alienated from this elevated conception of work.

To rebuild the New House of Islam

These are the considerations which perhaps merit close examination by those who propose to rebuild the New House of Islam in harmony with concepts adapted to modern life. Here the problem is to know whether an institution brought in from outside, such as trade unionism — conceived by foreign peoples and necessitated by their imperative social and historical needs — is wholly suitable for the Muslim milieu, or whether, on the contrary, it should be reconstituted, amended, adapted and enriched by some personal and original addition. If we are in favour of the second course of action, let us not forget that splendid school of spirituality, of liberalism, tolerance, and of chivalrous ideal — the time-honoured Muslim trade-guild. Let us conserve everything in it that was noble, great, and of good report, so that we can build a future which shall be worthy of the past.

(May we invite Muslims of the world to revive the Great Institution of Islam which will go a very long way to re-establishing the Sublime Democracy of the Last Messenger of God for which Husayn, along with his children, family, relatives and friends, suffered prolonged hunger and thirst and eventually they were mercilessly cut down by the forces of Yazid!)

We shall welcome the accounts of their activities and progress for publication in The Islamic Review—Editors.)

Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice—Continued from page 5

It is not claimed that legislation can immediately eliminate prejudice. Nevertheless, by being a means of protecting the victims of acts based upon prejudice, and by setting a moral example backed by the dignity of the courts, it can, in the long run, even change attitudes.

18. Ethnic groups which represent the object of some form of discrimination are sometimes accepted and tolerated by dominating groups at the cost of their having to abandon completely their cultural identity. It should be stressed that the effort of these ethnic groups to preserve their cultural values should be encouraged. They will thus be better able to contribute to the enrichment of the total culture of humanity.

19. Racial prejudice and discrimination in the world today arise from historical and social phenomena and falsely claim the sanction of science. It is, therefore, the responsibility of all biological and social scientists, philosophers, and others working in related disciplines, to ensure that the results of their research are not misused by those who wish to propagate racial prejudice and encourage discrimination.

The following experts took part in the committee's work:

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Professor Georges Balandier, Université de Paris, France
Professor Celio de Oliveira Borja, University of Guanabara, Brazil
Professor Lloyd Braithwaite, University of the West Indies, Jamaica
Professor Leonard Broom, University of Texas, United States of America
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Dr. Dharam P. Gaihi, University College, Kenya
Professor Louis Gutman, Hebrew University, Israel
Professor Jean Hiernaux, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium
Professor A. Klosowska, University of Lodz, Poland
Judge Kéba M’Baye, President of the Supreme Court, Senegal
Professor John Rex, University of Durham, United Kingdom
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A Critical Examination of the Circumstances that led to the Marriage of Zaynab Bint Jahsh to the Prophet Muhammad*

A Study in the Responsibility of Western Islamists in Calumnifying the Prophet Muhammad

The share of early Muslim Biographers of Muhammad therein

By Dr. YUSUF ‘ABBAS HASHIMI

How Western scholars give currency to their calumnies

Zaynab Bint Jahsh, the daughter of Umaymah Bint ‘Abd al-Muttalib, was one of the earliest converts to Islam and among the first Muhajirât (women emigrants) to Yathrib, the future Madīnah al-Nabī (Medina). About 4 A.H. (626 C.E.) she was married to Zayd Ibn Hārizah, once a manumitted slave of Muhammad, the Messenger, and, at the time, his adopted son. About a year later she was divorced by Zayd and the Messenger married her.

This is a simple and straightforward account of an otherwise grossly misrepresented historical fact. Due to the unfriendly approach of the Orientalists towards Islam and the last Messenger, they deliberately gave a false colour to the incident with the result that even lay Muslims equipped with "modern education" doubt the actions of the Messenger in this respect.

Sprenger, the famous German Orientalist of the 19th century, was perhaps the first person of repute who set the ball of calumny rolling. The thread was picked up by Caetani, the Italian writer. Through Muir and Arnold this heap of well-calculated lies got currency and through the article of Vacca in the Encyclopaedia of Islam it received the final verdict. The latest additions to the list of such Islamists are Tor Andreae, Abbot and subsequently Montgomery Watt.

When you initiate an adverse propaganda for nothing, the most efficacious method is, first, to suppress facts, to impugn clear circumstantial evidence, to create doubts in the minds of the readers, to insert false evidence and finally, to jump to conclusions conceived in advance. The result is that Muhammad is declared to be at fault in the Western criticism. Sprenger, Caetani and V. Vacca maintain that once Muhammad called on Zayd Bint Hārizah. Zayd was out. But Muhammad saw Zaynab, his wife, in disarray, was attracted by her physical charms and was smitten by her. He went away saying to himself: "Praise be to God, praise be to the Manager of hearts (Musarrīf al-Qalāb)!" It was love at first sight. Zayd, coming to know of the developments in his absence, divorced his wife to clear the way for his master and father. But his generosity did not clear the whole track. Muhammad was in a fix. How could he marry the divorced wife of his own adopted son? But God, through a revelation, soon removed the obstacle. Muhammad had his wish fulfilled and his scruples were finally set at rest. Thus these Islamists conclude that this episode was a great scandal and "affirm" that Muhammad was an old "sensualist".

*Courtesy, the Editor, Islamic Culture, an English quarterly, Hyderabad-Deccan, India (Vol. XLII, No. 1).

1 Neither the Arabic word Nabi (Prophet) nor Rasūl (Messenger) could be translated through the English word "Prophet", which simply means: one who makes prophecies, which Muhammad never did. To describe him, therefore, as "Prophet" is against clear Qur'anic wordings. Hence my rendering: the Messenger.
2 Margoliouth, Muhammad and the Rise of Islam, London, 1923, Preface, p. 4, points out openly the bias of Muir (Sir William Muir, The Life of Mahomet, Edinburgh) towards Christianity and Sprenger's reliance on untrustworthy authorities and his unscholarly approach.
4 'Ayisha, 16-18, Chicago, 1942.
6 Annali dell' Islam, I, 610-11, Milan, 1905 (dealing with the incidents of 5 A.H. (627 C.E.) under the caption "Matrimonio di Moametto con Zaynab").
7 Her, article in Encyc. Islam., IV, 1199-1200 (old edition).
8 Sprenger, I, 400 and 405.
lecher”. Watt appears to be less prejudiced, but such is not the case. To him this affair was excusable according to the moral standards of the time. Trying to give a political colour to the marriage, he discusses it under the moral lapses of the Messenger.

If the Islamists persist in their adverse and unfounded criticism, then the fault does not lie with them. The complacency of the Muslims is to be blamed. The fault lies at the Muslims’ door. Attempts have been made in the past by Muslims to present the true facts of the case. As far as the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is concerned three names are worth mentioning: Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khán (d. 1898 C.E.);13 Shibli Nu’máni (d. 1913 C.E.);14 and Muhammad ‘Ali Láhori (d. 1951 C.E.).15 As the works of the first two authors are in Urdu, perhaps they do not carry much weight with the Islamists. Láhori’s book on the life of the Prophet and Sir Sayyid’s Essays are without documentation, and, as such, of no use to them. Muhammad ‘Abduh of Egypt (d. 1905 C.E.) has also defended the action of the Messenger in this respect.16

The duty of Muslims

Not only is belief in the most sublime moral standards of the Messenger of God an article of faith with the Faithful, but they also have definite proof to vindicate his conduct. But in the modern age one has to substantiate one’s view with incontrovertible evidence.

We shall try to give here, first of all, the relevant facts, and on the basis of these alone we shall deduce conclusions consistent with logic and reason.

All agree17 that Zaynab was the daughter of Umaymah Bint ‘Abd al-Muttalib. Umaymah being the aunt of Muhammad, Zaynab was his first cousin. She was born, roughly speaking, at a time when Muhammad was already 20 years of age.18 That Muhammad had seen the young babe crawling, watched the girl Zaynab playing and freely observed the grown-up Zaynab innumerable times will have to be conceded even by hostile critics. The system of female seclusion and veil, introduced by the ‘Abbásids of Baghdád for their own ends, was unknown in Mecca of those days. Besides, at whose hands did Zaynab embrace the faith? After the Hijrah she was under the protection of Muhammad at Medina. Thus Muhammad again saw her between the ages of 34 and 37. So obvious were these facts that Bukhári, Muslim, Ibn Hajar and Ibn Kathir, the commentators and the traditionists and Ibn Isháq, Ibn Hishám and Tabári, the historians, did not deem it necessary to record that Muhammad had been seeing Zaynab at close quarters for 38 years before the alleged “love at first sight”. This basic fact, of course, has not been mentioned by the Islamists either, not because they did not have access to the original Arabic sources, but because it did not fit into their accusations.19 If they were to acknowledge this fact, the suggestion of “the love at first sight” would have seemed ridiculous and preposterous. The conclusion is inescapable that they were guilty of wilful suppression of facts.

As regards the beauty of Zaynab, which is alleged to be the prime factor in the “machinations of Muhammad,” it is linked with the point already stressed. If her physical charms were to play any part in her marriage to Muhammad, he had many opportunities in the past to have her without any difficulty whatsoever. On the contrary, Ibn Hajar, Ibn Kathir, Muslim, Rázi, Tabári and Halábî20 leave no doubt that it was Muhammad himself who suggested the marriage between Zaynab and Zayd. Ibn Sa’d, although a disciple and scribe of al-Wáqídî, declares that Muhammad forced this marriage on her.21 The brothers of Zaynab wanted the Messenger to marry her himself.22 Before her marriage to Zayd she was under the protection of the Messenger of Medina.23 The Qur’anic verse 33:36, claimed to be relevant in this connection, makes it binding upon Zaynab to agree to Muhammad’s proposal that she should marry Zayd:24

و ما كان لمرأة ولا مأوى إلا عند الله و رسوله أمان

There remains, thus, no choice but to agree to what God and His Messenger decide.25 Now a critical question arises: Why could not have Muhammad married his cousin earlier instead of giving her in marriage to his manumitted slave? A young virgin — she must have attained puberty when Muhammad was about 32 years of age and not as yet Messenger — is definitely better than a divorced woman of 38 years of age! How illogical the “analytical” approach of the Islamists is!

Zayd, Zaynab’s husband, responsible for the breakdown of the marriage

As a natural corollary to the above, the next question arises as to why within a year and a half of marriage Zayd...
dissolved the marriage-tie. The majority of the original authorities are silent on this point. They merely mention the fact. Generally speaking, Zaynab has been blamed for her fiery temper. Only Ibn Hajar and Ibn Kathir give reasons. Ibn Hajar mentions that Zayd complained to Muhammad about Zaynab in the following words: 

"I ask Allah that you let Zaynab return to me, for I am a freedman. These two instances do indicate strongly that Zayd himself was responsible for the dissolution of the marriage-tie; otherwise the Messenger would not have told him: "Do not destroy your marriage life; be afraid of God." The Qur'an 33:37 is consistent with this advice of Muhammad. The Messenger remonstrated with Zayd, but in vain. He gave in, seeing that Zayd was adamant."

The deep affection of Zayd for the Prophet Muhammad

Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Kathir and Halabi\(^{28}\) state that after the divorce and 'Iddah (the waiting-period as required in Islam) the Messenger sent the proposal of marriage to Zaynab through no other person than Zayd himself. The Messenger would not have adopted this procedure, nor would Zayd have agreed to act as an intermediary if Zayd himself had not taken the initiative in the matter of divorce.

It was in 20 A.H. (642 C.E.), during the Caliphate of 'Umar, that Zaynab died. It is stated that 'Usamah Ibn Zayd lowered her body in the grave for eternal rest.\(^{29}\) If there had been anything irregular or unseemly in the affairs of the divorce and remarriage, 'Usamah would have declined the honour of lowering the corpse of his step-mother.

Zayd's unshakable faith in Muhammad's Husn al-Mu'âmalah is attested to by the uniformly cordial relations between them over a period of more than 30 years. God and Muhammad both favoured Zayd.\(^{30}\) "I have seen such a nobility of character in this person (pointing at Muhammad)," said Zayd to his father and uncle when both came to Mecca from Syria to buy his freedom and take him back to their country, "that I will never prefer anybody to him."\(^{31}\) The Messenger once said, "He (Zayd) was one of the dearest of all men to me and this man (pointing to 'Usamah) is one of the dearest of all men to me after him (Zayd being dead at that time)."\(^{32}\) The love, affection, understanding, regard and faith between Muhammad and Zayd Ibn Hârírâth never declined in the least. Had there been any doubt in the mind of Zayd about the affair of divorce and remarriage, he would not have remarried, to the end a devoted follower of Muhammad. On the authority of 'A'ishah, Ibn Kathir

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29 Tabqaqât, op. cit., III, part 1, 30.
30 (a) Ibid., V, 80.
(b) "Isâbah fi Murîfah al-Sahâba," Cairo, 1325 A.H. (1907 C.E.), under Zayd.
31 (c) 'Usd al-Ghâbah by Ibn Athir, Cairo, 1285-7 A.H. (1868 C.E.), under Zayd Ibn Hârírâth II, 236. Cf. Torah, Andrae, op. cit., p. 154.
34 The Qur'an, 33:37.
35 Bukhari, Sahih, III, 314. Ed. Krehl, Leyden, 1908; Muslim, Sahih, Bâb al-Nikâh; Ibn Hajar and Ibn Kathir, both op. cit.
37 Ibn Hajar, Isâbah, III (under Zaynab Bint Jahsh), Cairo, 1907.
38 The Qur'an, 33:37 (God through Islam and the Messenger through manumission, love and adoption).
39 Tabqaqât, op. cit., III, part 1, 28; 'Usd al-Ghâbah II, 235 (under Zayd).
reported that had Zayd survived the Messenger, he might have become his successor.49

Some preposterous suggestions

Again, it is preposterous to suggest that after her divorce Zaynab schemed for her marriage to Muhammad.41 In Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Hanbal and above all, even in Ibn Sa'd it is stated that when Zayd delivered the marriage proposal on behalf of Muhammad to her, this modest lady told him:42 قالت: ما هى صاحبة هذا الحنفاء! (What is this woman in such a dress?)

