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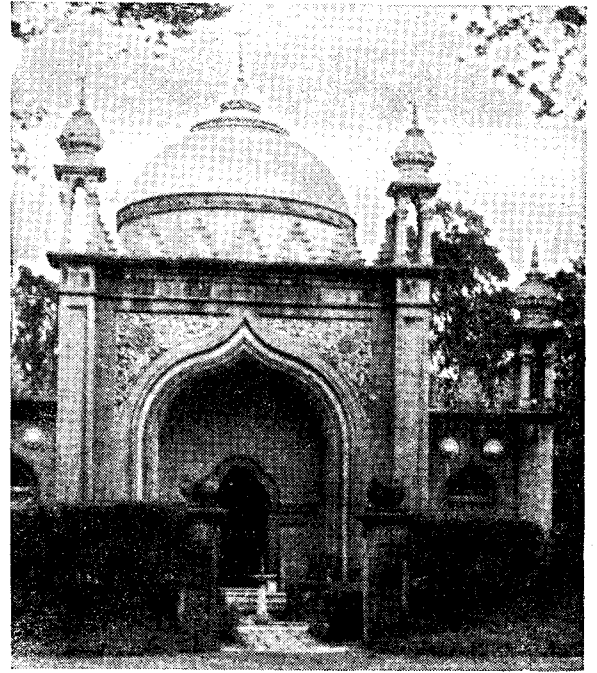
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February 1957

*The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking,
England, built in 1889 C.E.*



An Appeal to the Friends of The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England

The Council of the Woking Mosque Trust Ltd., The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, regret to bring it to the notice of the friends of the Shah Jehan Mosque, built in 1889 through the munificence of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, that it is unfortunately in need of urgent repairs. The roof and dome of the Mosque are of wood covered with zinc sheeting. Dry rot and wood worm have extensively attacked all the woodwork. The damage was suspected last year, and, in fact, some £600 was collected from His Highness the Amir of Bahawalpur, His Highness the Khan of Kalat and His Highness the Aga Khan for repairs. However, recently it was decided that before any repairs were undertaken, a thorough survey should be made with the help of competent engineers. As a result of this it has been found that the damage is very extensive and will not be arrested by partial treatment. It has also been found that the stone and the cement work need extensive repairs and renovations. The building contractors estimate that the total repair bill will exceed £2,000. The Trust has only £600 for this purpose and its annual income from donations and from investments hardly suffices to meet the urgent current expenditure.

The Council of the Woking Mosque Trust Ltd. have, therefore, decided to appeal to all the friends and well-wishers of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, to make their generous contributions to this noble cause of preserving the oldest mosque in England.

All contributions, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged and may be sent to any of the following addresses:

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The Chairman, The Council of the Woking Mosque Trust Ltd., The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

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H. H. Khan, Esq., P.O.B. 678, Cairo.

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

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Continued on page 2

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The picture on the Cover is taken from the north side of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, Su'udi Arabia, showing the details of the workmanship in the new stone pillars of the Su'udi extension.

In the background is the famous "Green Dome" of the Shrine of the Prophet Muhammad with one of the two new minarets for call to prayer.

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The Islamic Review

FEBRUARY 1957

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

تَحْمِيْدُهُ وَنُصْلَايَ عَلٰی مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُوْلِهِ الْبَكْرَةِ اَيُّمَ خَاتِمِ النَّبِيِّيْنَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLV No. 2

FEBRUARY, 1957

RAJAB, 1376 A.H.

FRENCH MUSLIM WEST AFRICA AND FRANCE

Morocco's Claim to Mauretania

The importance of a closer understanding between the peoples of North Africa and West Africa

French West Africa differs from British West Africa in that it is entirely Muslim. But whereas the British colonialism is loosening its grip of the territories under its control, the French, who believe in *la mission civilisatrice* of France, ruthlessly curb all efforts by their colonies to regain their personality. Muslims in French West Africa are on the march. The Algerian revolt has now spread over the Sahara desert and in Mauretania and Senegal there are tangible signs that Muslim solidarity is asserting itself in this area. The hitherto passive African deputies have been bombarded by their constituents with protests against the French war in Algeria.

The French have always used the Senegalese against North African Muslims by making the Senegalese feel that they have nothing in common with their North African brethren. This accounts for the fact that the Senegalese troops could be used by the French to butcher large numbers of Moroccans in Casablanca in 1947 and for their taking part in French repressive action in Fez in 1937 and 1941. Even so it is becoming increasingly patent that fraternization between Moroccans and Algerians with the Senegalese is essential in the interest of North African and West African independence, and that the people of North African Mauretania, the Western Sudan, Senegal and Equatorial Africa are all faced with a common fight against French imperialism. The French intentions about the Sahara give point to the urgency of this understanding. Of late the French National Assembly has been talking of exploiting the mineral resources of the Sahara and to attach it for all time.

If this attempt on the part of France succeeds, the independence of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and even Egypt and the Sudan will be jeopardized. The Algerians, who have taken the battle for independence into the Sahara desert, depend for their military supplies on their neighbouring countries. The French tried last year to restrict these

supplies by patrolling the desert routes and by putting diplomatic pressure on the United States to get her to withdraw her aid to Libya. The French military action against Algerian nationalists from their military bases in Tunisia roused that great statesman Mr. Habib Bourguiba so much that the diplomatic relations between Tunisia and France were disrupted. Mr. Bourguiba is uneasy at the presence of 40,000 French troops in his country. He has stated that it is quite out of the question that France should permanently occupy the important naval base of Bizerta. Now that diplomatic relations between the two countries have been resumed, it is to be hoped that a final settlement of the presence of French troops on Tunisian soil will be found.

Morocco's claim to Mauretania

Mauretania is being claimed by the Moroccans as theirs. The leader of the Istiqlal, Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi, has stated this openly. Last year a Mauretanian deputy went to see the Crown Prince of Morocco, Moulay Hasan, at Cairo, in support of this claim. The French tried to counteract this by getting another deputy to declare that Mauretania never was and never would be Moroccan, but all accustomed to the French colonial *Beni oui-oui* (the Yes-men) administrative deputies knew what little credence to place on such pro-French statements.

Morocco, who is claiming Tindouf in the south, is facing French troops on her borders. Several incidents have already taken place. The Moroccan Liberation Army which was formed largely in the Spanish zone of Morocco was a useful unofficial force. It actively helped the Algerian Liberation Army in Western Algeria and drew off French troops who would otherwise be employed against the Algerians. Morocco's expansion into Mauretania, the country of her ancestors, is of the utmost importance, if Algeria is to be liberated by the North Africans alone without the aid of the United Nations, which has shown itself as politically bank-

rupt in enforcing its Charter, as in the case of the Palestine refugees, Kashmir and Israel.

Morocco's campaign to take over Ifni and the so-called Spanish Saharan territories is equally necessary.

The French record in West Africa

France obtained Mauretania in 1814 at the Treaty of Paris, but the R'Guebat tribesmen of Mauretania have been Muslims since about 681 C.E., the time of the conquest of Morocco by 'Uqbah Ibn Nafi'. The peoples of these territories, whether Arab, Berber or Sudanese African, were bound together by Morocco and by Islam, and it is inevitable that now Morocco is independent, Mauretania and the other territories should break away from the French Union.

Deposits of copper and other precious metals have been found in these areas, notably in the region of Akjoujt. It is said that the tribesmen are even very uneasy at the discovery of these deposits, which have no doubt motivated France's attempt to nationalize the Sahara and to detach the potentially rich parts of Mauretania.

Besides, France's record in "Black Africa" has been far from complimentary. For instance, France has never allowed Arabic to be taught in Senegal, and has never encouraged the progress of Islam to be permitted harmoniously in conjunction with the inherent genius of the Africans. She has discouraged Africans wishing to go and study Arabic in Cairo. France does not show any signs of learning a lesson from the Algerian war, which has not only intoxicated North Africa but threatens to produce a similar effect in "Black Africa". It can be said that French colonialism is digging the grave of "legitimate" French influence: France's survival in these areas depends on her ability to liquidate its outdated colonial system.

Had the French followed intelligent and progressive ideas in her colonies, the free countries of Muslim North and West Africa would have a totally different attitude towards France. But as it is, the longer the war goes on in Algeria, the sooner West Africa will break away from France and follow the footsteps of Morocco and Nigeria and the Gold Coast. That Algeria is not part of France is now recognized by the world except the French Government. The French

do not seem to realize that the Muslims in North Africa who are on the march and the Muslim world will be hard put to it to allow the Sahara to be nationalized by France. The actual territorial confines of the North African and West African States are the internal affairs of these States, as has been stated by Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi, but these matters can only be decided once France has accepted the concept of Algerian independence.

Some statistics about Mauretania

In 1951 the population of West Africa under French rule was 17,361,800, and the area covered by these territories was 4,742,500 square kilometres. The population of Mauretania was 546,400, of whom 465,000 were Moroccans. Mauretania's Governor is under the Governor of Senegal territory, with its capital at Dakar. There is a council consisting of 8 Europeans or Africans enjoying European status and 16 Africans. The population of the Eastern Sudan was 3,444,900, that of Senegal 2,092,800 and the Niger territory 2,165,000. There were 62,236 French colonials. The population of Equatorial Africa in 1951 was 4,469,900 in an area of 2,510,000 square kilometres. This area comprises the Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubanga Shari and Chad territories. The Chad is on the Saharan borders of Libya. It is evident that the Chad is vitally connected with North Africa and any project to change the status of the Sahara will affect the North African countries. It will be recalled that the Free French occupied the Fezzan, Libya, from the Chad territory in 1941, and any French machination here could prove to be a menace to the Fezzan, from which the French have not long been ejected after nearly fifteen years of pressure.

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ERRATA

The Islamic Review for November 1956. Article: "The Decorative Use of Arabic Lettering in the West".
Page 23. Right-hand column, last line. "Sarceus" should read "Saracenus".
Page 25. The caption for Bottom Centre picture: "polychmore" should read "polychrome".
Page 28. Right-hand column, line 14: "pagged" should read "jagged".
Page 29. Right-hand column in footnote 23: "XXIe" should read "XIIe".
Left-hand column, line 3: "turbs" should read "turbans".
Left-hand column, line 3 from bottom: "The Holy Mother of God" should read "Holy Catholic Saint" (St. Catherine).

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(GOD is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth)

MODERN APHORISMS AND ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

ALL IS FAIR IN LOVE AND WAR

In "Love" and "War" the Islamic ideology stands on a different but higher plane than the standard of modern morality and ethics

The Shining Example of the Prophet Muhammad in the Truce of Hudaibiyya

By RAHIM BAKHSH

"The ends justify the means" is the order of the day

What a paradox! Yet it is an accepted principle, which regulates the universal code of modern conduct, and in other words amounts to saying that "the ends justify the means". "Love" and "war" are expressions of two extremes of human impulses, which evolve the best qualities in man and the worst. "Love" in its multifarious manifestations, social, national, divine, elicits the highest in human nature; and drives individuals and nations to noble deeds and acts of sacrifice on the one hand, but also leads to baser means to gain the object. Similarly, "war" brings forth at times deeds of valour and chivalry, but more often displays acts of brutality, cruelty and devastation. The pursuit of love is sweet; who can resist the dictates of love, when the heart throbs at the sight of the beloved, while the path of wisdom and social form points to a different direction? How many tragedies have been caused and are daily occurring in sequence of this clash between the heart and the head? Patriotism or the love of one's country is a noble sentiment, yet a zealous patriot will not hesitate to seize the opportunity to secure an undue benefit to his country at the expense of the other. The scientist, in his insatiable thirst for research, unravels the mysteries of nature leading to marvels of modern inventions aimed at raising the standard of living and for the comfort and well-being of man, but the same discoveries have impelled the scientists to create lethal weapons of the deadliest form and of such magnitude as to cause the destruction of the entire human race. Oh, the horrors of modern warfare! Love of knowledge, learning, poetry, music and arts

are responsible for the highest forms of culture, and yet they furnish the means of satisfaction of baser motives, thus bringing about the collapse of the great ancient civilizations. When passions are aroused in "love" and when the spirit of hatred and revenge reigns supreme in "war", nothing matters; why should the justification or otherwise of the "means" stand in the way; no qualms of conscience need be entertained in reaching the goal.

Modern fiction and film truly depict the general trend of the age, and what deceptions, intrigues and violence are not indulged in to obtain the object of desire! For the sake of achieving victory in war, why should the ethics of justice and fair play bar the course of action, when such considerations place one at a disadvantage? The big diplomats and leaders of nations must — every one of them — look to their own nation's exclusive interests, regardless of the rights and claims of other nations, and thereby justify in most equivocal terms the course of their action. The great "discoverer of India" and torchbearer of peace and justice in Asia, Mr. Nehru, and Sir Anthony Eden, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, posed to be the great upholders of the principles of the United Nations as long as it served their ends. But neither showed the least hesitation to apply all the martial force at his command in a most ruthless manner to bring about the surrender of his adversary — Mr. Nehru of the Nizam and Sir Anthony Eden that of Nasir. Each termed his warlike operation as mere "police action", to befuddle the world into belief of his peaceful intentions! Notwithstanding their brazen-faced declarations of peace, they stand fully

exposed at the altar of international justice. Why should they mind the pricks of their conscience or care for world opinion? But why should they when they are following the universal code of "all is fair in love and war"? They can thus easily take a bold stand to justify their actions, while world opinion suffers from its own weakness to assert itself. A cynic will no doubt confirm and applaud the principle enunciated by the above-quoted axiom; the world will go its own way as the lure of worldly attractions is too strong to withstand. The ecstasy of love, the rhapsody of music, the lust for power, the ambitions for positions and high office, acquisition of wealth and amenities of modern life, high literary taste, genius for poetry and science, are all laudable objects worth striving for — at any cost and by whatever means. But for the ultimate good of humanity we are bound to enquire: Does this attitude to the worldly gains contribute to the progress of mankind, and offer prospects of social and international peace and security, of which the world is sorely in need today? Let us turn to Islamic ideology for guidance.

In the matter-of-fact Islamic code of life, there is no place for the "love affairs" so rampant in the world of today. It lays down a strict moral code to regulate the domestic and social life, in which such "love" takes the form of conjugal fidelity, of filial regard and obedience, and of propriety in matters of sex-relationship. It envisages deep concern and solicitude for the rights of women and security of family life and the numerous injunctions of the Qur'an on these matters are too well known to be quoted. Yet in the same breath it says "O you who believe! Surely among your wives and your children there are enemies to you, so beware of them!" (64:14). How can this strange contradiction be reconciled?

The explanation lies in the Qur'anic text itself. In the next verse it is said: "Your wealth and your children are a trial (for you)." This makes the position clear. Islam has laid down moral and spiritual principles of the highest order and does not permit any deviation from them, be it for the sake of the dearest object of your heart. It is most often on account of the concern for wife and children that one acts wrongfully towards others. Thus in so far as one deviates from the higher principles of justice and fair play for family considerations, these beloved objects turn into an enemy. The warning administered in the words "Beware of them", therefore, is tantamount to alerting man against pitfalls to be avoided in pursuit of the most cherished object of his love. According to Islamic ideology, there is no compromise between good and evil, and therefore the "end" does not justify the "means". All conduct must be regulated on a straightforward course leading to the highest goal in life.

Faith in ultimate goal and doing of good deeds go side by side and is a recurrent theme of the Qur'an

Faith in the Ultimate Goal and doing of good deeds go side by side and is a recurrent burden of the sublime ordinances throughout the Holy Book. Again and again the simile of "perpetual gardens, with streams flowing underneath" is cited in the Holy Qur'an to indicate the vital link between "faith" and "good actions". In this uncompromising attitude with evil in any form, there is no exception even in the most trying conditions of "war". The Qur'anic injunction is clear on the point: "And let not the enmity of a people incite you not to act equitably. Act equitably, that is nearest to piety" (5:8). The chronicles of the Prophet Muhammad's life and the subsequent history of his faithful followers is replete with instances of implementation of this Divine ordinance to the very letter. The Truce of Hudaibiyya (627 C.E.) is the most significant example to illustrate this

sublime principle translated into perfect action. History can hardly quote an instance of this nature, where a truce was enacted by a victorious general under apparently humiliating conditions, but the terms agreed upon were carried out in a most scrupulous manner to the disadvantage of his own people. A detailed narrative of this historic event will, however, be of real interest, to reveal in its true colour the peaceful mission of the Prophet of Islam and the lofty principles of equity, fair play and uprightness as inculcated in the above-quoted verses of the Holy Qur'an.

The shining example of Muhammad, who "never let the enmity of a people incite him not to act equitably"

The occasion is the sixth year of the Hejira (627 C.E.), and the Muslims have come out victorious in three of the major battles with the Meccan opponents, besides a number of skirmishes with the Jewish tribes and their allies. The Muslims have by now, therefore, gained an upper hand over their Meccan enemies. "But the hearts of the Muslim exiles still yearn sadly for the place of their birth. Driven away from their homes, they found refuge in a rival city; expelled from the precincts of the sacred Ka'bah, which formed the glorious centre of all their associations — the one spot round which gathered the history of their nation — for six years they have been denied the pilgrimage of the holy shrine, a custom round which time, with its hoary traditions, had cast the halo of sanctity (besides the injunction of the Qur'an to perform the Hajj). The Prophet Muhammad himself longed to see the place of his nativity with as great a yearning. The Temple of the Ka'bah belonged to the whole Arab nation. The Quraish were merely the custodians of the shrine, and were not authorized by the public law of the country to prohibit even an enemy from approaching it, if he presented himself without any hostile designs, and with the avowed object of fulfilling a religious duty" (Ameer 'Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*).

The season of the pilgrimage had approached and the Prophet saw in a dream to be performing the Hajj. Since a prophet's dream comes out true in foretelling future events, the Prophet announced his intention of visiting Mecca for the Hajj ceremony. At once a thousand voices responded to the call. Preparations were rapidly made and accompanied by seven hundred *Ansars* (Helpers) and *Muhajirs* (Emigrants), all completely disarmed, he set out on the pilgrimage. But the Quraish blocked all approaches to the Ka'bah and solemnly swore not to allow the followers of the Prophet to enter the shrine against all canons of free entry to all and sundry to perform the pilgrimage. They also maltreated the envoy who was sent to them to solicit permission to visit the Ka'bah. It was at this moment that the "Pledge of Fealty" or the "Pledge of the Tree" was given by the Muslims to the Prophet Muhammad. With this band of his staunch followers by his side, ready to lay down their lives for the cause of Islam, and having scored over their bitter enemy, the obdurate Quraish, yet the wish to end all hostilities with the Meccans and create peaceful conditions took supreme hold of the Prophet's mind at this juncture, and with this object he expressed his willingness to agree to any terms offered by the Meccans which they might feel inclined to impose. The Quraish took full advantage of the situation and did not lose the opportunity to impose humiliating terms on the Muslims. Under the Treaty concluded it was agreed that: (1) all hostilities should cease for ten years; (2) that anyone coming from the Quraish to the Prophet without the permission of the Chief should be redelivered to the idolators; (3) that any individual from among the Muslims going over to the Meccans should not be surrendered; (4) that

any tribe desirous of entering into alliance with the Quraish or with the Muslims should be at liberty to do so without any opposition; (5) that the Muslims should retrace their steps on this occasion without performing the Hajj; and (6) that they should be permitted in the following year to visit Mecca and to remain there for three days with their travelling arms in their sheaths.

Very hard terms indeed! And how galling to the modern standards of honour and prestige! Its reaction on some of the impulsive but faithful companions was inevitably disconcerting and elicited murmurs of discontent from among them. But everyone ultimately yielded to the Prophet's wishes and submitted to the inscrutable Divine Will.