After giving this reply she stood up on her prayer carpet:43 CLAIMED AS A PROSTITUTE.44 As Muslim continues, this deliberation on her part was for Istikhārah.44 It may be asked, where was the necessity of this Ṭalaḥ al-Khaṭyr (lit. to ask God for something for one's good) on her part if she was herself "clearly working for the marriage"?45

Ibn Sa'd, Halabī and Vecce46 place the death of Zaynab in 20 A.H. (640 C.E.) at the age of 53. It means that at the time of her marriage to Muhammad she was 38 years of age and not 35, as is commonly supposed. Some of the historians say that she was already a widow when married to Zayd.46 To Muhammad, who was not less than 57 at the time, Zaynab was his eighth wife. Under the circumstances, it is absurd to accuse him of sensuous pleasure and immorality.46

Muhammad made strenuous efforts to persuade Zayd to keep the marriage-tie intact, but was unsuccessful.47 Since the marriage, insisted on and arranged by Muhammad himself, proved short-lived, was he not morally bound to undo the wrong done to poor Zaynab? Neither political nor any other kind of motive is involved here except the humanitarian one. Moreover, Muhammad took Zaynab as his wife on the basis of the Qurān: Zawwajnā-ka-hā (We gave her to thee as a wife). Strange as it may appear to the Islamists, Ibn Kathīr,48 on the authority of Ḥishām, says that if Muhammad had ever been tempted to suppress any part of the Divine revelation he would have suppressed the verse 37 in the chapter Ahzāb from which Zawwajnā-ka-hā is a part.49

Moreover, the Qurān had emphatically declared against an adopted son being regarded as a real son: 33:4, "... nor has He made those whom you assert to be your sons your real sons; these are the words of your mouths; and God speaks the truth and He guides to the way." And now here was an opportunity whereby the Messenger could by his own example deal a death-blow to that custom. This reason is plainly given in the second part of verse 37.50

Rāzī in his Tafsīr on this verse, dealing with the Messenger's marriage to Zaynab remarks:51

In view of Rāzī's clear argument there remains hardly any necessity to emphasize that if the Jāhiliyyah custom was to be abolished, who must have been the first Muslim to act according to the Shar'a? Of course, no one else than the person who established it, the Qur'a (the lawgiver) i.e. Muhammad himself,52 "to demonstrate that Muhammad had broken with old taboos".53

Why did Wāqidi fabricate the story?

The relevant question is: who gave currency to the false and malicious story that when Muhammad saw Zaynab in disarray he fell in love with her? Of course, not the Islamists. Their brushes painting Islam in lurid colours are sometimes dipped in pigment supplied by Muslims. These Orientalists are indeed indebted to no one else than al-Wāqidi (Muhammad Ibn 'Umar) (777-845 C.E.). Wāqidi was the first writer who narrated this story, a fancy which was accepted as fact through credulity or malice. He was born more than ten years after the death of Ibn Ishāq, so far regarded as the earliest Sīrah writer, and was a contemporary of the famous Bukhārī. The first as the earliest Sīrah writer54 and the other as the most trustworthy authority on Hadith tower above al-Wāqidi. Is it not then of the utmost significance that neither of them has mentioned this strange incident in his detailed and factual accounts? It is astonishing and unfortunate that while dealing with this false story an Islamist of the calibre of Montgomery Watt should have quoted Ibn Hisḥám — and thereby Ibn Ishāq — as his authority,55 while in the Arabic text itself Ibn Hisḥám has not said a word about this. As will be clear presently, it is a fabrication of the brain.

40 Tafsīr, Sūrah al-Ahzāb; also cf. 'Usd al-Ghābah under "Zayd".
41 As Watt suggests, op. cit., 331.
42 Bukhārī and Muslim, op. cit., Matnīd (Bāb al-Nakāh), Cairo, 1313/1895; Tabaqāt, III, part I, 30; also cf. The Sunan of al-Nadād; II, 75, Delhi, 1895. The translation would be: "I am not to take any decision unless I have invoked the blessings of my Lord" — literally — unless I know the will of my Lord. For further explanation see f.n. 44, infra.
43 Ibid.
44 From the Arabic root word Khayr. It means "to ask for good in a thing." It is adopted for Ṭalaḥ al-Khaṭyr from God and not for 'Ism al-Ghayb (knowledge of the unseen).
45 Tabaqāt op. cit., VIII, 81; Sīrat, op. cit., III, 347; Ency. of Islam, op. cit.
47 Cf. Sprenger, op. cit., I, 299: "In seinem Alter aber zeichnete er sich durch unbesittlichen Hang zur Wollust aus."
48 Tafsīr, Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., while discussing Sura 33:37.
49 'Usd al-Ghābah, op. cit.
50 The whole verse runs: And when you said to him to whom God had shown favour and to whom you had shown a favour: Keep your wife to yourself and be afraid of God; and you concealed in your soul what Allah would bring to light, and you feared men, and God had a greater right that you should fear Him. But when Zayd had accomplished his wish for her, We gave her to you as a wife, so that there should be no difficulty for the believers in respect of the wives of their adopted sons, when they have accomplished their wish of them; and God's command shall be performed.
51 Muhammad 'All The Holy Qurān, Lahore, 1951, f.n. 1991.
52 The Qurān, 33:37.
53 VI, 785.
54 The Qur'ānic verses spread over a period of 23 years. The exact placement of each cannot be everybody's conjecture.
55 Watt, op. cit., 288; the same act on the part of a person cannot, at the same time, denounce or support a particular norm of a society. Cf. f.n. II, supra.
56 Ibn Hisḥám's Sīrah Rasūl Allah is a reproduction of Ibn Ishāq's partially lost book of the same name.
of al-Wáqídi alone. The first to follow, or, rather, to reproduce him was his own associate. Hence the fabricated story is narrated for the first time by Ibn Sa'd, the Kádhíb (scribe) of al-Wáqídi, in his Tabaqát. And Ibn Sa'd, whose works are mere extracts from the writings of his master, must be considered as a second-hand writer whose story would hardly have been credited if his master's works had not perished.57 Tabari (d. 923 C.E.) was so much obsessed with canons of objectivity that he refused to express any opinion on the events he recorded.46 Ibn Athir's al-Kámí is an abridgement of Tabari's Annals, hence it does not reveal anything new. Thus only Wáqídi remains in the field. Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wáqídi was a famous story-teller at the Shi'ah court of al-Barámakah and it is said that he was a past master in concocting fictitious stories. His Futúh al-Shám is a glaring example. He was skilful in weaving imaginative material, fiction and tales into his history. He has no scruples about sacrificing historical truth if thereby he can impart vividness and continuity to his narrative. A few historical facts and characters serve to give an air of verisimilitude to a purely fictitious tale. But the misfortune is that al-Wáqídi has been given a place among the historians. The Islamists for some reason which is not clear assign to this story-teller a place among the historians.

Wáqídi condemned as a liar by topmost authorities

We do not want to sit in judgment upon al-Wáqídi. The compilers of Hadith and its critics, mainly concerned with the credibility and reliability of a narrator, have turned their critical gaze upon the character of al-Wáqídi. Their devastating criticism reveals him as quite untrustworthy and unreliable.

Thus it is no wonder that sixteen topmost authorities from early Islam (A'immah Salaf), the Traditionists and Hadith-critics (al-Jarh wa al-Tadíl), can be quoted here to expose Wáqídi's shortcomings as an historian, namely: Bukhári, 'Abú Da'ud, Ibn Hanbal, Sháfí'i, Al-Bayhaqí, Ibn Hajar, Dárawquti, al-Nasá'i, al-Dhahabi, 'Abú Hátim, Haythám, Abu 'Asim, al-Hákím, Ibn Mu'tín, 'Abú Zúra' and Suyútí. The opprobrious words which they have hurled at this shameless story-teller are: untrustworthy (Ghayr Thiqah), weak (Dá'if), liar (Kádhíb), fabricator (Wádi'), discarded (Mátrik), not reliable (Layyá bi al-Qawwáli), the leader of the ignorants (Shaykh al-Májahílim) and the notorious liar (Kádhíb al-Má'rif). To illustrate, Ibn Hajar 'Asqaláni59 says:

قد قال الشافعية ليسو في هذه القول الواضح كتب المؤهلة كتب الواهب

Elsewhere the same author remarks:59a

كان بالاذاعة ضعف رجال يضعون الأسانيد الحكما للواضح.

About 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Amir al-Aslání 'Abú 'Amir al-Madání, the last but one in the chain of narrators, al-Wáqídi being the last, upon whom Ibn Sa'd has relied, the same author further remarks: "... Ahmad (Ibn Hanbal), 'Abú Zúra', 'Abú 'Asim and al-Nasá'i regard him weak (Dá'if); ... 'Abú Hátim regards him as the rejected one; ... similar are the opinions of 'Abú Da'ud and Dárawquti; ... Ahmad al-Hákím discards him as unreliable; ...same opinion is of Bukhári ..." About Wáqídi, al-Dhahabi has to say this:60

وهو من أروع العلم لم يكن لأي حديث

At another place in his unsurpassable and critical book the same author quoting from earlier authorities remarks about al-Wáqídi61

وأحد أروع العلم على ضعفه ..... قال أحمد بن حنيل هو كاذب يقابل الأحاديث وقال ابن ميم ليس يثق علم

Another analytical author quoting two more authorities gives the following verdict about Wáqídi:62

قال هم اشتهروا كاذباً فأليس في الدنيا مثله قال الشافعية كتب الواهب كتب شيوخ الجهولون

The famous al-Nasá'i pronounces al-Wáqídi as weak (Dá'if),63 while Nawawí calls al-Wáqídi "an author undeserving of faith,"64 It will suffice to quote one more authority about al-Wáqídi65

قال الناس الكاذبون المرموقون بوضع الحديث ورغم الحديث بإيما مكرمة وورغم ابن سلام بخواصان وورغم سعد المصروف بالثام

Thus it is conclusively proved that the writings of Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wáqídi, and, thereby, of his scribe, Ibn Sa'd, have been denounced66 by all competent authorities.

Why did Wáqídi invent this calumny?

Then where was the necessity for this Kádhíb on the part of al-Wáqídi? Apart from the habit of story-telling, three considerations appear to have influenced this Kádhíb (liar):

1. Al-Wáqídi flourished during the days of Amin al-Rashíd and Mámún al-Rashíd, the 'Abbasí rulers.66 The present writer refrains from commenting on the character of

58 Annals, op. cit., 1, 6-7 eiden, 1881-82.
59 Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, IX, 366, No. 604, Da'íratul Ma'ârif, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1326 A.H. (1908 C.E.).
59a Ibid., p. 367.
60 ibid., V, p. 275, No. 471.
64 The Sunan, Báb al-Nikáh, Delhi, 1898.
67 'Ibni 'Abd al-Mátâ al-Ha'ir (Ibn Hajar).
these rulers, but original Arabic sources are abundantly clear on the point. To lend support to their lives of pleasure, to justify their ways, to extenuate their wrongdoings, a Sunnah, a Hadith would have been of invaluable help. Hence al-Waqqidi’s fabrications about Muhammad. There is another reason, perhaps much more weighty than the first:

“And it came to pass at eventide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king’s house: and from the roof he saw a woman bathing: and the woman was very beautiful to look upon. And David sent and inquired after the woman. And one said, Is not this Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite? And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came unto him, and he lay with her: and she returned into her house. And the woman conceived; and she sent and told David, and said, I am with child. And David sent to Joab, saying send me Uriah the Hittite. And when Uriah came into him . . . . David said to Uriah, go down to thy house and wash thy feet. And Uriah departed out of the king’s house and there followed him a mess of meat from the king. But Uriah slept at the door of the king’s house with all the servants of his lord, and went not down to his house . . . . And Uriah said unto David, the Ark and Israel and Judah abide in booths; and my lord Jacob, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open field; shall I then go into my house, to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife? As thou livest and thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing . . . . And David said to Uriah, tarry here today also and tomorrow I will let thee depart . . . . And he made him drunk; and at night Uriah went out to lie on his bed with the servants of the lord, but he went not down to his house. And it came to pass in the morning that David wrote a letter to Joab, and sent it by the hand of Uriah. And he wrote in the letter, saying, Set ye Uriah in the forefront of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten, and die. And it came to pass, when Jacob kept watch upon the city, that he assigned Uriah unto the place where he knew that valiant men were . . . . And there fell some of the people . . . . And Uriah the Hittite died also. Then Jacob sent and . . . . charged the messenger to David . . . . And the messenger said unto David . . . . And thy servant Uriah the Hittite is dead also . . . . And when the wife of Uriah heard that Uriah her husband was dead, she made lamentation for her husband. And when the mourning was passed David sent and took her home to his house, and she became his wife and bare him a son. But the thing David had done displeased the Lord.”