The hardest of the terms was the third stipulation of the Treaty. Prudence and diplomacy would have advised a safer course to wriggle out of the situation by quibbling over the phraseology of the Treaty. But the world stands agape at the Prophet's faithful implementation of the stipulations without any such attempt to get out of a most unpalatable situation. Imagine some of the sincere converts from the Meccans running in love and faith to the company of their beloved Prophet, to find that under the terms of the Treaty they had to be returned to the Quraish to be subjected to the most inhumane tortures which the unbelieving Meccans were inflicting on the converts to Islam. How the heart of the Prophet, which was all mercy even to his enemies, must have bled to see his loving followers being thrown with his own hands into the clutches of his cruel enemies. What a spectacle of grief it must have presented to the victims, and to the rest of the companions, whose eyes must have been full of tears to see their dear brethren in faith being snatched away from them to face the cruelties of the heartless Meccans.

But there was no wavering on the part of the Prophet Muhammad, no twisting of words to suit his convenience. History fails to record a case of similar nature, of strict observance of the terms of a covenant once enacted and to stand by the words once given, however detrimental the consequences.

The future of the world depends on adopting Islamic ideology, which in contradistinction to "All is fair in love and war" says "Nothing but fairness in love and war"

Both in "Love" and "War", the Islamic ideology stands on a different but higher plane than the standard of modern morality and ethics. Islam holds an upright course in all dealings and lays stress on truthful observance of the covenants under all circumstances. There is no scope for duplicity or mental reservations in contracting agreements with friends or foes. In short the popular aphorism "all is fair in love and war" should be amended in the light of the Islamic ideology to say "Nothing but fairness in love and war". Could the modern minds but adopt this amended maxim, leaving pride, prejudice and prestige aside, the world would be left with very few problems to solve; the most ticklish of situations would offer solution readily, and intricacies of social and political schisms will be reduced to a simple matter of mutual trust and confidence. Will the leaders of the world continue to look with disdain on the plain and practical teachings of Islam leading to peace and mutual understanding, or persist in their course of ruthless ambition, unscrupulous patriotism, relentless nationalism, soul-less science, heartless culture — and hopeless peace? The future of the world and its very existence depends on this choice.

FLOWERS FROM THE GARDEN

(X)

Ode To Muhammad

Come now, let us sing the praise
Of Muhammad's golden ways!
He did teach us how to pray,
How to meet each coming day.

From his heart he loved the Lord,
God the Merciful adored.
He proclaimed the One Supreme,
From whose hands all mercies stream.

God, the Everlasting Light,
Shines from out the pages bright
Of the Book that doth proclaim
Guidance glorious in God's Name.

He, Muhammad, showed us how
Man should live, how man should bow.
Clinging close to God each day,
Never shall our footsteps stray.

Unto widows he was kind,
Unto orphans well-inclined.
He himself did do the good
Which the faithful ever should.

Trusty, patient and sincere,
Lowly, merciful, austere,
Were we all as he, no more
Would we fear a world-wide war.
William Bashyr Pickard.

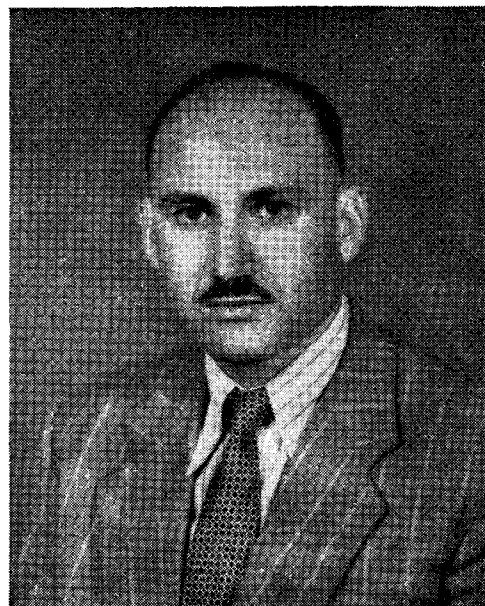


A British Muslim, William Bashyr Pickard

ISLAMIC VIEW OF *RIBAA*' (Usury and Interest)

**"Productive loans" not permissible in
Islam except when they take the form
of partnership**

By MUHAMMAD ABU al-SU'UD



Muhammad Abu al-Su'ud

"It is not impossible to devise an economic structure in which there would be no part played by interest. It would be, however, a very difficult and complex problem. The abolition and total prohibition of the practice of lending money at interest would be tantamount to an economic revolution which would altogether change our present economic concepts and practices. But the prohibition of interest would not put an end to the practice of building up and storing capital by the individual. But it would put an end to the banking system as we know it today. It is obvious, of course, that such a change of practices and doctrines cannot be brought overnight. What has taken centuries to build up cannot be destroyed easily even by a violent revolution. Reform towards the Islamic view cannot, therefore, take any useful form other than that of gradual evolution. There must be a determination and a resolve to apply the Islamic doctrines on this subject, and time will ensure that the goal will eventually be reached"

Definitions of interest and capital

My judgment on whether usury or interest is permitted will be based on the provisions of the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, for to me the Qur'an is the word of God, and is above argument or doubt. But I shall, nevertheless, endeavour to subject these provisions to examination in the light of modern economic theories, thereby, I hope, giving the reader a greater appreciation of the wisdom and farsightedness of the teachings of Islam. I am fully conscious of the fact that this subject is a vast and complicated one. A purely scientific examination of it will necessitate the use of scientific terminology with which the reader may not be familiar. I shall endeavour, therefore, to use the terms of popular speech, although I feel that this may not be conducive to preciseness — a quality which is essential to every scientific study. It is, to my mind, more important that the general reader should gain some appreciation of this subject than that the specialized economist should have grounds for meticulous criticism.

"Interest" is the fruit of capital lent or invested. "Capital" is the fruit of labour or endeavour applied in the past for the purpose of production, which can be used in the future for the purpose of production. An individual who saves part of the fruit of his labour accumulates capital which he can use for the purpose of production at a later date. When an individual lends his capital he expects a reward from the borrower to compensate him (the lender) for having deprived himself of spending that capital at the time that it accrued. In other words, the lender who has refrained from

spending his capital on perishable goods or services has done so with the object of being able to earn a reward in the future from the borrower who later seeks to put this capital to advantage.

Capital in the sense outlined above is regarded in the modern economic system as a very important factor of production. There is, of course, no doubt that capital was always an essential prerequisite of production. In modern times, however, capital and interest have come to play more important roles in the distribution of the national income, and in determining the quality and size of production. Their effect has become pronounced as a result of the continuous increase in the size of industries and as a result of the emergence of productive enterprises on a large scale. The augmentation of capital by interest derived from it has affected the distribution of the national income and has given rise to capitalism and to what is known as the "capitalist class". This became even more pronounced after World War I with the introduction of "created capital", when paper money began to represent the most common form of capital. The issuing of paper money, or currency, was entirely under the control of governments. Governments often sought to secure for themselves the means of acquiring goods and services by the simple process of issuing more paper money and thus creating "capital". But paper money could not rightly be regarded as capital in the strict sense of the word unless it represented the direct fruit of labour. For this reason, the monetary policy of governments affected adversely the true national capital. The current value of capital in any country,

and the potential reward it could bring by way of interest, became dependent to a very large extent on the policy of the government of the day.

The view of the "liberal" school on interest

It is not my purpose here to criticize monetary policy in the modern world. But I should like to draw the attention of the reader to one point which I consider is of great importance. It is that in the opinion of economists who belong to what is known as the "liberal" school interest is nothing but the proper reward of capital, and that the rate of interest is rightly determined in a free economy in the same way as the price of commodities in general is determined by supply and demand. This school also holds that so long as there is capital there will be interest charged for the use of this capital by other than its owner. It maintains, further, that if for any reason capital should cease to be capable of earning interest, the accumulation of capital by the individual would stop by reason of the fact that the individual would find it fruitless and unwise to accumulate capital which does not promise him any reward. It maintains that the owner of capital will also be loath to part with his capital to another where this would bring him no reward.

It is true that the rate of interest may drop to a very low level, and also that it may at times reach a very high one, amounting to legalized robbery — as maintained by Professor Keynes. History, however, tells us that these extreme conditions have prevailed for comparatively short times and that sooner or later the demand for capital became steady and rose only when new large-scale productive enterprises were started. It is also true that the rate of interest determines a very important factor in the modern free economy: the extent to which present productive investment is to be preferred to future productive investment. In my opinion this is not the best way of settling this problem. It is, however, the only way possible under present economic conditions. The whole economic structure of the modern world will have to undergo a very drastic change before a more healthy determinant can be applied to the solution of this problem.

It can thus be seen that interest has an important role to play in modern economy. If we concede that capital is essential for production and is an important element in economic activity, and that capital will not be accumulated unless a reward is promised for it, and that interest is the natural reward of capital, then we can appreciate why interest is an important pillar of the system of free economy in the modern world.

The institution of interest has been in disfavour since antiquity because it oppressed the poor

If we examine history and ponder over the question of the lending of money at interest, we find that there has always been a tendency towards prohibiting this practice. The reason for this prohibition is that throughout the ages the majority of people who borrowed money were the poor and the needy. The lending of money was often done at a usurious interest. The ancient Egyptians and the Greeks condemned usury as a pernicious and socially harmful practice. Solon, the eminent legislator and one of the Seven Sages of Greece, sought to prohibit usury in his laws. Aristotle, the most famous of all Greek philosophers, also condemned usury. He said that usury was one of the most hateful things, because it represented a profit from capital without the application of labour. The reason for this attitude was that money of itself could not be regarded as a productive agent — it was neither fertile, as was land, nor productive, like cattle. Christianity also decreed that usury was a sin, and Roman legislators during the Christian era passed several

laws which either prohibited usury altogether or restricted the rate of interest charged. The purpose of such legislation was to protect the poor and needy members of the community from the oppressiveness of the rich. It will be remembered that in the Middle Ages in Europe a defaulting debtor was either sent to prison for long periods or taken into bondage by his creditor. But legislation aimed at restricting the practice of lending money for a usurious interest did not fully achieve its purpose. Usurious dealings continued to take place under cover and were often cleverly designed to fall outside the strict letter of the law. And usury continued to bring profit to the owners of capital and misery to the borrowers.