Such is the verdict of the Old Testament against the Servant of the Lord. Although the Qur’ân has clearly proclaimed David’s wisdom, exalted position, righteousness, duty towards God and clear judgment, this was not sufficient for al-Waqqidi. Hundreds and thousands of instances can be multiplied wherein Jewish, Biblical, Buddhistic and Persian folklores and stories were incorporated in Islamic literature during the ‘Abbasid regime and were given an Islamic stamp. When such apocryphal tales were to be found in the religious book of the Jews about their best prophet, and were never discarded or denounced by them, where was the harm if some such was also concocted and introduced in relation to Muhammad? If the Jews are proud of it, the followers of Muhammad must not also object to it; nay, they should even appreciate it: Muhammad is being brought in line with David; Muslims must ever remain thankful to al-Waqqidi—such was the working of the mind of this Kadhîb (liar).

Conclusion

On the basis of true critical evidence we have established the following facts so far: Zaynab was the first cousin of Muhammad; she was among the earliest converts to Islam; she was among the first emigrants to Medina; in spite of the wishes of her brothers, Muhammad did not marry her; the Messenger himself forced her hand on Zayd; before her marriage to Zayd she was under the protection of the Messenger at Medina; and when Muhammad finally married her she was 38 and he 57.

What was it, then, which prevented Muhammad from acquiring Zaynab when she was still below 38 with all her “physical charms” intact?

The Qur’ânic verse “وَخَلَّفَنَّهُ فِي دُنْيَاءِ ِلَمَّا يَكُونَ يَبْعَدُهَا” has been wrongly interpreted by the Islamists. By this they mean that Muhammad tried to conceal his desire of marrying the charming divorced Zaynab. In the context of the verse in question nothing could be more far-fetched than this conclusion. The Messenger did not like that the disagreements between Zayd and Zaynab should become public. As he himself had arranged the marriage, he felt perturbed. Muhammad’s injunction to Zayd not to divorce Zaynab is contained in unmistakable terms: “Do not wreck your married life; be afraid of God.” Ibn Hajar and Ibn Kathir have thoroughly denounced this wrong interpretation. On the face of it the verse (Wa Tukhfi fi Nafsika) was against the Messenger. On this wrong presumption, Ibn Athir, on the authority of A’ishah, says that if the Messenger was ever tempted to conceal any revelation from God, this would have been possibly one. The existence of the verse is in itself the highest-proof of the non-existence of any improper transaction.

69 Athir, al-Kamil, VI, 207; and 120, Cairo, 1301; Tabarî, Târikh, III, 669, 950; Mas‘ûdî, Murji‘, VII, 47, Cairo, 1303/1885.
70 Waqqidi was a manumitted slave of the Banu Hashim (the Abbasids). Cf. von Kremer, op. cit., Preface, p. 4.
71 The commander of David’s army sent for the destruction of the children of Ammon and for the siege of Rabbah.
73 Whether adultery and murder mar the greatness of David from the Jewish point of view, we are not concerned with. From the Qur’ânic point of view such an individual can never be the Servant of the Lord. Muhammad’s alleged indebtedness to Jewish stories can well be appreciated from this one example.
74 The Qur’an, 38: 17-20, 27: 15, 38: 24, 25.
75 They still wait for a Messiah to appear from his line and that of Bath-Sheba.
76 The Qur’an, 33: 37, “. . . And you conceal in your heart what God would bring to light.”
77 Supra, p. 37. Cf. The Qur’an, “. . . keep thy wife to thyself and be afraid of God . . . ” 33: 37.
78 Fath al-Bârî, op. cit., Bâb al-Nikâh.
79 Tajrîr, Sûrah al-Ahzab.
80 Usd al-Ghâbah, IV, 29, op. cit.
81 The whole of the verse, 33: 37.
82 See supra, p. 9.
Regarding the fabricated story, the actual words in *Tabaqat* are:

وَإِذَا عَلَّمَتْ زَيْنَبَ بِإِنْبِيَةٍ لَا قِيلِ هَا رسُولُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ النَّبَأُ لِأَلَبَابَ

فَوَلَتَنَّ بِحِلِّ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ النَّبَأُ لَوْلَا يَدْعُوَنَّهَا لِيَكُونَ

يَفْهُمُهَا إِنْهَا لَا وَبَيْضَاءٌ أَلَّا لَبْسُ عَلَيْهَا مَسْحُونٌ مَّسْحُونٌ مَّسْحُونٌ مَّسْحُونٌ

فَالنَّبَأُ

There is no difference between the wording of Ibn Sa'd and Tabari's *Annals.* However, in his commentary of the Qur'an, the latter author says:

حَدَّثَنَا يَوْنِسُ قَالَ اخْتَلَّنَا أَبُو وَهْبَ قَالَ نَالُو زَيْنَبَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَدْرَجَ زَيْنَبَ مَرَّةً حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو يَسِيرَةُ قَالَ عَلَى حُرْقَةٍ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَمْرَهُ وَعَلَى النَّبَأِ مَسْحُونٌ مَّسْحُونٌ مَّسْحُونٌ مَّسْحُونٌ،

وَهِيْ قَارِئَةٌ فَانْكُشَفَ وَهِيَ فِي حِجْرِ نَفْسِهَا حَسَّرَةً

وَقَالَ أَلْبَابُها فِي قَلِبِ النَّبَأِ إِنَّكُمْ وَقَالَ فِي ذَلِكَ كَرَهْتُ إِلَى الْأُخْرَ.

بُعْثُ الشَّبَابُ يَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِنَّكُمْ أَرَادُونَنَّ ارْتَفَعَ الشَّبَابُ، قَالَ مَا لِكَ ارْتَفَعَ، قَالَ وَأَخِي، مَا رَأِيْتَ بِهِ، يَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَلا رَأِيْتُ الْأَخِرَ، قَالَ لِهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَمَسْكَ عَلَيْكَ زَوْجَكَ

وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ فَذَلِكَ قُولُ اللَّهُ تَمَالَكَ وَدْوَاتُ تَفْؤُولِ الْكَذِّبِ

The wording of the same author in his two different books differs. He can be used in two senses: either regretful or without helmet or turban. In the latter sense it can be used in the case of females when either their hands or head is naked — and never the body in disarray. If we take the first sense, i.e., regretful, it carries no sense, because such facial expressions could not be seen from a distance — Muhammad standing outside in the light and looking inside through half-open door in comparative darkness. Moreover, this meaning does not fit in the context originated by Wāqidī. To conclude that Zaynab was regretful because of estranged relations with her husband is unwarranted. The words فوقًا إلباسها indicate that there was no admiration on the part of the Messenger after seeing Zaynab but he was rather astonished. In his *Tafsīr* Tabari also admits that on an enquiry from the Messenger about the behaviour of Zaynab and her dealings, Zayd replied, "I have seen in Zaynab nothing but goodness (wa lá ra'aytu illā Khayrī)." This categorical statement of the person who is about to divorce his wife is sufficient to refute the charges of the Islamists regarding the "workings of Zaynab" for her marriage with Muhammad, or vice versa.

It could be, then, the face of Zaynab, if at all, and not her body, which could have attracted Muhammad. And as regards the face, that very face which he had been observing for the last 38 years at close quarters! In another version of the same story Tabari has assigned to the face of Zaynab the main role in this affair. Ibn Athir, in dealing with the condition of Zaynab at the time of Muhammad's visit to the house, has also used the words فوقًا إلباسها. But his version being only an abridgment of Tabari we need not discuss it here. To conclude on the basis of Tabari and Ibn Athir, that she being regretful because of her relations with Zayd, and the Messenger seeing her in this condition, the latter remarked that God might change the heart of Zayd, appears to be an unnecessary and uncalled for attempt to give credibility to a fabricated story. The fabrication of al-Wāqidī stands or falls as a whole and no amount of juggling with words can make any portion of the original version credible. Any attempt to do so will be futile.

It is also futile to hope that "a faithful history of the origin and early progress of Islam may be composed" by the Islamists. Seldom do they seem to the Muslims to evince scholarly detachment so necessary to command respect and admiration.

83 II, 236, *op. cit.*; he is only reproducing *Tabaqat*.
84 *Jami‘ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, XXII, 10-11; Cairo, 1328 A.H. (1910 C.E.); while dealing with the verse 33:37.
85 *The Annals, op. cit.*; in this case the narrator is one Zayd; 11, 237.
86 *Kāmil, op. cit.* II, 84; Cairo, 1301 A.H. (1883 C.E.).
The Arab-Israeli Problem as Compounded by the June 1967 War

Whose Homeland is Israel, Palestine?

An examination of Zionist Ideology, the basis of Israel’s National Mystique

By RAY L. CLEVELAND

For a scholar to intrude on the burning contemporary issue of Arab-Israeli relations indicates that he holds very strong convictions, which will inevitably take the form of quite outspoken statements. It seems to be in order for me to explain how I acquired these strong convictions, notably about the Arab refugees.

To most people of the West, Arab refugees are only statistics or pitiful photographs. Having known them as correspondents, friends and neighbours for a dozen years and having lived in the midst of the refugee camps of Jericho continuously for two years (1964-66), I have a much more personal sympathy for their plight, and since June, 1967, have shared in the emotional distress — but not the physical deprivation and suffering — following the loss of their little mud huts at Jericho and elsewhere. My loss of personal belongings and the damage to my scholarly records in the disorders which followed the Israeli occupation of Jericho are very trivial compared to their unhappy fate.

While my personal association with these wretched people has stimulated my boldness in speaking bluntly on their behalf, I do not believe that it has distorted my scholarly perspective. If association is automatically taken to mean lack of balanced judgment, then I can only point out that most of the information and opinion printed in the Western press grows out of association with Israelis and that communication with them is much easier owing to a common Western cultural background. For that matter, most of the Western news correspondents permanently in the area of the conflict live in Israel; many of them profess sympathy for Zionist ideas. I have not talked here of the faults and tactical mistakes of the Arabs; those have been quite adequately elaborated and exaggerated elsewhere as I write this, in late July, 1967. — R. L. C.

The concept of Israel clashes with the concept of Palestine

The conflict which boils around the state of Israel is fundamentally unique in contemporary international relations. It is not primarily the simple urge for territorial jurisdiction, as in the case of Kashmir. It is not power rivalry between the two principal ideological camps, as in Vietnam. Neither is this struggle the “absurd vendetta” it is described as being, nor a manifestation of religious intolerance.

This serious international struggle in the Near East has at its core the conflicting claims of two communities, each of which regards the same territory as its homeland. On the one hand, Israelis felt that the fighting of June, 1967, was in defence of their homeland, while on the other hand, the Palestine Arabs felt that they and their fellow Arabs were battling to repossess their homeland. The territory still goes by two names. To the one side it is Israel, but to the other it is Palestine. The concept of Israel has clashed with the concept of Palestine — there is the heart of the conflict.

The claim of the non-Arab community in Israel to the territory as a homeland has not been advanced on the usual basis for the obvious reason that at least half of all Israelis were born somewhere else, while few indeed are the families which have been there for more than one preceding generation. Their claim has been pressed on the basis of the Zionist ideology, which forms the essence of Israel’s national mystique. The Zionist view labels Jews as a “people” with racial overtones implied rather than as a religious community made up of many different peoples. As is well known, Zionism regards Jews of this era as national heirs of the ancient Hebrew and Judean kingdoms, and the emergence of the state of Israel in 1948 as a re-establishment of an ancient commonwealth; hence the immigrants to the state are regarded as returning to their ancestral homeland.

The West accepts uncritically the Zionist doctrines of the unilinear continuity of the “Jewish people”

The Zionist doctrines of the unilinear continuity of the “Jewish people” and their exclusive right to an ancient homeland require a number of assumptions. If the Zionist view is valid, it must be assumed that there was no significant...

number of ancient Judaeans who did not enter the diaspora, that there has been no significant conversion to Judaism over two millennia or more, that there has been no significant apostasy to other religions (such as Christianity and Islam), that there has been no significant amount of intermarriage, and that there are no other claimants to the same ancient heritage. None of these assumptions can be demonstrated to be true; many are known to be untrue, and it would require an act of faith to believe the others.