With the advent of the Middle Ages money began to be borrowed by the rich from the not-so-rich

Until early in the Middle Ages the borrowing of money by an individual was mostly for the purpose of satisfying a personal want of the necessities of life. With the progress of trade and commerce, however, borrowing became directed towards a different purpose. Money was necessary for enterprising merchants and industrialist enterprises and to expand their activities. The change in the purpose for which money was borrowed was accompanied by a change in the policy of governments and in public opinion on the question of usurious interest and the need for fixing the rate of interest charged on loans. There was a progressive change in public ethics on the question of usury until by the beginning of the eighteenth century there were many social reformers who maintained that the lending of money at interest was generally a useful practice which should be encouraged, particularly if the money was needed for productive enterprises. The industrial revolution in Europe and the beginning of the age of large-scale production lent added strength to these theories. It had in general become impossible for an individual who wanted to start a productive enterprise on a large scale to supply himself with the capital needed. He had to call on others for support — he asked them to "invest" in his enterprise in return for a reward in proportion to the capital they offered or to the profits made by the business. So now the order of lender and borrower was reversed. Instead of the poor man borrowing from the rich, as in the past, it was the rich man who began to borrow from the not-so-rich. The main class of borrowers ceased to be simply private individuals in want. Borrowers now were either large groups of individuals, trading companies, or even governments (governments at present are the largest borrowers in almost all civilized countries).

The steady need for capital for the purpose of investment in growing industries and commercial enterprises on a large scale caused a drastic change in the economic structure of the modern world. A loan was no longer regarded as a heavy burden falling on the poor members of the community, but a pillar of economic progress, an essential element in the development of industries, and a means of enabling governments to start extensive projects aimed at promoting the welfare and prosperity of their countries.

Change in the view on the rate of interest during the last twenty years — Lord Keynes' theory

During the last twenty years or so there has come about a drastic change in the outlook on the rate of interest that should be allowed on loans. Lord Keynes, the famous British economist, was the father of a new theory on this subject. Briefly, his view is that individuals in the main do not save in order to guarantee for themselves an income from the investment of their savings, but rather for the purpose of having capital which they can command. For this purpose

trading with one's property with a view to earning profit will flourish irrespective of the rise or fall in the rate of interest, and people will go on saving and building up their capital even though the rate of interest will fall to zero.

In Lord Keynes' view, the reward and satisfaction which the individual reaps from having his capital under his command far outweighs the prospect of reward which may be reaped from the investment of this capital. Saving for the purpose of building up capital will thus continue, it is maintained, although a stage may be reached where no interest at all is given on loans.

He also maintains that a rise in the rate of interest would inevitably discourage investment, for a high rate of interest would handicap industrial activity and thus indirectly affect the income of the individual which is the source of capital for him. The availability of credit is essential for industrial progress, especially in those countries where the means of production are available. The potential good to which credit can be put is greater in under-developed countries than in those which are fully developed; for if full use were made in under-developed countries of the possibilities afforded by credit in a way ensuring full employment, the national income would inevitably rise and capital would accumulate in the hands of individuals. In such circumstances the rate of interest would drop to zero. Lord Keynes prophesied that such a state of affairs will be reached in Europe by the year 1970, provided that Europe's economy continued to be based on full employment. But, if we accept Lord Keynes' theory, this happy state will not come to pass until there is full employment. And we know that there can be no full employment in the real sense of the word as long as the rate of interest is high. The opposite may not be true; for it is doubtful whether the abolition of interest on capital in a comparatively under-developed country would secure full employment.

Lord Keynes' theory, which was born in 1936, met with success during and immediately after World War II. Recently, however, this theory has lost many supporters. The end of the war in Korea and the widespread fear of a general economic slump caused a rise in the rate of interest. Many industrialists and financiers, especially in the United States of America, have attacked Lord Keynes' theory and opposed it vehemently. There is no doubt that Lord Keynes has caused what can, without exaggeration, be called a revolution in economic thought, particularly in the aspect that touches on interest and capital. His influence can be detected in the writings of J. R. Hicks, Professor G. L. S. Shackle and Professor R. F. Harrod, as well as other economists who tackled the subject of "trade cycles".

Professor Harrod maintains that it is possible to abolish interest altogether

A trade cycle (the succession of boom and slump through which an economic system may pass and which would cause unemployment on a large scale) is considered by many eminent economists today to be due in many cases to the fluctuation in the rate of interest. They maintain that the rate of interest has a deep material and psychological effect on the individual and that it determines his desire either to save or invest his money. Professor Harrod champions this theory and in his book *Towards a Dynamic Economics* says that it is impossible to control or prevent the occurrence of trade cycles unless a new economic system is created on an international basis and made free of interest. Professor Harrod maintains that it would be possible to abolish interest altogether if abundant capital is found to finance the productive enterprises needed in progressive

countries. The *entrepreneur* would not in these circumstances be required to pay interest for the capital he borrows for his business. Such an abundance of capital is, in Professor Harrod's view, possible. Indeed, he maintains that there is no reason why it should not be possible in the long run so to find abundant capital as long as the economy is based on full employment. Professor Harrod's theory has been criticized by some economists who maintain that the abolition of interest would put an end to saving and investment. His answer is, however, that where there is full employment (at reasonable wages, of course) there would be little, if any, opportunity for investment, and that the lack of opportunities for investing capital would not prevent the individual from accumulating capital. Professor Harrod's solution of the problem of investment is that the State should issue "savings certificates which would guarantee for the individual who has saved money a fixed purchasing power which will enable him to obtain in the future a fixed real income". He argues his point in this way: "The owner of capital can obtain interest because capital is scarce, just as the owner of land can obtain rent because land is scarce. But whilst there may be intrinsic reasons for the scarcity of land, there are no intrinsic reasons for the scarcity of capital. An intrinsic reason for such scarcity, in the sense of genuine sacrifice which can only be called forth by the offer of a reward in the shape of interest, would not exist, in the long run, except in the event of the individual propensity to consume proving to be of such a character that net saving in conditions of full employment comes to an end before capital has become sufficiently abundant." Also: "If the gilt-edged rate of interest eventually fell to a very low level, approaching zero, the banks will have to consider covering their expenses by service charges."²

Modern trend of opinion about interest is that it is an evil

It is true to say that many economists are today concerned pre-eminently with speculating on ways and means of abolishing interest on money lent and creating an economic structure free of interest. There seems to be a consensus of opinion on one important point — that interest and the fluctuation in the rate of interest are among the major causes of the unhealthy economic instability of modern times, whether this takes the form of trade cycles, injustice in the distribution of the national income, or obstacles in the way of achieving full employment. Modern economists have not as yet devised a practical solution of this problem which is bedevilling the economic life of many countries. There are many theories current at present on this subject. Some advocate the "internationalization of production" — i.e., the placing of the production of raw materials under the control of an international organization (Lord Boyd-Orr is the leader of this school of thought). Others advocate different remedies. None of these theories has so far been translated into action. But the important fact for our purpose here is that interest is not now universally regarded by economists as an essential companion of, or reward to, capital. Indeed, the modern trend is that interest is an evil. And some say it is not a necessary evil.

Islamic view is that *riba*' (excess) is forbidden

So much for the modern economic view on interest and usury. I should like now to deal with the Islamic view on this subject.

The Qur'an contains clear and unequivocal provisions on *riba*'. *Riba*' has been understood by some Islamic jurists as "usury" or "usurious interest", while others have taken the term to mean "interest" at any rate. I should like

to postpone till later a full discussion of this question. All I should like to say at this stage is that the view I accept is that the term *ribaa'* (which in Arabic means literally an excess or addition) means any addition over and above the principal sum lent and includes usury as well as interest at any rate. In the following quotations from the Qur'an the term *ribaa'* is for convenience translated as usury.

God says: "Those who swallow usury cannot arise except as he arises whom the devil prostrates by (his) touch. That is because they say, 'trading is only like usury'. And God has allowed trading and forbidden usury. To whomsoever then the admonition has come from his Lord, and he desires, he shall have what has already passed. And his affair is in the hands of God. And whoever returns (to it) — these are the companions of the Fire: therein they will abide. God will blot out usury, and He causes charity to prosper. And God loves not any ungrateful sinner."³

"O you who believe, keep your duty to God and relinquish what remains (due) from usury, if you are believers. But if you do (it) not, then be appraised of war from God and His Messenger; and if you repent, then you shall have your capital. Wrong not, and you shall not be wronged. And if (the debtor) is in straitness, let there be postponement till (he is in) ease. And that you remit (it) as alms is better for you, if you only knew."⁴

"O you who believe, devour not usury, doubling and redoubling, and keep your duty to God, that you may be successful."⁵

These provisions of the Qur'an leave no doubt whatever that *ribaa'* is strictly unlawful. The believer is permitted to take back the capital he has lent — but no more. Any excess is *ribaa'* and is unlawful. Those who practise usury are warned of the severe punishment which would be visited on them in the Hereafter.

A brief review of the views of early Muslim jurists on *ribaa'* not suited to the modern times

The jurists of the early days of Islam have differed very much in the definitions they gave of the term *ribaa'*. While they all agreed that *ribaa'* was forbidden for a Muslim, they gave conflicting definitions of what *ribaa'* was. A study of the well-known treatises on *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) reveals that the principles enunciated by the early jurists do not suit our modern times. We can find little help in these writings to guide us as to what kind of transaction can precisely be said to be tainted with *ribaa'*, and therefore forbidden according to the teachings of Islam. The reason for this is the unfortunate fact that the Islamic *fiqh* has failed to keep pace with the times as a result of the lack of energetic and progressive-minded *mujtahids*.⁶

I shall therefore review very briefly the principles enunciated by early Islamic jurists on the question of *ribaa'* and then proceed to draw my own humble conclusions therefrom.

Muslim jurists classified *ribaa'* into two classes:

- (a) the *ribaa' al-nasee'ah* (*nasee'ah* — Arabic literally "respite"), interest in respect of granting the debtor a respite in the payment of the loan; and,
- (b) the *ribaa' al-fadhl* (*fadhl* — Arabic literally "excess").

There are both historical and juristic reasons for this classification. It is known that a debtor during the era of *Jahiliyyah*⁷ was expected to return to the creditor double the money borrowed at the end of a year's credit. If the debtor asked for a respite of another year for the payment of the loan, he was expected to return at the end of that period double the amount he owed. This practice was extremely

harsh on the unfortunate debtor, who, after a few years' credit, was expected to pay much more than the amount he borrowed. Some jurists have said that this was the purpose of the verse of the Qur'an which says: "O you who believe, devour not usury, doubling and redoubling, and keep your duty to God, that you may be successful."⁸

RIBAA' AL-NASEE'AH

Ribaa' al-nasee'ah has been defined by some jurists as "the practice of lending money for any length of time on the understanding that the borrower would return to the lender at the end of this period the amount originally lent together with any other amount in consideration of the lender having granted him time to pay". Other jurists, like Ibn Qudamah and Ibn Taimiyyah (d. 1328 C.E.), however, hold the view that *ribaa' al-nasee'ah* is only the practice of lending a thing on the conditions accepted during the period of *Jahiliyyah*: "the advancing by the lender to the borrower of a thing (whether it be money or goods) on the understanding that the borrower would at the end of the period of loan, return to the lender double or many folds the amount lent." These jurists say that for an arrangement to be *ribaa' al-nasee'ah* an essential condition is that the borrower should be expected to return to the lender when the time for settlement came the very thing that was borrowed (or its exact equivalent in money) or its equivalent in weight or measure.

RIBAA' AL-FADHL

Ribaa' al-fadhl is defined by the majority of early Islamic jurists as *ribaa'* other than *ribaa' al-nasee'ah*. *Ribaa' al-fadhl* would thus mean any *ribaa'* other than the *ribaa'* recognized during the days of *Jahiliyyah*—which is described by the well-known maxim, "Give me time and I shall pay you double," and "any *ribaa'* where the borrower is expected to return to the lender something more than what was originally lent". Under the latter definition would fall any arrangement whereby the borrower would be expected to pay back in satisfaction something more in quantity than what was originally borrowed, although the thing borrowed may even be different. Thus an arrangement whereby a person borrows 1 lb. of good quality dates on the understanding that he should return to the lender 2 lb. of inferior quality dates would be a *ribaa' al-fadhl*. Similarly, an arrangement whereby the borrower of a sum of money would be expected to return to the lender at the end of a few years the original sum advanced plus a small sum in respect of the respite given him for payment of the loan would be a *ribaa' al-fadhl*. Some jurists hold that this definition of *ribaa' al-fadhl* covers all transactions whereby the borrower would be expected to pay back to the lender more than what was borrowed, with the exception of transactions concerned with the commodities mentioned in the well-known saying of the Prophet Muhammad, viz., dates, wheat, barley, salt, gold and silver.

This classification of *ribaa'* by the Islamic jurists is of great importance, and throws good light on the verses of the Qur'an on this subject, distinguishing between what is lawful (*halal*) and what is unlawful (*haram*). Some jurists have held that any kind of *ribaa'* is categorically forbidden by the teachings of Islam. Others, however, have maintained that *ribaa' al-fadhl* is lawful, although it is undesirable by reason of the fact that in some cases it may approximate to *ribaa' al-nasee'ah*, which is unlawful. The latter jurists, headed by Ibn al-Qayyim (1356 C.E.), recommended that it would be better to abstain from *ribaa' al-fadhl*.⁹

My opinion on *ribaa' al-nasee'ah* and *ribaa' al-fadhl*

In my view, *ribaa' al-nasee'ah* is not only the practice which was followed during the days of *Jahiliyyah* and which

took the form of "Give me time and I shall pay you double", but any arrangement whereby the borrower is asked to pay back to the lender at the end of the period of loan the thing originally borrowed plus any other thing as consideration for the lender having granted the loan and allowed time for its payment. And it does not matter in this respect what principle governs the calculation or assessment of the "excess", and whether it be large or small in the aggregate. *Ribaa' al-fadhl*, in my view, is any arrangement where an immediate exchange of goods of the same kind takes place and one person receives from the other something more in quantity than what he had given.¹⁰ The Qur'an provides clearly that anything taken by a lender in respect of granting the borrower time to return the thing borrowed is forbidden *riba'*. But *riba' al-fadhl*, according to my definition, cannot be unlawful; for it is merely an exchange or barter there and then and it cannot be regarded as such except when there is a difference between the things exchanged.

It has been argued that where the goods exchanged are of the same kind, the arrangement may be unlawful. I am, however, inclined to disagree with this view, and I maintain that the opinion of the jurist and common sense preponderate in favour of such arrangement being quite lawful and permissible. A person cannot, for example, reasonably be expected to give another 1 lb. of good quality dates in return for 1 lb. of dates of inferior quality. No person with a modicum of business common sense would be party to such an arrangement. If dates of good quality are to be exchanged for dates of inferior quality, it is reasonable to expect that the quantity offered of the latter should exceed the quantity offered of the former. I am in agreement with the view expressed by Ibn Hazm (d. 1064 C.E.), who held that such an arrangement would not be an unlawful *riba'*, and who disagreed with Ibn al-Qayyim's (d. 1056 C.E.) view that such an arrangement would be undesirable because it might savour of *riba' al-nase'ah*.¹¹

The purpose underlying the Islamic prohibition of *riba'* (interest) is that a person should not reap a reward until he expends an effort

Before I come to consider whether interest charged for loans in modern times is *riba'* prohibited by the teachings of Islam, I think it would be useful to examine the purpose underlying the prohibition of *riba'* by Islam. In other words, what were the evils which Islam considered flowed from the practice of *riba'*, and which it therefore sought to remove?

One of the cardinal principles of Islam is that a Muslim should not reap a reward other than by his labour and endeavour. This principle is given expression to in many verses of the Qur'an and in the Sayings and Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. God says: "And say, Work; so God will see your work and (so will) His Messenger and the believers. And you will be brought back to the Knower of the unseen and the seen, then He will inform you of what you did."¹²

"That no bearer of a burden bears another's burden: And that man can have nothing but what he strives for: And that his striving will soon be seen. Then he will be rewarded for it with the fullest reward."¹³

In Islam, therefore, a person has to earn what he seeks to obtain. The lender of money or a *res* does nothing thereby to entitle him to anything other than the money or *res* lent. He is not therefore entitled to any extra reward from the borrower. This is the guiding spirit of Islamic legislation.

Islam provides for a society where each individual is bound with a duty to help the other and to extort nothing from that other in return for such help. To the lender, a loan is merely capital which may be lying idle and which he cannot directly exploit. To the borrower, the loan is something which he can make use of either for the purpose of purchasing consumers' goods and satisfying a want or for the purpose of investing in a productive enterprise. It may be argued that the interest which the lender charges is by way of exacting a reward for his originally having taken the trouble, and possibly undergone the hardship, of amassing the capital which is being lent. This may be true, but the objection to the arrangement where interest is charged for a loan is that the borrower is under obligation to return the loan and runs the risk of incurring a loss in the process of endeavouring to put the loan to advantage. The lender expends no effort in making the loan. The capital that lies in the hands of the lender means a purchasing power at his command; and it is not the duty of the borrower to reward him (the lender) further for the loan.

Why the inheritance of property and the sharing of profits by the sleeping partner are lawful in Islam

It may also be argued that this principle is not systematically applied in the flexible *Shari'ah* of Islam; for there are certain cases where the *Shari'ah* provides that a person should benefit, although he had apparently done nothing to deserve the reward. The inheritance of property, the sharing of the profits by a "sleeping partner" and the leasing of land are, according to this argument, instances of the *Shari'ah* allowing a person to reap a reward without expending any effort.

I should like to comment on these arguments in some detail. First, the inheritance of property. It should be remembered in this case that inheritance of property is not the acquired right of the inheritor. It is rather the right of the testator who gives it up of his own free will. The purpose of permitting the practice of willing or inheriting property is to serve a social end of great importance. It recognizes the principle of the unity and solidarity of the family unit, which is the basis of civilization. In any case, it is impossible to say in all cases that the heir or recipient of property from a deceased person has not done anything to deserve what he is given. The son often plays an important part in building up the wealth of his father. The son is also under an obligation to his father during the latter's life. He is bound to maintain his parents and their dependants, should they be in need. So he earns a reward in return for a corresponding responsibility. The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said: "You and all you possess is your father's".

In the case of a "sleeping partner" in a business enterprise who shares in the profits without apparently doing any work or labour towards earning this profit, it is important to note that the "sleeping partner" does incur a risk. He provides the money needed to run the business, and without which the profit could not have been made. Should the business fail he runs the risk of losing his money. So the cardinal Islamic principle of "no gain without risk" (*al-ghunm bi'l-gharm*) is fully complied with here; and the case forms no exception to the general Islamic rule that a person should not reap a reward unless he expends an effort.

The leasing of land for a fixed rent is, in my view, not permitted in Islam. There is abundant authority in the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad to the effect that this practice is not lawful. Muslim jurists of late have connived at the practice of the leasing of land for a fixed rent. In my humble opinion, this has been the result of a misunderstanding-

ing of the provisions and guiding spirit of the *Shari'ah* of Islam. The principle that a man is not entitled to reap a reward except as a result of his labour and effort clearly operates to render unlawful the leasing of land in those cases where the lessor charges the lessee a rent.¹⁴

The view that money of its nature is not productive is held by eminent Muslim jurists

Money is not of its nature a thing that would multiply and bear fruit. It is true that money can be exchanged for goods or services. But of itself, money cannot grow into anything useful. Money is not sought after for itself, but for what it can be converted into. The first to enunciate this principle were the Greek philosophers; and Islamic jurists like the Imam al-Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.),¹⁵ the Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905 C.E.), and his pupil, the Shaikh Rasheed Ridha, have held similar views. There is thus no doubt that the function of money is mainly as an agent to facilitate the exchange of commodities and services. Money is also a "store of value" — i.e., it is a store of purchasing power at the command of its owner — and it may be argued that the lender of money should be compensated for having given up the use of his money to the borrower. The answer to this argument is that the "store of value" holds good whether it is in the hands of the lender or the borrower and that the lender usually lends only such money as he does not need at any particular time, and that, therefore, he does not sacrifice anything of value by making the loan. It is for this reason that the purpose of making *riba* unlawful because money in itself does not produce anything stays valid.