The falseness of the racial theory of continuity is most graphically seen in Israel, where the differing physical characteristics of immigrants from Europe, Yemen, India, Morocco, China and other areas have caused some obvious embarrassment to the national mythology. The fact is that the relationship of adherents of the faith of Judaism to that certain bit of geography, until Zionist colonization began in contemporary times, was very much the same as that of Catholics to the Vatican — or of Christians in general to their Holy Land. Sectarian tradition and dogma cannot be regarded as internationally binding in the twentieth century — certainly not as entirely supersedes the right of the native population to self-determination.

In terms of objective reality, words such as “return” and “homeland” when applied to Israelis would find more appropriate use if one were to speak of the return of Abba Eban to South Africa or England, of Gideon Rafael to Germany, or of David Ben-Gurion to Poland. To many others the homeland is Persia, Rumania, Morocco, Russia, or (in fewer cases) Yemen, Iraq, Egypt, Holland, Austria or Denmark. This kind of talk is anathema to Zionist ideologues, but to the empiricist it has much more meaning.

Israel essentially a European colonial state

In spite of the historical and anthropological difficulties inherent in the basic doctrines of Zionism, most of them are uncritically accepted in the West — as another facet of the stereotyped image of Jews which, in turn, is at the core of anti-Semitism. Britain would never have sponsored the Zionist colonization of Palestine, the United States and countries influenced by it would never have supported the creation of a Zionist state, and the West would not now be protecting an exclusivist Israel, except for Western acceptance of that stereotyped image. The uniqueness of Israel is not as complete as appears on the surface; it is essentially a European colonial state, though under another name.

A considerable amount of pure sophistry has been used to make Israel appear to be something other than what it is. For instance, it has been asserted that Israel cannot be condemned as a colonial state because the Zionist settlers did their own work and did not exploit native labour as in classic colonialism. If this is a valid criterion, then the white minority in South Africa would be well advised to follow the Israeli example. Instead of forcing blacks to work on the plantations or hiring them at slave wages, the colonial community should make their policy of apartheid more perfect by physically excluding the natives from the territory. According to the principle which some apologists for Israel would establish, the white supremacists in South Africa would then be innocent of colonial practices.

The people referred to rather vaguely as the “Arab refugees” have more than half of them — been born in their own diaspora, which began in 1948: only about a quarter of the 1.3 million now officially registered to receive rations from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees are old enough to remember living in their home town or native village. Yet there is not one old enough to talk who does not describe himself as being from Haifa, Ramle, Safad, Acre, Jaffa, or an obscure village like Idhnaabb, Sataf, Tell as-Safi, or Dawayima. There is none old enough to think who does not feel that he has the right to return to that particular place and inherit the property owned by his family for countless generations. Who can tell a child or young person born in a displaced persons camp in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan or the Gaza Strip that Palestine is not his homeland?

Publicists for Israel have stressed the fact that many of the displaced Palestine Arabs were born outside Israel and that few can remember what the land looks like. By implication this approach would establish a principle that first generation exiles have no claim to the homeland of their parents. Now this is a remarkable thing for defenders of the Zionist state to suggest! They not only regard the event, in Biblical times, of the return of the grandchildren of the Judaeans taken to Babylonia as normal, but have asserted that modern adherents of the faith of Judaism have priority rights to the homeland of ancients with whom they have nothing more in common than a — much evolved — religious denomination.

If there are valid reasons for the Zionist colonization of Palestine, for the granting of sovereignty to the colonial community, and the exclusion of the native population from the resulting state, let the friends of Israel confine themselves to those reasons rather than appealing to legend, historical misinterpretation and highly vulnerable inconsistencies. In addition, let critical observers realize that Israel has taken advantage of the feeling of superiority toward Asians and Africans which has long been shared by most of the peoples of the West, but which they are now coming to realize is not only parochial but very inexpedient.

Zionist colonization of Palestine cannot be justified by the invention of a new mystique

The Israelis and their foreign friends have convinced the world — except for the Arabs, some of their nearer neighbours and a few intimidated individualists elsewhere — that Palestine is no one’s homeland because it does not exist. It is a difficult matter, however, to persuade the Palestinians that the hills and valleys or the shining sea they remember or have heard described by their elders no longer exist but have somehow been converted by legal magic into Israel, which in nature looks much the same but is something different, possessing a new mystique which annuls former rights and legalizes their forcible exclusion — the point at which the present dilemma emerged.

That there is a real dilemma in the Israel-Palestine conflict is quite clear. Here the United Nations collectively and more than eighty nations separately have recognized Israel as a fully sovereign state. Yet neither the U.N. nor most of the nations which recognize Israel condone in principle what Israel has done: she has excluded the native Palestinians from participation in the nation’s life and made them suffer in the limbo of being “Arab refugees.” Doubtless the basic irritant would be removed if these displaced Palestinians only had the “practical good sense” to ask for resettlement elsewhere in compensation for their losses. (Of course, in such a limited solution, there would remain many lesser irritants because of the character of Israel as a colony of the

technologically superior West in contrast to the society and economy of the native Arab states.

There is a point of view that if the United States and its allies had foreseen 1967 in the Near East back in 1949, they would certainly have insisted that the native Palestinians displaced from the territory of the newly born Israel be reintegrated promptly and permitted to participate fully in the young state’s national life. There is a parallel here with the view that if the stalemate in Vietnam had been foreseen in the early ’sixties, the U.S. should have avoided involvement, but nevertheless the mistake must now be pursued further. In Israel’s case, it can be argued persuasively that the U.S. policy is to continue in the mistaken course originally marked out.

In 1947-48 governments were busy with other problems and were thinking mainly of immediate effects; the future was left as another problem to be taken up under the more suitable circumstances which were supposed to evolve. The United Nations may be said to have failed in 1967 because it failed in the critical years of 1947 and those immediately following. (Among other reasons why the organization failed to safeguard the rights of the native population was that it was dominated by European and Western states which had long harboured the prejudiced illusion that “natives” do not fully feel the human emotions which “we” feel and that their attachments are more fleeting.)

International relations are perhaps too often considered only in their implications for the present, and present expediencies are too often seized upon as the course of least resistance. The United States seems to be pursuing in 1967 the easy-way-out policy toward the Near East. Aside from the strong and perhaps decisive domestic pressure in favour of letting Israel flex its muscles, there is also the desire to avoid a new direct military involvement where possible Vietnam-like quicksands are hidden. This abdication of responsibility, if the policy may so be described, has resulted in the Israel-Palestine problem’s increasing intensity, while the shock waves are spreading beyond the immediate area. The possibilities for a peaceful settlement are becoming much more difficult to visualize.

Israel’s insistence on having a “Jewish state” does not admit of co-operation with the Arabs

Now that Israel has military control of all the territory of the former Palestine Mandate, as well as sections of Egypt and Syria, a unilateral solution to the problem is within Israel’s grasp, in spite of present tensions. This projected resolution of the conflict envisions the annexation of both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of Jordan, territories already looked upon as belonging to Israel in terms of the national mythology. This action cannot be contemplated without a justifying action; the gradual admission of the Palestinians who have been in camps outside the borders of the enlarged state as well as the new refugees resulting from the June, 1967, fighting. A programme of economic development and education aimed at eventual absorption of all Palestinians into their homeland as full voting citizens would certainly be supported by generous international financial assistance, while the colonial community could supply most of the needed technical skills and scientific knowledge to make the annexed regions and the nation as a whole prosper. Thus the forty-year-old Zionist promise to benefit both settler and native would be redeemed.

Unfortunately, Israel will not likely take this course, as it does not accord with the character of the national mystique.

Israel wants to annex both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, but rather than absorb Palestinians exiled since 1948, she will, on the contrary, very likely continue to encourage even those Palestinians native to these two areas to leave for Arab countries “where they would be more at home”, thus adding to the bitterness, suffering and numbers of dispossessed Palestinians. This would be a solution to what Abba Eban has so aptly termed a “conflict between Israel’s demographic and her territorial interests”, but to nothing else.

The great obstacle to peace is that, rather than being a truly modern and liberal state in which a person is a citizen as an individual without regard to race or religion, the older concept of citizenship rights on the basis of ethnic or religious community persists in Israel. The kind of state which now exists puts the Christian and Muslim minorities is a position closely resembling that of Jews in mediaeval Christendom; hence permitting the minorities to be increased through return is unthinkable to most Israelis.

In fact, many Israelis, such as the outspoken Moshe Dayan, openly insist on having a “Jewish state”, one in which minorities are as small as possible. They do not want a democratic state in the sense of the American constitution, i.e., one of non-specific character. Indeed, the dominant Europeans in Israel are in large measure using the word “Jewish” as a symbol-word for “Western”. They do not want an Oriental state, one with too many Asians and other non-Europeans in it. It was David Ben-Gurion who called for immigration from the West lest Israel become “just another Levantine state”, because of heavy immigration of Asian and African Jews.

The ideal solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict, the path of co-operation and toleration, is also the only workable one which can avoid future war. It is the only solution which recognizes the claims of all parties in a satisfactory way, but I fear it will never be tried. The onus for not trying it must be laid on Israel, as she is physically in charge and must for the time being call the moves. Many spokesmen for the Palestinians have advocated — though Israel and its Western friends have not advertised this as they have the Arab war threats — the road of co-operation, and those who know the people well are firmly convinced that from the Arab side the road to co-operation is promising. But this idea seems a remote daydream in view of Israeli intransigence which has existed since the first months of statehood. The dilemma remains. The situation cries out for the international community to impose a compromise settlement.

The future is bleak and the responsibility is Israel’s

Failing that, another war seems a likely prospect. Israelis believe, following typical colonial thought patterns, that the only way to talk to native Arabs is with force, and they have spoken forcefully in that language. But then, after taking the homeland of others by force, they protest their innocence before the jury of world opinion and make appeals in legalistic terms. It has ever been thus when the perpetrator of a criminal action is brought before a judge.

In this case, the temper of the times is such that Israel may have her way. A stark power struggle is spilling blood in Vietnam. A more limited role for the United Nations in international conflicts is being adumbrated. In such a cynical era as is again developing, it would be overly idealistic to

Continued on page 39

JANUARY 1968
Text of the Resolutions Adopted by the Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League of Mecca at its Ninth Session

Held on 15 Rajab 1387 A.H.— 18 October 1967 C.E.

The duty of the Muslims to meet the danger of Zionism

The Constituent Assembly of the World Muslim League of Mecca held its ninth session at the Headquarters of the League at Mecca. The meeting was attended by His Eminence Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Aal al-Shaykh, President of the Assembly, and His Excellency Shaykh Muhammad Surār al-Sabbān, Secretary-General of the League, and other founding members of the Assembly.

The Assembly set up several committees to consider matters referred to it and to make recommendations. It also studied the reports made by its various committees, and adopted the following resolutions:

I. THE PALESTINE PROBLEM:

(a) Proclamation to the Islamic World

The Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League, which held its ninth session in Mecca, feel that the Muslims at this critical juncture are in dire need of unifying their ranks, consolidating their efforts, co-ordinating the diversified Islamic potential, and returning to the Almighty and observing His Word in all their activities and reinforcing their absolute faith and trust in Him.

The Assembly believe that the present catastrophe was the result of the departure from the dictates of Islam and the laxity in obeying its principles, of the prevalence of evil and corruption amongst the Muslims and of indulgence in a life of luxury and greed and of boasting about what displeases God and His Messenger in words and deeds, and of the existence of such things as deprive the nation of the spirit of perseverance in the struggle and in upholding principles and shouldering difficulties for the sake of the triumph of the faith, and of right and honour. It is these factors which have led to the nation being denied God’s support and suffering defeat.

The present catastrophe has exposed the various aspects of the all-embracing Zionist plot and its long-term designs. These designs are not confined to the aggressive usurpation of the whole of Palestine but involve evil for Islam and the Muslims and an attempt to undermine the very structure of this religion. The plot is assisted by international forces all of which have in common great hatred for Islam and a desire to enslave the Muslims and to plunder and loot their homelands and their national wealth.

Although this plot has been known to many far-sighted people among the Muslims, and although it would have been possible to put an end to it in the earlier stages with comparatively little effort, the negligence that has existed for a long time and the lack of concern accompanying it have helped to spread farther the flames of this plot and to make it more fierce. Now the plot has reached such a serious dimension that greater efforts are needed to defeat it.

Despite the success and concentration of this careful plot it is still possible to overcome it and to free the Muslim world from its evils before it becomes more grave and deep-rooted, when it might become impossible to put an end to it. The brute aggression which the tragedy has inflicted upon this beloved part of the Islamic homeland, and the death and homelessness it brought to the Muslims as well as the violation of their sanctuaries, and the desecration of the al-Masjid al-Aqṣā at Jerusalem and other Islamic holy shrines committed by the aggressive enemy, all these barbaric acts must serve as a warning to all the Muslims about the inevitable fate awaiting other Islamic countries as well as the most sacred of the possessions of Islam which some people may still think are safe from this danger; for the leaders of the enemy continue to proclaim on every occasion that their long-term objectives are directed against these Islamic possessions, a thing which is in line with a premeditated plan for the eradication of Islam and the obliteration of all its vestiges.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS
One of the factors which led to the deterioration of the situation to the present critical level was that the Arab countries in general, and those neighbouring on Israel in particular, have been preoccupied with disputes and doctrinaire and personal quarrels which have dissipated their energies and reduced their capacity to face the enemy. This division amongst these countries was exacerbated by the infiltration into the region of alien doctrines and foreign ambitions, all of which found in these circumstances the best opportunity for tearing asunder the unity of the Arabs and the Muslims and deflecting them from the fundamental problem which threatens their religion, their traditions and their homeland.

The Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League in Mecca consider it their duty to remind the rulers and peoples of Islam of the truth about the danger poised against the homeland and the sanctuaries of the Muslims, and to warn them all that more catastrophes are in store for the Muslim countries if the problem continues to be treated with the methods which had been used so far, and if the Muslims continue to be in the present state of lack of awareness and of zeal, discord, weakness and lack of seriousness in the tackling of this danger.

The Muslims must realize that the problem of Jerusalem and the territory usurped in Palestine is a general Islamic problem, and a sacred problem, and that struggle (jihād) in the cause of God for the liberation of al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and the occupied lands from the grasp of the aggressors is a sacred duty imposed upon all the Muslims, and not merely upon any one Muslim people.

The Founding Members of the Assembly declare unequivocally that the Muslim World will not remain silent about the usurpation of the sanctuaries of Islam and the desecration of its most holy relics, and that no solution or settlement will be acceptable if it does not involve the restoration of Jerusalem to its previous status. The Muslims are fully prepared to proceed along the path of jihād until God grants unmistakable victory. The Assembly believes that this is a duty required of all Muslim rulers and peoples to come closer together and to unify their ranks and their potential, and to offer their lives and their property for the purpose of ensuring that God’s will shall prevail and that the sanctuaries of Islam are protected. The Muslims must appreciate the honour which their struggle will bring to them, and must remain confident that they will earn the bountiful reward which the Almighty has promised to the martyrs. The Muslim governments are required to prepare their peoples in the proper Islamic manner by promoting among them the spirit of struggle and sacrifice and combating the causes of laxity and indecision, ensuring that the spirit of austerity and seriousness prevails in all aspects of public life, decreeing military service for all able-bodied citizens, directing all the media of culture and information in a proper Islamic manner, and purifying educational curricula of destructive and godless elements and thereby making it possible to attain their objective in nurturing generations of resolute Muslims conscious of their duties in life and able to fulfil which God and the nation require of them.

The present catastrophe requires of the Muslim governments that they avoid all projects of luxury and to make available the money needed for the war effort, and to dedicate all resources and potentialities for the establishment of modern military forces possessed of faith, and which would always be ready to engage in the awaited battle in defence of the honour of Islam and for the liberation of their sanctuaries and their homeland.

This catastrophe has also made evident the need for the realization of the idea of Islamic solidarity which had been advocated in the past and continues to be preached by the World Muslim League and the World Muslim Congress of Karachi, Pakistan, because they believe it to be the only means of bringing together the will of the Muslims, and of co-ordinating their efforts in repelling the danger poised against their existence and their beliefs.

It has now become clear that the lack of co-ordination among the Muslim states, and the delay in implementing effective Islamic solidarity, have deprived them of one of the most primary weapons of victory, and brought down upon the Muslims the defeat that has befallen them.

The Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League believe that it would not be possible to avoid the causes of weakness and dissension except through the implementation of the idea of Islamic solidarity on the basis of adherence to the Book of God and the Traditions of His Prophet. This makes it incumbent upon the leaders and peoples of Islam to strive for the realization of this objective as soon as possible. The Founding Members of the Assembly declare their intention to continue to strive for the implementation of this cherished aim. May God bring the Muslims together and guide them towards constructive work, and enable them to follow the path of true jihād for raising high His will and deserving His blessing!

(b) Telegrams to the Kings and Heads of State of Muslim countries:

The Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League held at Mecca salute the attention which Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses and your Islamic peoples have devoted to the great problem of Islam in Palestine, and praises your efforts to repel the brute aggression and for liberating the Islamic and Arab lands. It submits to you the resolution of the Assembly which maintains that the Palestine problem is an all-Islamic problem and that all the Muslims — rulers and peoples — should endeavour to save Palestine and to liberate Jerusalem and the sanctuaries of Islam, a thing which can be done by instilling the spirit of struggle amongst the Muslims and promoting solidarity into the Muslim states. The resolution also emphasizes the need for liberating the Holy City of Jerusalem, wherein lies al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, the first Qiblah of Islam and one of the three great Mosques of Islam, and to ensure that there would be no surrender of Jerusalem and of the place of Istiqlāl (the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem) and Miḥrāb (Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad) and that no solution should be deemed acceptable which would alter its Islamic character by turning it into an international city or a Jewish city. We are confident that Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, and Your Highnesses will oppose any solution seeking to make Jerusalem a Jewish or an international city and thereby severing its links from Islam. We are also confident that you will accept nothing short of the return to the status which Jerusalem had before the aggression. This is desired by all Muslims. May God protect and guide you!

Signed:
On behalf of the Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League
Muhammad Surīr al-Ṣabbān,
Secretary-General of the World Muslim League

JANUARY 1968
Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses:

World Zionism and the forces of imperialism supporting it are endeavouring to exploit the present catastrophe to enable aggressor Israel to liquidate the Palestine problem in a final manner, and to provide the Jewish state with opportunities for expansion, under the guise of the establishment of a weak Palestinian state in parts of Palestine which would by its very nature and its isolation be under the authority of Israel.

The forces of Zionism and imperialism are seeking thereby to encircle the Palestinian people and to isolate them from the Arab and Muslim world, and to sever the bonds which link this struggling people with the Arab and Muslim peoples which share with them the struggle in defence of this Arab land and the Islamic sanctuaries in it.

The Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League denounced these evil plots and proclaim the determination of the Muslim world to reject and oppose them, and their determination to put an end to the aggression and to all the effects and consequences of this aggression, and to restore the position which existed before the aggression. The Assembly hopes that you will direct your noble efforts against these plots, and will uphold the full rights of the Muslims.

May God protect and guide you!

Signed:

On behalf of the Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League
Muhammad Surur al-Sabbān,
Secretary-General of the World Muslim League

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On behalf of the Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League
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Secretary-General of the World Muslim League

The Founding Members of the Assembly resolve to undertake on a wide scale in the Islamic countries a campaign for religious guidance. This campaign will be undertaken by the Founding Members of the Assembly and the organizations and establishments affiliated to the World Muslim League, as well as by Islamic delegations despatched for this purpose. The purpose of this campaign will be to give to the governments and the peoples information about the general principles contained in the statement made by the League about the Palestine problem, and to remind the Muslims of the truth about the Zionist danger posed against the entire Muslim world, and to draw their attention to their duties as leaders and peoples in regard to this danger, and to emphasize the need to consolidate the efforts of the Muslims towards a practical plan for religious enlightenment on a wide scale for the purpose of putting an end to the aggression inflicted upon the Islamic homeland and for the liberation of our fellow Muslims from the yoke of Israeli oppression and for liberating the sanctuaries of Islam — an aim for which the Muslims should make every sacrifice in order that they may remain free and safe and open to visitors from various parts of the world, as they have been in the past when the Muslims were in charge of their protection and care.

The Founding Members of the Assembly recommend:

That the Secretariat-General of the World Muslim League should take steps to ensure that the physical and spiritual resources of the World Muslim League should be dedicated to the Palestine problem at this juncture, and that preparations be made for launching the campaign for Islamic guidance, and that steps be taken to utilize the opportunity presented by the forthcoming Hajj (Pilgrimage) season for outlining the far-reaching nature of the Zionist danger, and also the responsibility which the leaders and peoples of Islam have for repelling this danger, by means of rallies, conferences, books and other means of information.

Thanks and appreciation to the Muslim states:

The Founding Members of the Assembly record with pride and gratitude the noble attitude adopted by the majority of the sisterly Muslim countries in regard to the present catastrophe, all of which indicates increased realization of the joint responsibility of the Muslims in regard to the Palestine problem, and a realization by these states of their Islamic duty in regard to the great problem of Palestine.

Strict application of the boycott of Zionism:

The Founding Members of the Assembly call upon the Muslim countries to endeavor to boycott Israel and Zionism completely. It urges them to hold consultations for the purpose of taking measures which would make such boycott a positive weapon. The Assembly hopes that such states as recognize Israel in any form would withdraw such recognition and sever all relations ensuing from such recognition, now that Israel has embarked on a total war upon the entire Muslim world, and has seized the sacred relics of Islam and
violated the sanctity and dignities of things Muslim. Popular organizations must fulfill their duty to call for the boycott of Israel and all those who support it or give it assistance in any shape or form.

(h) The World Muslim Congress held in ‘Amman:
The Founding Members of the Assembly resolve to endorse the resolutions adopted by the World Muslim Congress at its special session on the Palestine problem held at Amman in 1967, and it recommends to the Secretary-General that the necessary steps be taken to give effect to these resolutions.

II. Islamic Solidarity:
The Founding Members of the Assembly have carefully studied all the circumstances affecting the praiseworthy efforts made for the implementation of the idea of Islamic solidarity, and the useful contacts which have been made in this regard at all levels. The Assembly is of opinion that the present catastrophe has made abundantly clear the importance and value of this idea for the Muslim countries generally and for the Palestine problem in particular. The practical implementation of this idea must remain the aim of all those who endeavor to place the Arabs and the Muslims in a position of strength and immunity against those who are plotting against their homeland, their religion and their heritage. The Assembly believes that the stage already passed has made it abundantly clear that the idea of Islamic solidarity is very deeply and widely supported by the Muslims in various countries, and that on it depends the ultimate hope of bringing the Muslim world together and organizing its potential and efforts for the defence of its existence and its beliefs, and for making a contribution in the service of mankind and preserving a world peace based on right and justice. For this reason the Founding Members of the Assembly declare their determination to proceed with plans to urge the implementation of this noble idea. They also resolve to continue with the necessary contacts in accordance with a detailed plan designed to give effect to the idea of solidarity as soon as possible.

III. Abraham’s Praying Place (the Maqâm Ibrâhim):
The Founding Members of the Assembly resolve to offer their thanks and appreciation to His Majesty King Faysal Ibn ‘Abd al-Azîz Aal Su’ûd, the Servant of the Two Holy Mosques (God Save Him), for completing this important work of rebuilding the Maqâm Ibrâhim, which has rendered a great service to the Muslim pilgrims and removes from the way of the performers of the Tawâf (circumambulation around the Ka’bah) the great difficulties to which they were subjected as a result of the rush of the pilgrims and the lack of sufficient space between the Ka’bah building and the Maqâm Ibrâhim building.

IV. The Unity of the Somalî Homeland:
The Founding Members of the Assembly had adopted resolutions at their previous sessions supporting the Somalî Republic in its efforts to unify the Somalî homeland. The Assembly has noted with satisfaction the efforts being made by the Kenyan Government and the Somalî Government for the purpose of reaching a satisfactory settlement of their dispute. The Assembly hopes that these contracts will lead to positive results for the two neighbouring countries, and also hopes that such peaceful contacts would be made with the other countries with whom the Somalî Republic has territorial problems, so that the legitimate aspirations of the Somalî people for national unity and complete independence are realized.

V. Membership of the Founding Assembly:
(a) Whereas the method of selection of the members of the Founding Assembly of the World Muslim League was laid down in Article 8 of the League’s Constitution issued in Rabat 1383 A.H. — 1967 C.E., which provides as follows: “The term of membership of the Founding Assembly is fixed at five years, renewable by the General Muslim Congress; membership shall not otherwise cease except in the case of resignation, death or absence as provided in Article 34 of this Constitution”;

And whereas the General Muslim Congress referred to has not so far been held to consider these matters for compelling reasons;
The Founding Members of the Assembly must therefore continue to shoulder its responsibilities until the Congress is held, which must be convened as soon as possible.

(b) Thereupon, the Founding Members of the Assembly decide to effect the completion of the representation of the Muslim countries in the Assembly of the World Muslim League in accordance with the conditions agreed and the method laid down in the Constitution of the League relevant to membership of the Assembly issued in Rabat 1383 A.H. — 1967 C.E. In selecting members the Assembly has taken into consideration the proportional representation of the Muslim countries and the need for ensuring representation for Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries. It has requested His Excellency the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly at its next session, the tenth session, the names of those whom he proposes for membership of the Assembly.

VI. Administrative Matters:
The Founding Members of the Assembly have discussed the internal regulations which deal with the organization of the machinery of the Assembly, the conduct of meetings, quorum, the functions of committees, the office of the Assembly and other administrative matters. After effecting amendments, the Assembly adopts these regulations and decides that they be implemented at the tenth session of the Founding Members of the Assembly.