Again reverting to the Islamic maxim of "no gain without risk", it is clear that the act of lending money at interest involves little, if any, risk. As a matter of fact it is a "gain" without a "risk". It may be objected here that the lender takes a risk when making a loan of his money, and that a serious study of business affairs throughout history reveals that many lenders of money incur in the process losses that exceed those incurred by the average *entrepreneur*. This is also borne out by the fact that the rate of interest charged on a loan varies with the financial and social status of the borrower; a rich man with stable finances can obtain a loan of a large sum of money at a low rate of interest, while a poorer man cannot hope to obtain a small loan except at a comparatively very high rate of interest.

My answer to these arguments is as follows: the lender when making a loan presumes beforehand the bad faith of the borrower and thinks seriously of the possibility that his money may not be paid back to him on some pretext or other. For this reason he protects himself fully against any possibility of loss. A reasonable lender does not make a loan unless he has adequate security from the borrower. Thus a man of straw with no security to offer to a lender and no guarantor of substance to promise to answer for his default cannot obtain a loan however high be the rate of interest which he promises to pay. The lender in making the loan does not incur a risk greater than that which the borrower incurs.

Islam abhors a society made up of rich and idle capitalists increasing their wealth by sharing in the fruits of labour of others

In prohibiting the lending of money on interest Islam seeks to encourage the person who owns capital to take an active part in life and seek to increase his wealth by the healthy process of incurring reasonable risks and by speculating. Idleness is abhorrent to Islam, and a society made up of rich and idle capitalists multiplying their wealth merely by

sharing in the fruits of labour of others is not a healthy society, and is not the one which would be encouraged by the teachings of Islam.

Lending money at interest by way of investment in business enterprises is not in comparison important enough to warrant generally the practice of lending money at interest and thus sacrificing the poor and the needy to the capricious rich

Another reason why Islam, in my opinion, prohibits the lending of money at interest is the fact that such a practice has always brought misery to the borrower, especially in those cases where the loan is desired by the borrower for the purpose of supplying a serious want. Interest on loans has claimed many helpless and pathetic victims throughout history, especially in those countries where poverty prevailed on a large scale. It may be argued, however, that the lending of money at interest has in modern times ceased to be a social menace as in the past. Rather has it become an essential factor of economic and social progress and development. With the development of industry and commerce there has arisen a demand for the use of capital by enterprising producers and manufacturers. "Productive loans," i.e., loans made to business organizations as investments in their enterprises, have become more common than loans made to needy or thriftless persons to relieve a momentary distress. In the past it was the poor who borrowed from the rich; now it is the comparatively rich who seek to borrow from a large number of persons who are less rich. It is also argued that money needed for the expansion of industrial and other projects would not be forthcoming from people unless they are promised a reward — by way of interest at an enticing rate.

My answer to this argument is that in truth the majority of the borrowers of money in modern times are more often poor persons in distress than powerful and rich organizations seeking funds for the expansion of their activities. The poor borrower seeking to alleviate a distress by contracting a loan at interest has always proved to be a helpless victim of the lender; and the social evils that flowed from this have been obvious throughout history. The other form of lending money at interest (by way of investment in business enterprises or in government bonds or securities) is not in comparison important enough to warrant generally the practice of lending money at interest and thus sacrificing the poor and needy to the capricious rich. Again, the receipt of an income without the exertion of effort is morally and socially bad and would encourage some people to follow a life of idleness. It may be said that investment in business enterprises and the subscribing to government loans provides some people during their old age with an assured income and with freedom from want. This argument would not prevail in a society where the teachings of Islam are applied in their entirety, for the ideal Islamic State would take upon itself the duty of providing for every citizen who, by reason of incapacity or old age, is unable to earn a living. Thus more harm than good usually attends the lending of money at interest, and it would for this reason be more proper to ban altogether the practice of lending money at interest.

I now come to the important question: Is the lending of money at any rate of interest a forbidden *riba* in the eyes of Islam? The answer to this question is "Yes". And it makes no difference whether the loan is for productive purposes, or for an individual who seeks to spend it on consumers' goods. The provisions of the Qur'an on this subject leave no room for doubt that the lending of money or of anything else at interest or in return for a reward over and above the thing lent is forbidden *riba*. God says: "O you who believe, keep your duty to God and relinquish what

remains (due) from usury (*riba'*), if you are believers. But if you do (it) not, then be apprised of war from God and His Messenger; and if you repent, then you shall have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged."¹⁶ *Ribaa' al-fadhl*, however, which, as described earlier in this essay, is in many respects akin to barter, is not, in my view, forbidden in Islam. In any case such transactions are very rare nowadays.

Can a system free from interest be devised ?

Before I discuss the ways and means by which an end can be put to the practice of lending money at interest, I should like to say that the Islamic social system gives the individual many important rights against the State which, if fulfilled, would make it completely unnecessary for the individual to resort to borrowing money for the purpose of satisfying a want. "Productive loans" are not permissible in Islam except when they take the form of partnership. Modern economists have advanced many arguments in favour of permitting the practice of the lending of money at interest. Further, the fact remains that profit gained by the ways known to the present system of economy is unlawful interest. It is our duty to make every effort to devise a system free from interest. It is indeed not so difficult provided the will is there. With this as our starting point, let us see how we can devise a system that can rest safely and elegantly on this foundation.

It is not impossible to devise an economic structure in which there would be no part played by interest. It would be, however, a very difficult and complex problem. The abolition and total prohibition of the practice of lending money at interest would be tantamount to an economic revolution which would altogether change our present economic concepts and practices. But the prohibition of interest would not put an end to the practice of building up and storing capital by the individual. But it would put an end to the banking system as we know it today. It is obvious, of course, that such a change of practices and doctrines cannot be brought overnight. What has taken centuries to build up cannot be destroyed easily even by a violent revolution. Reform towards the Islamic view cannot, therefore, take any useful form other than that of gradual evolution. There must be a determination and a resolve to apply the Islamic doctrines on this subject, and time will ensure that the goal will eventually be reached.

Abolition of interest can be achieved only if Islamic teaching is observed in its entirety

Again, before I embark on a discussion of the practical measures I propose as a means of realizing the Islamic aim of abolishing interest and eradicating it from the economic system, I should like to emphasize that unless the Islamic system governs all the aspects of life of a society, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to apply the Islamic doctrines with regard to the abolition of interest, or, indeed, to apply any of Islam's main economic doctrines. The Islamic system can be usefully applied only in its entirety, and it would be useless, if not altogether impossible, to insist on strict adherence to the teachings of Islam in one aspect of life and deny or contradict these teachings in another. God says: "Do you then believe in a part of the Book and disbelieve in the other? What then is the reward of such among you as do this by disgrace in the life of this world, and on the day of Resurrection they shall be sent back to the most grievous chastisement. And God is not heedless of what you do."¹⁷

The difficulties now standing in the way of the enforce-

ment of the teachings of Islam on the lending of money and on other aspects of economic life will disappear when the life of the community — in the social, cultural, political and other fields — is regulated on the Islamic pattern. The reason for this is that the Islamic way of life is entirely different from the conceptions and tenets of the materialist world of today. While modern civilization regards the materialist reward as the fitting reward to all human endeavour, the Islamic way of life seeks spiritual rewards and non-materialist satisfaction. Modern civilization divides the members of society into distinct classes based on a materialist basis — the Islamic system measures men by the extent to which they had observed the commandments of God. Modern economics is based on the satisfaction of the selfish interests of the individual, while Islamic economics is founded on encouraging the individual to prefer his fellows unto himself. In the non-Islamic way of life there is a sharp distinction between the affairs of the world and the affairs of religion. In Islam the religious and mundane aspects of life are complementary parts of an indivisible whole.

Where the teachings of Islam are applied in their entirety to govern the everyday life of the community, there would be no need for the individual to incur debts in order to be able to buy the necessities of life for himself or his dependants. He would be guaranteed the necessities of life by the State, for he would have a claim on the State for proper food, shelter, clothing, medical treatment, education and work. The Islamic principle that "there is against property a claim other than the claim for the payment of *zakat*" would be rigidly enforced, and the State would find means of securing the money it needs for social and economic projects other than by borrowing at interest.

The functions of banks in an Islamic State

In an Islamic State the functions of banks would not be, as they are today, mainly to lend at interest and create credit. Their duty would be to provide facilities to members of the community in need of finance in return for reasonable charges.

In a truly Islamic society a productive enterprise would not be thwarted for lack of funds, because production would be under the control of the State. The State would find the capital and the technical skill needed to help or initiate projects of national importance, and it would deny its assistance to unnecessary and wasteful enterprises.

In an Islamic State the lenders of money would not be in any danger of losing their money, because the State would compensate them should the approved borrower become unable to pay the debt as a result of a misfortune beyond his control.

Finally, in a truly Islamic State, investment and saving would be governed by ethical factors unknown in our modern materialistic world. The rich Muslim would not be allowed to indulge in frivolous or excessive luxury. He would realize that his wealth would not place him at a social level higher than that of his fellows. He would also realize that better use could be made of his money by either saving it or investing it in an enterprise which may bring him and his fellows a good reward, thus earning for him the pleasure of God. The Qur'an says: "Surely the noblest of you with God is the most dutiful of you".¹⁸

Practical preliminary measures to bring the ideal of a truly Islamic economy

I now come to practical preliminary measures which can be taken at present and which can bring the ideal of a truly Islamic economy nearer realization.

1. All production in the country should be in accordance with a strict and well-defined plan drawn up by the government. A large financial organization should be set up (as has happened in Great Britain, the United States of America and Pakistan) to supply the capital necessary for important industrial projects. The public would be invited to contribute to such an organization by being offered bonds at their nominal or face value. Should public subscriptions be insufficient, the government would underwrite the loan.