VII. Assistance for Islamic Organizations:
The Founding Members of the Assembly have studied reports and messages received by the Secretary-General from Islamic organizations in various countries, in which information is given about the life and conditions of the Muslims, the difficulties to which they are exposed, and the action needed to improve their lot. The Assembly has expressed its views on each one of these cases, and it has decided to assist those who preach Islam, by means of sending more preachers, books, publications and financial assistance to the utmost possible extent and in accordance with the needs of the Muslim people or minority concerned.

VIII. The Report of the Secretariat-General:
The Founding Members of the Assembly have studied the report of the Secretariat-General of the World Muslim League, and listened to the explanatory information given by His Excellency the Secretary-General about the contents of the report, particularly in regard to the League’s activi-
The Children's Page

By OLIVE TOTO

Commemoration of the Fourteenth Centenary of the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an

Our picture shows a copy of the Holy Qur'an which His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran printed at his own expense

My Dear Children,

I hope to continue with my story of the life of our Prophet Muhammad next time. Now you must have heard all the older persons talking about the fourteenth centenary of the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an. Let me tell you something about this great event. Fourteen hundred years ago during the month of fasting called Ramadan the Holy Qur'an started to be revealed to our Prophet at Mecca. I have already given you a short description of how the revelation of the Qur'an came. All over the world the Muslims are celebrating this happy occasion and thanking God for this wonderful and great Holy Book, with all its advice on how to live our daily lives. For instance, a king is told how to rule, a worker how to work; a child how to respect its parents; husbands how to treat their wives, and wives how to treat their husbands; statesmen how to conduct state affairs with honesty, soldiers how to fight and forgive. The Holy Qur'an announces loudly and clearly the fact that the Prophet Muhammad (May the peace and blessings of God be upon him) is the final Prophet. That is to say, no more prophets will come after him. In fact, every advice is there in the Qur'an for you to follow.

The Holy Qur'an was revealed and written in Arabic. The Prophet's mother tongue was Arabic. Today the Holy Qur'an is translated into many languages of the world. But even so all Muslims like to learn Arabic so that they can read the Holy Qur'an in Arabic. This is because the beauty of the Book shines out more in its original language. I am sure you must have seen the Qur'an printed in all shapes and sizes, down to the smallest one, which can be placed in a locket which is on a chain to hang around the neck. This little locket has a small magnifying glass to read with. There are some very valuable illuminated Qur'an's, that is to say, written in gold-leaf and fine colour inks. They are to be seen in museums and private libraries. I mean valuable in money, because, as you know, all Qur'an's are valuable in terms of sentiment. In every Mosque one will find a Qur'an, valuable in sentiment, although perhaps not in money.

All Muslims have a great love for this Holy Book. Here is an example. A few days ago a devout Muslim friend came to see me with an illuminated manuscript of the Qur'an in his hand. He showed it to me with pride and joy. He said, "I have paid a heavy price for this Qur'an, but I am so happy," I replied, "You already have a Qur'an," "Yes," said he, "but I heard that this Qur'an was lying in a shop on the floor amidst papers and dust, and that it could be easily stepped on at any time. I went to the owner and asked to buy this Qur'an. At once the owner thought that this was of great value. And so it was. But not in money. He asked a high price from me. But I am so happy to have bought it."

So as you can see my friend became the proud owner of this Qur'an. And the greedy seller was happy with having charged too much. So great was the love and respect of this Muslim for his Qur'an that no sacrifice or money was too great for him.

Students studying Arabic always read the Qur'an, and some are so pleased and struck by its contents and wisdom that they become Muslims. This is happening all over the world today. The Holy Qur'an is considered to be the best written book that there is in Arabic. This fact is also accepted by non-Muslim scholars.

The Holy Qur'an is divided into 114 chapters, which in Arabic are called Surahs. Every chapter of the Qur'an but one begins with these words:

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate..."

The first chapter of the Holy Qur'an is repeated in our daily prayers several times. As you know, prayers are said five times a day. The constant cry of the Qur'an is "there is no god but God; there is nothing worthy of worship but God." (The Arabic name for God is Allah.)

Chapter, or Surah, 112 is a favourite one. It runs like this:

"Say, He is God alone, God the Unique. He gives not birth, nor is He born. Nor is there anyone like Him."

The Holy Qur'an emphasises these words: "God, there is no God but He, the Living, the Self-Subsisting, the Eternal." The word eternal means one who lives for ever.

It is also repeated many times in the Qur'an that those who worship idols are condemned. By that it means to say that if one still prays to any idol or anything after he has been told of the One God, then he must be punished.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW & ARAB AFFAIRS
In the Qur'an God says to the Prophet Muhammad:

"Ou thou! In thy mantle, arise and warn."

This was because God wanted the Prophet to talk to mankind, warn it and give His message, because at the time of the Prophet many people worshipped idols and they had to be corrected.

Twenty-eight other prophets are mentioned by name in the Qur'an. Many of these names are to be found also in the Old Testament. Amongst them is the name of Abraham, whose name is greatly respected by the Muslims, who hold an annual festival to commemorate his willingness to sacrifice his son, Ishmael. This festival is called 'Id al-Adha.

An outstanding figure amongst the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an is that of Jesus, who is described as the Messiah, the prophet and the son of Mary. The Qur'an says Jesus was a "servant of God". He has been mentioned 27 times in the Qur'an with honour and respect, because the Jews always believed that Jesus was a false prophet. But the Qur'an absolutely denies this. Also it does not accept that Jesus died on the cross and strongly and emphatically denies the Holy Trinity. The Qur'an seeks to honour Mary, the mother of Jesus, with kind words about her. It states that she was a virtuous woman, because at that time many talked of her with disrespect.

This wonderful Holy Book of Islam tells us of the five pillars of Islam, which are:

1. DECLARATION OF THE FAITH.
2. ALMS
3. PRAYERS
4. FASTING
5. PILGRIMAGE.

I will say a few words about these five pillars and explain them to you.

1. Declaration of the Faith

The words used in the declaration of the faith when a person embraces Islam are: "I bear witness that there is no god but God and I bear witness that Muhammad is the Prophet of God."

2. Alms

Alms means giving to the poor and needy. If you have no money, then share what you have and don't forget love. This word alms is used generally for giving food or money to the poor. You are little. You may have no money but you can give your love and help. That, indeed, is worth a lot. For there are many persons who are poor and in need of your love. So give what you can to all who are in need.

3. Prayers

I have already mentioned to you about prayers in the last month's issue of The Islamic Review. I described how to pray five times a day, which is at daybreak, noon, afternoon, evening and night, that is, on retiring or just before going to bed.

Talking of prayers, I should like to tell you that our Prophet used to seek the blessing of God in all his actions. For instance, before he started his meal, he always said the words: "In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful", and finished his meal by saying "I thank God for my food and water". I might add that his meal was meagre. I want you to think about these five words spoken by the Prophet before eating, which are: "God the Beneficent, the Merciful". What wonderful words! Think over them.

4. Fasting

A Muslim is told to fast each day for one month from daybreak to sunset. This means no smoking, no eating and no drinking (of course you already know a Muslim must never drink intoxicants nor eat pork).

5. Pilgrimage

Every Muslim is expected to pay a visit, if possible, to the Ka'bah at Mecca at least once in his or her lifetime during the Pilgrimage season. This Pilgrimage is called the Hajj. I will tell you all about this in another article later.

For the time being let me say that it is a huge meeting of hundreds of thousands of men and women from all nations, of all colours, with but one aim — to worship One God. At this gathering they learn the equality of mankind.

Dear children, don't be frightened of anything or anyone. God knows what is in your hearts and how hard you are trying to learn to be good Muslims. This centenary of the Revelation of the Qur'an is so important. As you know, the word centenary means the hundredth anniversary. Thus the fourteenth century means the fourteenth hundredth anniversary. The Qur'an is the only Book that tens of thousands of people know by heart. For instance, in a small country like Turkey, with a population of about 30 million, there are 100,000 people who can recite by heart the Qur'an from cover to cover without a mistake.

Now you can understand why we are all so happy. It is because the Qur'an has existed in its pure, original state for 1400 years, with its soul inspiring words and prayers for all. A man who knows the Qur'an by heart is called a Hafiz.

At school, especially in England, they have a prayer called The Lord's Prayer. It is the Christian daily prayer. Whilst that prayer is being said, you can always say the first chapter of the Qur'an, which is:

"Praise be to God the Lord of the Worlds, the Compassionate, the Merciful, Master of the day of Judgment. Thee only do we worship and to Thee do we cry for help; guide us in the right path, the path of those to whom Thou hast been Gracious and with whom Thou art not angry, and not of those who go astray."

If you are at school, you must be five years old or more, and there cannot be many words in the above-quoted prayer that you are too small to understand. You may not understand the word "compassionate". It means "being sorry for those who suffer, pitying them with a view to helping them". Similarly, the word "merciful" means "showing kindness to one, especially if someone is in your power and to forgive any harm that is being done whether in thought, words or actions". The phrase "Master of the day of Judgment" means "the day when our sins are brought up before us and God is the judge". I am sure your parents will explain any other word which is difficult for you to understand. May we thank God once again that the Qur'an has remained the same as it was 1400 years ago, when revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. I cannot say this too often.

I think all that I have written may be of interest to you, but the next time I will continue with the rest of my story about the life of the Prophet Muhammad. But you must know what the grown-ups are talking about today. When you hear them say anything about the Fourteenth

Continued on page 39
A non-Muslim Scholar's Approach to Islam's Key Problem—Economic Development

A Study of a few ideas on the "Third Solution" eagerly awaited by the Third World (Islam)—a hope which still holds it back from abandonment to the facile standardization offered by Marxism

by Professor JACQUES AUSTRUY

Why Islam has not achieved an economic revolution of the type that took place in Europe two centuries ago

Valéry accuses historians of advancing into the future "backwards". This reproach could quite well be made against certain economists who are endeavouring to find out why Islam has not achieved an economic revolution of the type which came to Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact, the study of the historical development of a civilization can help us to understand some of the distinctive economic and sociological features which characterize it. But these features should be regarded more as the result of an upsurge expressed in the economic domain by a definite type of development than as obstacles to the spread of a method of growth whose origin lay in a quite different historical context.

Briefly, it is not so much a question of understanding why the economic "drive" which took place in Europe did not also come to Islam, but to find out how Islam, by its own ways and means, can bring about those beneficial results (with some others less beneficial) which were the outcome of this specific — and abnormal — event. For from the point of view of the historian, the economic growth of the West was "abnormal".

Incidentally, this point of view gives a new meaning to the conclusions arrived at after a recent conference1 devoted to the problem of finding out if "...the social evolution of Islam had been favourable to the development of a Western type of capitalism".

The findings of the conference showed that the backwardness of Islam could be explained neither from the point of view of religion nor from those of sociology or geography. The astonishing character of these different points of view disappears when we consider that the problem is not to explain why Islam has not undergone the transition to economic growth and development, but why and how such growth was initiated by the West. We thus realize that there is nothing in Islam itself that has hindered progress, and yet the primum movens (some historical "accident" or turn of events or other form of social challenge) did not materialize. Such a movement could have orientated the various potentialities for progress existing in Islam towards economic growth. We can also understand how the impact of Western industrial civilization on Islam produced an "historical" traumatism,2 which, far from developing the creative potentialities of Islam on the economic plane, actually hindered their development, since the Western industrial revolution appeared to Islam to be suspect, and a disguised form of colonialism (isti'mâr).

A search for the real underlying motive for economic growth in Islam

However, these potentialities definitely exist, and with the awakening of Islam they are now in process of being brought to material fruition. The most convincing evidence of this can be seen in the transformation of the "sign" — referred to by J. Berque3 — and the orientation of the "symbol" towards effective development.

But in order that these potentialities can be fully realized in a world impatient for results, they must be rapidly translated into an effective "drive" which will give consistence to a dynamic and genuinely Islamic economic system.

**For the previous instalment see The Islamic Review for October-November 1967.
* In European languages the words Islam and Muslim are interchangeable.
1 During which, in addition to the contributions by numerous specialists, there were presented the religious points of view by M. Brunschwig, the sociological point of view by J. Berque, the geographical point of view by M. Marthelot, and that of the historian by C. Cahen.
2 R. Blanchère: during discussions at the conference already mentioned.
3 "Les Arabes d'hier à demain", p. 34 et seq.
In fact, it would seem that in this coherent complex of structures—a system comprises, the motive is the deciding factor. Certainly, in a developing system, only the principal "line of force" which the motive or spirit of the system represents gives meaning to the whole. And it is continually rearranging the structures which the process of growth tends to change or dissociate. An economic system endures and grows only because it possesses a spirit, a drive, which gives it a cohesion superior to the mechanical disparities arising from growth itself.

This is why the search for the real underlying motive for economic growth in Islam appears to be the essential point on which the effort towards development depends.

There is no major obstacle to the adaptation of juridico-social and technical structures to the imperative necessities of economic development in Islam, provided that the spirit underlying such development gives an acceptable meaning to these various adaptations. In reviewing the definition of the system of Sombart from the dynamic viewpoint, it is possible to see here a combination of technical and juridico-social structures orientated and co-ordinated by a dominant motive. Thus the various structures are no longer on the same plane but fall into a kind of hierarchy and are activated by the mental structure which is the basis of the system. That is why it would appear advantageous to examine, firstly, the elasticity of the technical and juridico-social structures in modern Islam, in order to indicate the specific motive which will co-ordinate and activate the adaptations of these various structures in the direction of economic growth.

But first we think it would be useful to describe exactly our viewpoint and our method of analysis. In our opinion, structure is a way of conceiving reality. So it is not a question of confronting, on the same plane, concepts such as structure and conjecture, or system and mechanisms, and to make distinctions between them as though they were more or less precise criteria. It is a question of understanding that human reality cannot be reconstructed with simple elements obtained from an analysis (more or less destructive), especially when we are dealing with problems of under-development, where the future of nations is involved. A long time ago Aristotle pointed out that there is more in the whole than in the ensemble of its parts. It is this fundamental idea which is brought into prominence by the concept of structure. It is concerned with incorporating into a scheme the incommensurable specificity of the ensemble which is, in this form, amenable to adequate mathematical figuration.

But this conception is useless when we attempt to reconstruct the specific ensembles which life has created — created from inertia fragments which have been produced by an "intellectual disintegration" comprising certain types of analysis.

How we should study the problems raised by under-development

We think that the problems raised by under-development will be properly dealt with only by searching out and studying the specific peculiarities and tendencies of the largest structural ensembles available to us — societies and civilizations. In the body of these new plans, and according to their particular needs, the well-known economic mechanisms of the Western theory can be utilized. Obviously for this purpose they must be re-cast and re-studied. But in no case must the intellectual habits expressed by the Western theoretical models hide the special nature of the new ensembles to which they must be applied.

No doubt, as Leibnitz declared, the language of science is universal, a condition of this being — as far as the human sciences are concerned — the hypotheses on which such-and-such a theory is founded can be applied generally. The mania for short-term precision, rejecting in the outer gloom and literary discredit the study of motives and historico-sociological details which at present we are not able to enumerate, appears very dangerous.

Under cover of precision and efficacy it seems that this attitude can, on the contrary, hide the essential. And it can hand over the future — which the meticulous do not include in their plans — to the action of the abnormal and the abnormal is outside the province of mere mechanical calculation.

To sum up: the study of a subject so topical and so vast as the development of Islam must be made first of all by obtaining a knowledge of structures, by understanding their trends or their objectives, which are concerned, here and now, with the long-term view. These well-defined studies should be welcomed and given their due importance, but it is important that the period of waiting for precise results, and the devising of more adequate methods to cope with long-term phenomena, should not prevent us from looking forward with enthusiasm to the destiny and the evolution of our society. Even though these are but dimly understood, they are the first problem that should be studied, since in any case evolution will decide, retrospectively, the accuracy of the forecasts of analysts who have been too meticulous and exacting. Let Archimedes listen to the Roman soldier and science will be the gainer.

That is why, when dealing with the prospects for the economic development of Islam, a draft study such as this would not be entirely fruitless if it suggested a few ideas on the "Third Solution" which is doubtless so eagerly awaited by the "Third World", the Tiers-Monde, a hope which still holds it back from abandonment to the facile standardisation offered by Marxism.

4 An expression of A. Marchal: Structures et systèmes, Paris, 1959. It would perhaps be preferable to say ..., a consistent complex of structures ..., for the word "consistency" is better suited (as P. Dieterlen has pointed out), to the idea of compatibility and co-ordination of an historical rather than logical character.


6 One of the essential problems arising from the "model-method" in social science, and more particularly in political economy, appears to us to arise from the haphazard and hasty application of rules which are really concerned with certain operations in pure mathematics, such as transitiveness, associativity and commutativity, to a reality which cannot be interpreted in this way. As much as the dangers of schematisation inherent in all abstract thought, it is the application of the rules of mathematical logic — quite valid in an imaginary universe — to a world which is structured and subject to casualties, which appears to us to be the essential danger in the functional analytical method. In neglecting the significance of structures we return, in a round-about way, to the problems on movement which confronted the Greek philosophers. In this connection a more serious study of the so-called sophisms of Zeno of Elea would doubtless be of some advantage.

7 Here we are in complete agreement with the findings of A. Piettre. These have been outlined on many occasions, especially in the two articles on "Economie et finalité", already quoted.
SECTION 1
THE ELASTICITY OF THE TECHNICAL AND JURIDICO-SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF MODERN ISLAM

1. Technique and Islam

It is important to emphasize that the attitude of Islam towards technique is usually misunderstood, because of two inverse doctrinal positions which support, a priori, normative points of view.

For some, Islam has never been a creator in the technical domain. It has, at most, during a short period, benefited from the technical heritage of ancient civilizations on whose vestiges it settled and flourished.

For this argument a number of reasons are given, and these can be condensed to the following three main concepts:

(1) Islam has no “grasp” of the real, of reality, is unable to get to grips with the “object”, and is incapable of measuring or evaluating time with any degree of precision.

(2) It has little or no interest in devising labour-saving methods, or in encouraging the accumulation of capital, since it relies on God to provide for the morrow (the doctrine of Tawakkul).

(3) Finally, it condemns “innovation” (bid’ah), which, in its view, is sacrilege.

Inversely, for thinkers of another category, Islam is the religion of science. They maintain that in every domain Islam has made vital and important discoveries, and the enthusiasm shown by the Arabs of the Middle Ages for all the various sciences is still very much in evidence, though at times hindered by unfavourable historical situations. These authors quote the remarkable successes attained by Muslim civilization in the Middle Ages in the speculative and practical sciences such as philosophy, mathematics and medicine. The famous names of science in this epoch are Arab names: al-Biruni, Avicenna, Averroes, Jabir (8th century), for chemistry; al-Kendi (9th century), al-Hazin (10th century), for physics; al-Khwarizmi, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, Ibn Moussa, for mathematics, etc. Similar successes can be claimed in the domain of artisanal and agricultural technique, which were greatly improved by the Arabs of the Middle Ages.

Influence of Islam on the West

To give some idea of the influence on the West of the discoveries made by Muslims, we will give some everyday terms of the French language which are of Arabic origin.

Mathematics: algbre (algebra), zro, chiffre (cipher), azimut, alambic (alembic), almanach, zenith.

Music: luth (lute), guitare, tambourin, timbale (timbal), fanfare.

Marine: amiral (admiral), arsenal, boossole (compass), cable, barque, madrague.

Furniture: sofa, matelas (mattress), mousseline (muslin).

Commercial terms: bazar, tarif, magasin, gabelle, risque, choue, douane.

Colours: azur, alezan (chestnut), cramoisi (crimson), scarlate (scarlet).

Agriculture: noria (chain-pump), abricot (apricot), azrolo (azarole), jasmin, coton, saffran (saffron), sucre (sugar), alcool (alcohol), etc.

In fact, the reproach against Islam appears to have been greatly exaggerated. Islam was certainly quite as favourable to the development of techniques as was the Christianity of the Middle Ages, and, as mentioned by C. Cahen, it was very probably farther advanced in numerous proto-capitalist techniques of a commercial nature, such as the bill of exchange, cheques, business contracts, joint-stock company agreements, bookkeeping, etc. Further, the hostile reactions to anything new, which are sometimes referred to so emphatically, were not in evidence, for example, when firearms were introduced to Islam. In fact, whenever the existence of Islam has been threatened, neither bid’ah nor tawakkul have been able to prevent the technical adaptations necessary to its survival.

And yet the Western economic revolution took place outside of Islam, the revolution which activated, and orientated in a practical direction, the existing technical possibilities, and which also gave rise to numerous innovations. It is not certain that Islam realized the scope of this movement at its beginnings, nor the vital interest it might hold for its future development. When Islam came into abrupt contact with the technical successes of the West, its long-standing retardment weighed upon it too heavily to allow of any creative adaptations to the needs of the new order. Whether the riposte concerning technique was that of the Herodian, who considers that the best way of defending oneself against the unknown stranger is to master his secret, or that of the Zealot, who “at grips with a stranger who is using superior tactics and devastating newly-invented weapons, reacts by practising his traditional art of war with an exaggerated scrupulous exactitude” it was always a reaction imposed from outside, and therefore unadapted to the internal rhythm of Islam. The essential problem for a society is to arrive at a state of “auto-determination”, that is to say, it should acquire the faculty of being able to make adequate replies to the questions arising in the period of its duration. This idea, expressed in the economic sense by the concept of development, is also of significance in the technical domain. A society must assume its own technique. It is because Islam was incapable of assuming technique, which so far has been “imported” from the West, that it was concluded — references being made to the misuse and especially the poor upkeep of Western machines — that Islam was technically incapable.

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8 Tahia Hussein: L'Avenir de la culture en Egypte.
9 Cf. Quelques observations au service du plan d'expansion économique et sociale de l'agriculture Algérienne, by A. de Cambriacq, M. M'Hamsadi and F. Tassin, p. 188 or the uncorrected text. This work, not yet published, appears to contribute some very original and stimulating ideas on the possibilities of agricultural development in Algeria. Cf. also “Le commencement et les hommes”, by J. Poirier, p. 1 et seq. of Humanités, No. 1, Cahier de l'ISEA., Series No. 5, November 1959.
10 There are numerous works dealing with the Saracen civilisation. To give a complete list here would be out of the question, but we can make special mention of the works of L. Massignon and Lévi-Provençal.
11 Inversely, it would be interesting to make a list of the words and terms which Arabic has borrowed from Western languages to describe new techniques. The changes undergone by the word “vapour” (Ar. bidhur), and other instances, and the extension of its meanings would make an interesting and instructive subject of study.
12 An exposé made during the conference (already mentioned) on the theme “L'évolution sociale de l'Islam actuelle et au développement d'un capitalisme de type occidental ?”, Centre d'études musulmanes, March 1960.
13 Toynbee, op. cit.
14 An increase in global quantities, with changes in structures which make possible a continuation of the processes.
Now if it is difficult to export "know-how" with machines (when this is genuinely desired), today this situation is not without a remedy. In fact it is possible to make "intellectual investments", bringing in returns within a fairly short period, for progress in the methods of information and communication can facilitate and accelerate a basic technical training.

But what would be better than that "technical assistance", which can only, even under the most favourable circumstances, act as a ferment, is that a society bent on starting up its economic progress should engage in a profound mental "conversion". For it seems we must not entertain too many illusions as to the effect of the enthusiasm produced by the teaching given by technical missions, since this reaches only limited circles and penetrates only the superficial layers of society. It has often been noted that the technical successes achieved, far from arousing emulation, give rise to suspicion and sometimes disapproval, as if they were participants in some external and malevolent kind of magic. During a conference organized by D. Dolei on the training of "development monitors", a specialist in African problems, laid stress on the suspicion manifested by Africans, even towards their own compatriots, when these had been initiated far from the native villages, into the spells of the white man, spells, however, which take the form of improvement in agricultural methods.

Islam has begun to lay claim to its own technique

Thus, as much as a shock from the exterior, it is a "return to itself" which will enable an economically underdeveloped society to take the first steps in the domain of technique. It is by the exploration of its potentialities, rather than by a perfunctory imitation, that a civilization like Islam can "assume" a technique which will become its own technique. This condition appears to us to be essential for the effective orientation of technical procedures in the direction of economic development. Technique must not be felt to be a cleavage, but a real extension of forces which were inactive. Otherwise the technical procedures imported with the foreign technicians will remain external, instead of being integrated into the different aspects of social life, in the upsurge of continuous creative activity which is a condition of economic development.

For Islam has already begun to lay claim to its own technique. The lively enthusiasm of Muslims for the progressive spirit of Islam and its faculty of adaptation to any new situation is very striking.

"In the scientific and technical domains we have been able to find, in the Qurán, as science and technical discoveries went ahead, the theory of earthquakes, the bases of undulatory physics, the explanation of atomic disintegration, etc." These phenomena are revelatory: Islam is determined to assimilate technical knowledge. And it is trying to do this not only by the exegesis of sacred texts, but also — which is certainly more important — through the adoption of the scientific attitude and by action.

J. Berque has written about this new "drive" which is impelling Islam towards technical progress: "Industrial civilization is establishing a new 'Kufic' in the East of today". This "drive" is being manifested as much by the construction of factories or public exhibitions as by a certain number of criteria which are less spectacular, but doubtless more convincing: "The increasing attendance at Faculties of Science and Schools of Engineering; the participation of Easterners — often quite substantial — at conferences on such advanced subjects as cybernetics or atomic science; research, and the funds allocated for this — relatively enormous in a country like Egypt." Another symptom: "In January 1957 a Governmental decree established an Egyptian system of standards. The step is a decisive one. Here is an Eastern country coming into line with the big producers and industries — it has reached 'objective' civilization."

Another instance: an observer well-qualified in this domain, G. Friedmann, stated on his return from travelling in Tunisia that not only did the leaders wish their country to become technical-minded, but also that the Muslims employed as mechanics in repair workshops, such as those of Sidi Fath Allah, which he visited, appeared to be excellent technicians. He even admitted being surprised at the ingenuity shown in the repair of old machines. In his opinion the Muslims in the towns of Tunisia are undoubtedly "machine-minded".

And we could not find a more striking proof of this urge towards mastery of technique than the success of the Egyptian technicians of the Suez Canal when it became nationalized. Their success was hailed throughout the whole of Islam.

This new spirit and outlook were exemplified very strikingly by the opinion of an officer of the Egyptian Merchant Marine, reported by Benoist-Mechin: "The issue at stake was enormous," he admitted, "but our determination to show that we were not inferior to the others galvanised us into action. . . A crowd of spectators who had come by car from Damietta, from Cairo, and even from Alexandria, gathered on the banks and cheered as we went through. But we were so tense up that we didn't have time to look. At the end we were all in, our limbs stiff with fatigue, our eyes expressionless through long hours of staring at the steering instruments. But the convoys got through. . . ."

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16 In this connection we should emphasize the importance of the physical condition of a population, in our assessment of the physical world, in which all technique operates. The hungry man does not view the world in the same way as the one who is well-fed. Further, understanding of the external world is based on a cultural heritage peculiar to the civilisation to which the "technician" belongs. That is why it seems essential that technique should not be "applied", like a veneer, to a community unable to absorb it. It should be "discovered", and assimilated, by communities who are capable of absorbing this new knowledge, and, in our estimation, Islam appears to be one of these communities.
17 M. Laurence, member of the Conseil Economique.
18 Here we may note, with the R. P. Dubacile (preface to the book by J. Cottier, La Technocratie, nouv. pouvoir, Paris 1959), that technique is beginning to become transformed into the highest type of eucumenical value. This ecumenism — now becoming apparent in this domain — gives indications of the future de-nationalisation of techniques, and their assimilation by all the important civilisations and their adaptation to all cultures.
21 In the chapter of his book (already mentioned) entitled: "L'accès de la technique".
22 J. Berque: Les Arabes d’hier à demain, p. 93.
23 In this connection it is noteworthy, and significant, that the machines exhibited, admired, and, so to speak, "adopted", may no longer be exported.
24 Ibid., p. 96.
26 Lecture given at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, March 1960, during a conference in which P. Marthelot participated.
27 Benoist-Meclin: Un printemps Arabe, p. 63 et seq.
And then the successful construction of the Aswān Dam, the realization of the age-old dream of Egypt, where everything is on a colossal scale, may well be a sign that the heritage of the builders of the Pyramids and the progress of modern technique will fuse and give Islam a manifest proof that it is today assuming its own technique.

But in addition to these symptoms, as seen from the exterior, the signs which indicate the growth in the principal industrial productions of the Middle East give confirmation of this conversion of Islam to the acquisition of technique. The statistical reports issued by the United Nations describe the creation of new industries and remarkable progress in production in existing industries during the last few years in the countries of the Middle East.

2. The Mobility of the Juridico-Social Structures of Islam

The immobility of the juridico-social structures of Islam and the sclerosis of its institutions, are regarded somewhat hastily by many superficial observers as denigrating evidence. It is true, perhaps, that Islam has often been a victim of its “traditionalism”. To be just, however, we should qualify somewhat our objective analysis. No doubt Islam has its inner gaze turned towards its past, to such a degree that for the Muslim the notions of beauty and spiritual wealth are to be found in bygone times and eras. But this “retreat to the self” can have two meanings which are totally different. In one case — the most common one — this attitude can lead to “conformism” and to respect for formal tradition. And it is this attitude which gave rise to the famous rule “Bagā mâ Kānā alā mâ Kānā”, which sanctions the permanence of that which exists as it exists. In the other case, on the contrary, this tendency to introspection and to a return to sources gives rise to an active “reformism” and serves as a basis for constructive criticism.

In Islam these two phenomena exist. There exists a respect for tradition which is expressed by prohibition of innovation (bid‘ah), and by conformity (taqlīd). But there also exists a trend which seeks in sources the bases of a “bold and intelligent Renaissance”.

But we must not confuse religious respect with Muslim conformity, for it is not true to say that Muslim religious dogma necessarily implies conformity. No doubt in the 13th century the official Sunni doctrine accepted the idea of the closed door against effort (ijtihād), together with the establishment of the four rites. And it is on this fact that the belief arose that Islam was opposed to all attempts at creative originality in the juridico-social domain. But this theory imputes the stagnation of Islam and its inability to modernise itself (at least during a certain historical period), to the Sunni conception that the interpretation of the Qur’ān and the Sunnah was given, once and for all, by the four main schools, whose teachings gave to the Shari‘ah (way of life) its definite content. Thus, as from the 13th century, the date of the “closed door” against effort, ijtihād giving place to conformity, and the master to the disciple the juridico-social structures of Islam are said to have been definitely fixed. However, it would appear that this theory, which has the advantage of being simple, is not enough to explain the real evolution of the juridico-social structures of Islam.

A. The re-opening of the door of progress

First, we should not overlook the fact that, even in the Shi‘ah Muslim countries, where the door to progress has never been closed, the same tendency is to be seen with regard to the respect for tradition in the juridical domain. Islam is not fully explained by the Sunni concept of the Shari‘ah. Here there is an attitude which is based on factors. Thus the conformity (or “conformism”) which exists in other than those of religion.

Inversely, the supposed immutability of the Shari‘ah has not prevented the law and the institutions from evolving in the manner necessitated by new conditions of life, even in the countries — and the epochs — where it was vigorously promulgated by the jurists. And a specialist in Muslim Law, L. Milliot, declared that “... the mixture of law and religion in Islam entails the absolute immutability of religious law.” Consequently, since Muslim Law cannot automatically adapt itself to meet the changes necessary to an evolving society, the Law of Usage (‘Urf) replaces Fiqh whenever the latter appears to be inapplicable or inappropriate. With the same object in view, Muslim jurisprudence will, in a general way, remedy any insufficiency of the Shari‘ah whenever imperious practical needs make this necessary. It has often had occasion to “regularise” institutions whose existence was manifestly contrary to the texts of the Qur’ān and the Sunnah, and to integrate into Muslim law common institutions which were outside the jurisdiction of Fiqh because of their origin and also because of their characters.

Thirdly, the closing of the “door of effort” is not accepted by all Muslim doctors as an event which is without remedy, or as a situation which is permanent. On the contrary — and this appears to us essential — a school of Muslim thinkers who claims to be Mu‘tazilite considers that Islam should open the door to progress. They think, according to M. Berger-Vachon, that “... what men have done other men can undo, for the closing of the door on effort, by the founders of rites, whose purpose was to suppress the germs of heresy and prevent its proliferation, is nowadays essentially artificial. Today it really stands for the arrogant spirit of those who, having made themselves the dispensers of Muslim science, make from the Divine character a revelation that which they call the foundation of immutability, but which in reality is only the pretext for it.”

It is not our intention in this book to trace the history of reformist movements in Islam. Let us simply mention that there exists a tendency, a movement, which started with the Mu‘tazilite authors, and is becoming more vocal and very active in the present era in the modernist schools, and the Salafiyah movements of India, the Middle East, North Africa and the Muslim Brothers. A number of personalities became prominent in this endeavour to further the renovation of Muslim teaching — in India Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898 C.E.), the pioneer of Indian Muslim modernism, who held that Islam could not gainsay or contest the discoveries

Continued on page 40

28 Even if this point is open to discussion, the increase in the rate of production is also a symbol of this determination to make technique a national acquisition.
29 See the Tables in the Appendix at the end of this series.
30 An expression used by V. Berger-Vachon. He is emphasising the particularly strong influence of tradition in Islam.
31 Literally: “Remains that which has been as that has been”. Cf. Santillana: Instituzioni di diritto musulmano malekita, Rome 1926. This paragraph owes a good deal to the information kindly communicated by Professor V. Berger-Vachon.
32 Cf. Rondot: L’Islam et les musulmans d’aujourd’hui, p. 233 et seq.
34 L. Milliot: op. cit., p. 177.
The Arab-Israeli Problem as Compounded by the June 1967 War—Continued from page 27

map a solution to the dilemma of the Israel-Palestine struggle. Events will take their own course, not on the basis of justice, but as in the past, on the basis of force, tempered only slightly by the diminished effect of world opinion. We may also expect news commentators and even many scholars to continue reconstructing historical data to justify in moral terms the outcome of power play, as well as to fit the public mood. These tendencies are becoming much more pronounced as the Arab-Israeli controversy, which is intrinsically unrelated to communist and non-communist rivalry, becomes an issue in the Cold War.

But even within the prevailing hard-nosed attitude to international affairs, the West, and in particular the United States, could show somewhat more understanding of the case of the Palestine Arabs and admit that the legalities do not cover all the human and moral realities. For Palestinians, the Arab conflict with Israel is in every way a struggle for national liberation. This is a simple and objective historical description of the situation—and one which largely explains Arab determination.

Even though the West cannot be expected to yield on the matter of the legality of Israel's existence as a state, Western governmental spokesmen and news media do not necessarily have to parrot Israeli allegations about the malicious character of Arabs, a view which complements the puzzling Israeli inability to understand why the Palestinians, even though roughly pushed aside and expropriated, should be hostile. There may be uncharitableness, in addition to selfishness and exclusiveness, on the Israeli side of the cease-fire lines to balance the impractical and impotent emotion found on the other side. Seeing the conflict in a broad historical perspective should lessen Western involvement in these emotions—emotions which have their origin in Western preconceptions regarding Jews, the Holy Land and "natives" and in the clash of these with the indigenous Near Eastern cultural demographic and intellectual realities.

Text of the Resolutions adopted by the Founding Members of the Assembly of the World Muslim League of Mecca

—Continued from page 31

The Assembly expresses its appreciation of the interest taken by His Su'udi Majesty's Government in this beneficial project, and its intention to implement it as soon as possible.

The Assembly has also noted the efforts made by the Secretariat-General with the appropriate authorities regarding the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at the same session in connection with the meat of sacrificial animals and the means of utilizing it. Further, the Assembly hopes that the Secretariat-General will continue its efforts to implement this project, which is of benefit to the Muslims.

IX. Thanks for the Secretariat-General :

The Founding Members of the Assembly express their appreciation of the efforts made by His Excellency the Secretary-General of the League and the Secretariat-General to implement the resolutions of the Assembly and foster the League's relations with active Islamic movements and organizations and they wish His Excellency and his assistants continued success.

Children's Page — Continued from page 33

Centenary of the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an, you will feel so happy because you will understand them.

As I have told you before, Mrs. 'Ali Mohammad Khan and myself are working hard to get funds to publish a children's book on Islam. We have already made articles and held a bazaar and worked very hard. We only got £67. The whole of Mrs. Khan's family joined in and we all worked like soldiers of Islam, but we need a great deal more money to achieve our object. Please ask your parents to help us by sending a donation, large or small. Every little helps. The

Children's Islamic Book Fund will only be able to publish this book in the glorious year in which we are commemorating the fourteenth centenary of the Holy Qur'an if your parents help us.

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of science, the processes of nature, and the needs of modern society; Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938 C.E.), who, with a verse from the Qur’an as his authority, maintained that man plays a role of active co-operation with God: “Surely God does not change the condition of a people until they change their own condition” (13: 12); Muhammad Ashraf, who considers that the Hadiths should take a place of secondary importance with relation to the text of the Qur’an (in fact the Qur’an, unlike the Hadiths, was transcribed by the primitive Muslim community of the first believers). In the Near East Djemaluddin Afghani (1839-1897 C.E.), Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905 C.E.), and Rashid Ridá (d. 1935 C.E.), insisted on the need for a purification by a return to sources, and the urgent need for Islam to re-open the “door of effort”.

Today the extensions of the teaching of the Salafiyyah are taking several trends. They are promulgated by thinkers like the Shaykh ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Razzaq, who endeavours “to enshrine doctrinally in Arabic-speaking Islam the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal”, or the writer Táhá Husayn, for whom “... Islam is the religion of liberty, of science and of knowledge, such as they are understood by various generations, and not by one particular generation; such as they are defined by the centuries in their variety, and not by one particular century”. But they are also the inspiration behind politico-religious movements, such as the Association of Algerian ‘Ulema, founded by the Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamid Ibn Bális (1890-1940 C.E.), in 1931, or by the Association of the Muslim Brothers, founded about the year 1928 by the Egyptian the Shaykh Hasan al-Banná, which, in spite of the molestation which it is at present receiving in Egypt, still seems to be active and influential.

Thus there is a tendency existing and acting influentially in the Muslim world, which, by a return to sources and a new exegesis of the Qur’an, aims at re-orientation towards new effort, and towards the possibility of modernization without prejudice to the authority and the authenticity of Islam.

37 H. Laoust: Le califat dans la doctrine de Rachid Ridá, Beirut, 1938, p. 89, quoted by P. Rondot, op. cit., p. 244.
38 Tahá Hussein: L’avenir de le culture en Égypte, Cairo 1938.
39 Who doubtless played an important part in the preparation of the Algerian revolt of 1954. On the modernist movement cf. the work by Malek Bennabi: Vocation de l’Islam (already quoted)

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