2. The large financial organization of the kind outlined above would be concerned mainly with large-scale projects. The best way to organize help for small industrial projects would be by the introduction of the co-operative system. Co-operative societies should be set up and co-operative banks, freely supplied by the government with the funds they need at no interest at all, should take over the task of giving credit to worthy enterprises. A similar system was introduced in New South Wales (Australia) a few years ago to give loans to small industrial and agricultural enterprises without interest. These co-operative societies undertake the marketing of the products of the enterprises they finance in return for a share of the profits. The success of this system in New South Wales has shown that it can work effectively and successfully in all industrial and agricultural countries. The generally low standard of education in under-developed countries may be a handicap in the way of the complete success of this co-operative system there. But this objection would not hold valid in an Islamic country where one of the primary aims of the State would be to act in the light of the first verse of the Qur'an revealed to Muhammad: "Read in the name of thy Lord who creates".¹⁹

(3) The State should take over the marketing of the main products of the country's industries. This practice, which is known by the term "State Trading", is recognized by economists as one of the important functions of the modern progressive State. The reason for this is that the demand for credit comes mainly from industry, agriculture and commerce, and if these enterprises are in the hands of the State it can easily create the credit necessary and there would then be no need of paying interest as the only way of obtaining credit. The economists of modern times are on the whole strongly in favour of intervention by the State to regulate the fair distribution of the necessities of life to the members of the community, thereby leaving no scope for the activities of monopolists and unscrupulous speculators.

An Islamic State should start multi-purpose co-operative societies, now common in progressive countries

I should like to point out here that it has been found possible in many progressive countries to set up large networks of co-operative societies with manifold activities — known as "multi-purpose co-operative societies". These societies manufacture most of the products which they sell directly to the general public. Their prices are comparatively low, because no middleman takes part in their operations. If an Islamic State were to finance such co-operative societies in return for a share of their profits, it would become possible to abolish altogether the practice of charging interest on credit to business enterprises.

Multi-purpose co-operative societies are at present flourishing in many parts of the world. In the Arab world, Egypt made a humble start in this direction a few years ago. The Egyptian Liberation Movement has amongst its main objectives the strengthening of the co-operative movement.

(4) The commercial banking system should be entirely reorganized. Commercial banks should be linked closely

with a State department controlling imports and exports. The State should exercise greater control over imports. Where, after careful scrutiny, an import licence has been granted by the authorities, commercial banks should grant the necessary credit in turn either for a proportionate share of the profits made by the importer or fixed charges based on the expenses incurred in giving the importer the credit he needs. Another way would be for importers to form a "union" which would be entrusted by the government with apportioning to importers credit allocated by the government for that particular "union". The government should not charge interest on the credit offers, which should be regarded simply as a gratuitous service rendered by the government in the interests of the nation as a whole. This system would not be abused where the government periodically fixes the maximum rate of import credit (which reaches up to 75 per cent in exceptional cases but is usually at a mean of 20 per cent). There can also be no fear of the importer not paying back the money advanced him, because the goods imported would be available as security.

Credit for local industry, commerce and agriculture should be controlled by co-operative organizations.

5. It should be possible for the State to offer to individuals credit without interest to meet exceptional cases of personal hardship or distress. I admit that the State would be treading on very dangerous ground in this respect. But in a country where the teachings of Islam as a whole are applied conscientiously and energetically the occasions when an individual would be in need of credit would be extremely rare. The individual in need of money can easily be compelled by a lender to pay an exorbitant rate of interest; and I admit that it would be difficult for a government to devise a foolproof system to guarantee that interest-free loans are made only to those individuals who really need them. The fact remains, however, that in a truly Islamic society the individual would find little, if any, need for borrowing money to counter a misfortune beyond his control and not of his seeking, because if he fails to obtain for himself the necessities of life after making an honest and conscientious effort, he would be entitled to support from State funds. But abuse can never be eradicated completely in this matter, and the only safeguard against its prevalence would be the whole-hearted acceptance by all the members of an Islamic community of the teachings of Islam which "enjoin good and forbid evil".

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- 1 *Towards a Dynamic Economics*, by R. F. Harrod, p. 146.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 3 The Qur'an, 8 : 275-6.
- 4 The Qur'an, 2 : 278-280.
- 5 The Qur'an, 3 : 129.
- 6 A *mujtahid* is a person who exercises independent judgment in interpreting a legal concept to suit changed circumstances.
- 7 *Jahiliyyah* — the era in the history of the Arabs which followed the advent of Islam.
- 8 The Qur'an, 3 : 129.
- 9 See Ibn Qayyim, *A'laam al-Muwaqqi'een*, p. 203.
- 10 See *al-Mughni* by Ibn Qudamah.
- 11 See *al-Muhallah*, Vol. 8, p. 488.
- 12 The Qur'an, 9 : 105.
- 13 The Qur'an, 53 : 38-41.
- 14 For a full discussion of this subject see the article by the author entitled "The Exploitation of Land and Islam," Parts I and II, in *The Islamic Review* for September, and October 1952.
- 15 See chapter on *riba* in *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Deen*.
- 16 The Qur'an, 2 : 278-9.
- 17 The Qur'an, 2 : 28.
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- 19 The Qur'an, 96 : 1.

THE DIVISIONS OF THE EARTH

Zoological, Ethnographical and Political Divisions of the Earth

Internal evidence that the Qur'an is not the handiwork of Muhammad

By SAYYID MAQBOOL AHMAD, B.A.

Why the Muslim geographers divided the world into seven "climates"

"God it is Who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like thereof" (The Qur'an 65:15).

This short verse, quoted above, gives the learned and wise of this age a chance to judge for themselves whether the Qur'an was composed by Muhammad from hearsay from the Jews and Christians or whether it was revealed to him from God Almighty. In talking of the divisions of heaven any impostor could very well take shelter behind the certainty that no one could prove the contrary of his assertion, but to talk about a thing which is open to our empirical test and does not depend on metaphysical speculation will be a very bold action indeed for all ages, and particularly for this age, which has laid bare our earth to such an extent that our knowledge about it has proceeded from the borderland of probability to certainty. On the basis of this dictum of the Qur'an, old Muslim geographers divided the world into seven *iqleems*, or climates, without knowing exactly what their *iqleem* stood for. Modern geographers, however, defined it by examining the flora and fauna of different regions of the earth. They are (1) the Equator, (2) the North Tropic, (3) the South Tropic, (4) the North Temperate, (5) the South Temperate, (6) the North Frigid, and (7) the South Frigid. Neither Muhammad nor any of his contemporaries could possibly know that the plants which grow and flourish in India would not flourish even five miles beyond the line of the region, for instance, in Afghanistan. But the same flora flourishes in Mexico and Brazil and Central Africa and the East Indies, separated from each other by thousands of miles. That is about the earth, but what about the heavens, which could not remain a mystery in our age of science for any impostor to shelter behind? So, here the old guesswork of Muslim astronomers, taking their cue from the Qur'an, of seven layers of heaven, supported by Ptolemaic theory, must too give way to our latest discovery and research, and, what if the Qur'an finds no support of its assertion? The theory of the Greek astronomers of a rigid heaven is denied by the Qur'an.

According to the Qur'an, all the heavenly bodies float in their own orbit or axis — an assertion very near to our modern theories — and when the Qur'an has described the stratosphere and clouds, it has also included in the sky anything above our heads irrespective of the astronomical distance; for, the clouds are only a couple of miles above, whereas the stratosphere (the Qur'anic *saqf marfu'* (52:5)) is only within reach of an aeroplane. The theory of astronomical zones of the moderns will now conform with the seven heavens of the Qur'an. Zones in astronomy now mean a section of the sphere intercepted between two parallels of declination. Star catalogues on an extensive scale are frequently constructed in zones. Thus Bassel's zones extended from 15 to plus 45 degrees and embraced 64,000 stars, etc.

Ethnographical and political division of the earth

In stating that there are seven divisions of the earth, God in the Qur'an has referred to the natural outgrowths of the

earth. The learned have also divided the world zoologically and we are familiar with the zoological atlas of the world. There is yet another division of the earth which is ethnographical and political, and this I want to discuss more elaborately, because it is the one subject which touches on the burning question of one World Government of the day, and any opportunity which can revive or invigorate this wishful thinking of a chaotic world, made wiser after two tragedies of 1914 and 1939, must be welcomed.

The first step in the evolution of World Government is, of course, the creation of autonomous interdependent national States, which fortunately, except in Africa, have come into existence after World War II. The next step will be to group these national States into a federal continental government. Let us first describe a continent and then define the function of a continental government, and finally show how these continental governments could be effectively controlled by the United Nations, which is a World Government in embryo and whose real functions and responsibility depend upon the second stage in the evolution of World Government. The United Nations has already got the means of controlling the continental governments in the shape of atom bombs, which in future shall be its exclusive armament to bring any refractory continent to its knees and senses.

My definition of a continent and my division of the world into continents

What is a continent? I agree with the geographers in the number of continents, but not in their description. In my continental denomination, there is no such thing as Asia; that was once used for a small land now called Anatolia or Asia Minor, but now misapplied for the whole mass of land east of it with utter disregard to geography or ethnography. It is just as well to lump China with India as it is to lump it with Europe. There is no demarcation line rationally drawn between Europe and what we call the continent of Asia in separating people of one race, colour, culture and historical association from the other; everything seems to be either absent or overlapping. The divisions which I have taken will be described rather than explained, and are as a matter of fact self-explanatory. To proceed, therefore, my division of the world into continents will be as follows:

1. ANGLO-SAXON CONTINENT.

Countries Comprising

(1) Great Britain, (2) Ireland, (3) Iceland, (4) Greenland, (5) Newfoundland, (6) Canada, (7) the U.S.A., (8) New Zealand, (9) Australia.

Centre.

London or Washington.

Polity.

Protestant Christianity

2. MONGOLIAN CONTINENT.

(1) China, (2) Japan, (3) Korea, (4) Manchuria, (5) Mongolia, (6) Tibet, (7) Sinkiang, (8) Burma, (9) Siam, (10) Malaya, (11) Annam, (12) Cambodia, (13) Laos, (14) Indonesia, (15) The Philippines.

Peking.

Socialistic.

THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE

(al-Masjid al-nabawi)

AT MEDINA

Its Past and Present

With the Su'udi extension of 6,024 square metres, the Prophet's Mosque now covers 16,327 square metres

By 'UTHMAN HAAFIZ

The origin of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina and details of its construction

The Prophet Muhammad's Mosque at Medina, Su'udi Arabia, is one of the three most sacred mosques, the other two being the *Haram* at Mecca and the *Haram* at Jerusalem, Jordan. The origin of the present Prophet's Mosque dates back to the year of the Prophet Muhammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina which took place on 16th July 622 C.E. On arrival at Medina, the Prophet Muhammad bought a piece of land belonging to two orphan brothers, Sahl and Suhail, the sons of one Nafi' Ibn 'Umar Ibn Tha'labah Ibn Najjar. On this site it was that he built the mosque which later came to be known as "The Prophet's Mosque" (*al-Masjid al-nabawi*). The material used in the construction consisted of sunburnt clay bricks and date palm trunks. Its north to south wall was 70 *dhirra'*¹ (about 108 ft.) long and the east to west 60 *dhirra'* (about 100 ft.). It was 5 *dhirra'* (about 8 ft.) high. In the year 9 A.H. (631 C.E.) the Prophet rebuilt it and also increased its area to 10,000 sq. *dhirra'* (about 16,500 sq. ft.). The structure of this mosque was also of sunburnt clay bricks and its pillars of date palm trunks. It was 7 *dhirra'* (about 11 ft.) high. In both the buildings the Prophet contributed his manual labour involved in the construction, and himself laid the foundation stone.

The Prophet's Mosque lies in 24° 38' 5" latitude North and 39° 36' 1" longitude East at 597 metres above sea-level.

Extensions during the days of 'Umar and 'Uthman

The first person after the Prophet to rebuild the Mosque was the Caliph Abu Bakr. But he did not increase its area nor did he effect any material change in the structure of the building. He was followed by the Caliph 'Umar (d. 644 C.E.), who rebuilt it in 17 A.H. (639 C.E.), adding 10 *dhirra'* (about 17 ft.) to the south side, 20 *dhirra'* (about 34 ft.) to the west and 30 *dhirra'* (about 50 ft.) to the north. He also increased the number of doors from three to six. In his structure of the Mosque there were two doors in the east wall, two in



The Protectors of the "two Sacred Precincts" of Islam.

The Founder of modern Su'udi Arabia, His late Majesty King Ibn Su'ud (d. 1953 C.E.), with his son, His Majesty King Su'ud.

the west and two in the north. This new building was also of sunbaked bricks and palm tree trunks.

'Umar was succeeded by the Caliph 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan (d. 656 C.E.), who also rebuilt the Mosque. He increased its area by adding 10 *dhirra'* (about 17 ft.) to its three sides — south, west and east. He, however, unlike his predecessor, employed the engraved stone in the structure and introduced stone pillars, which he strengthened by pouring lead into them. A mud roof was laid on the building.

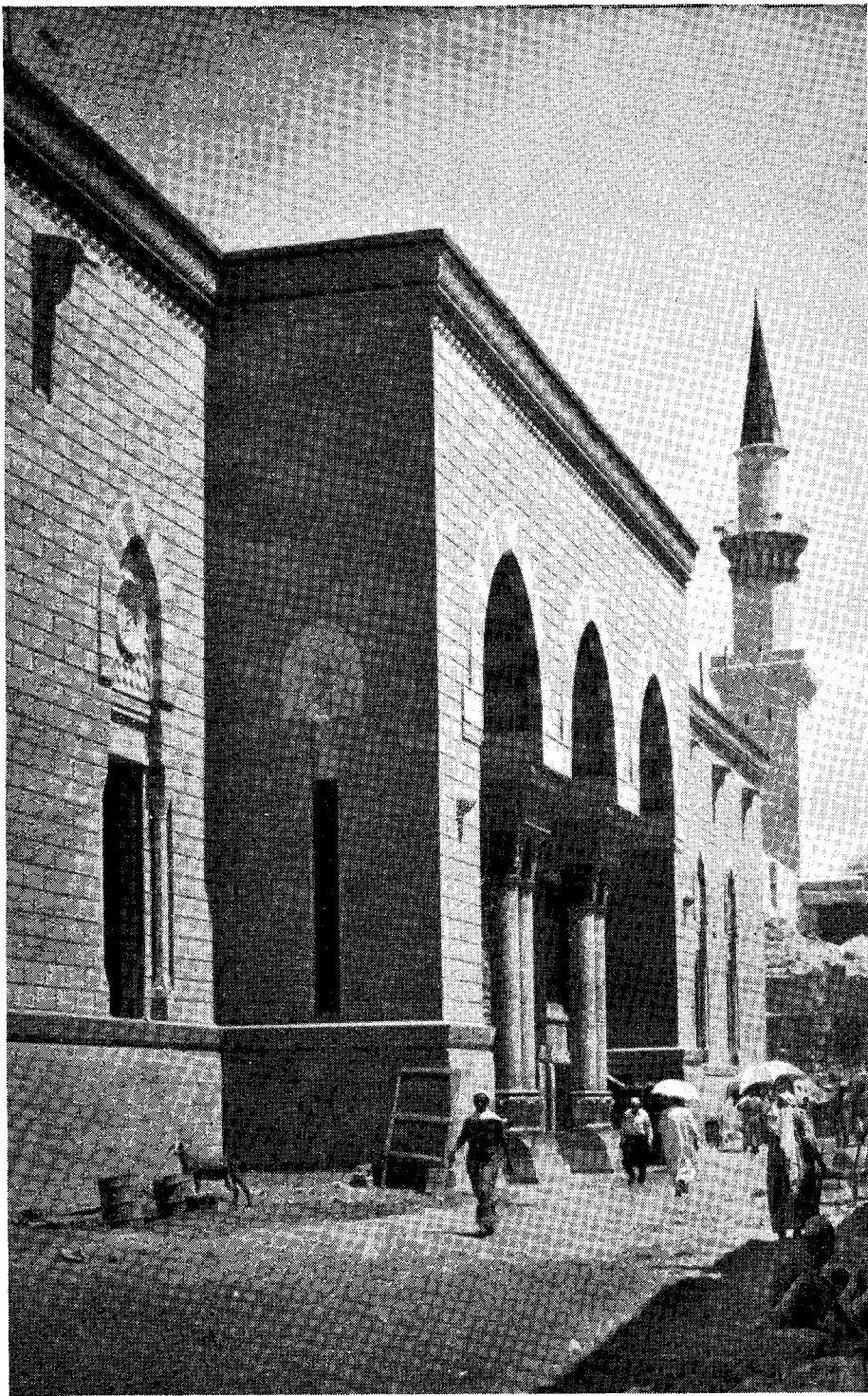
The Umayyad extension

The next change in the building of the Prophet's Mosque was introduced by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (d. 715 C.E.) in 88 A.H. (706 C.E.). He added to it on the west side 20 *dhirra'* (about 34 ft.) and on the east side 30 *dhirra'* (about 50 ft.). This extension brought the dwelling-places of the *Ummahat al-Mu'minin* (the Mothers of the Faithful), that is to say, the wives of the Prophet Muhammad, within the Mosque itself. The Caliph Walid also used engraved stones in the building and ornamented its

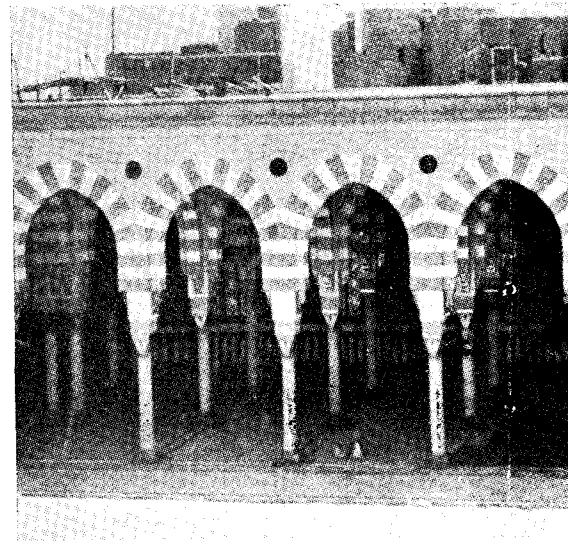
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¹ A *dhirra'* equals about 20 in.

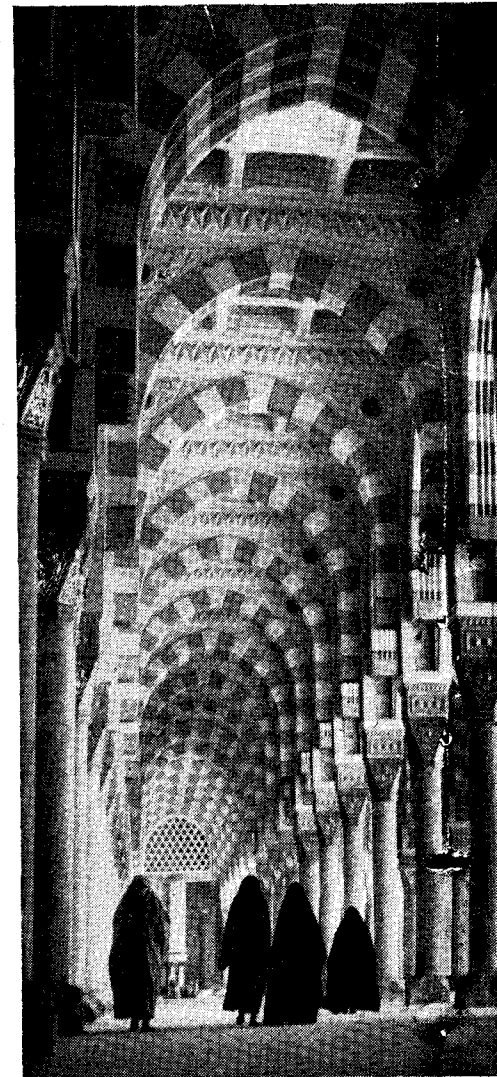
Views of the Su'udi extension of the Su'udi A



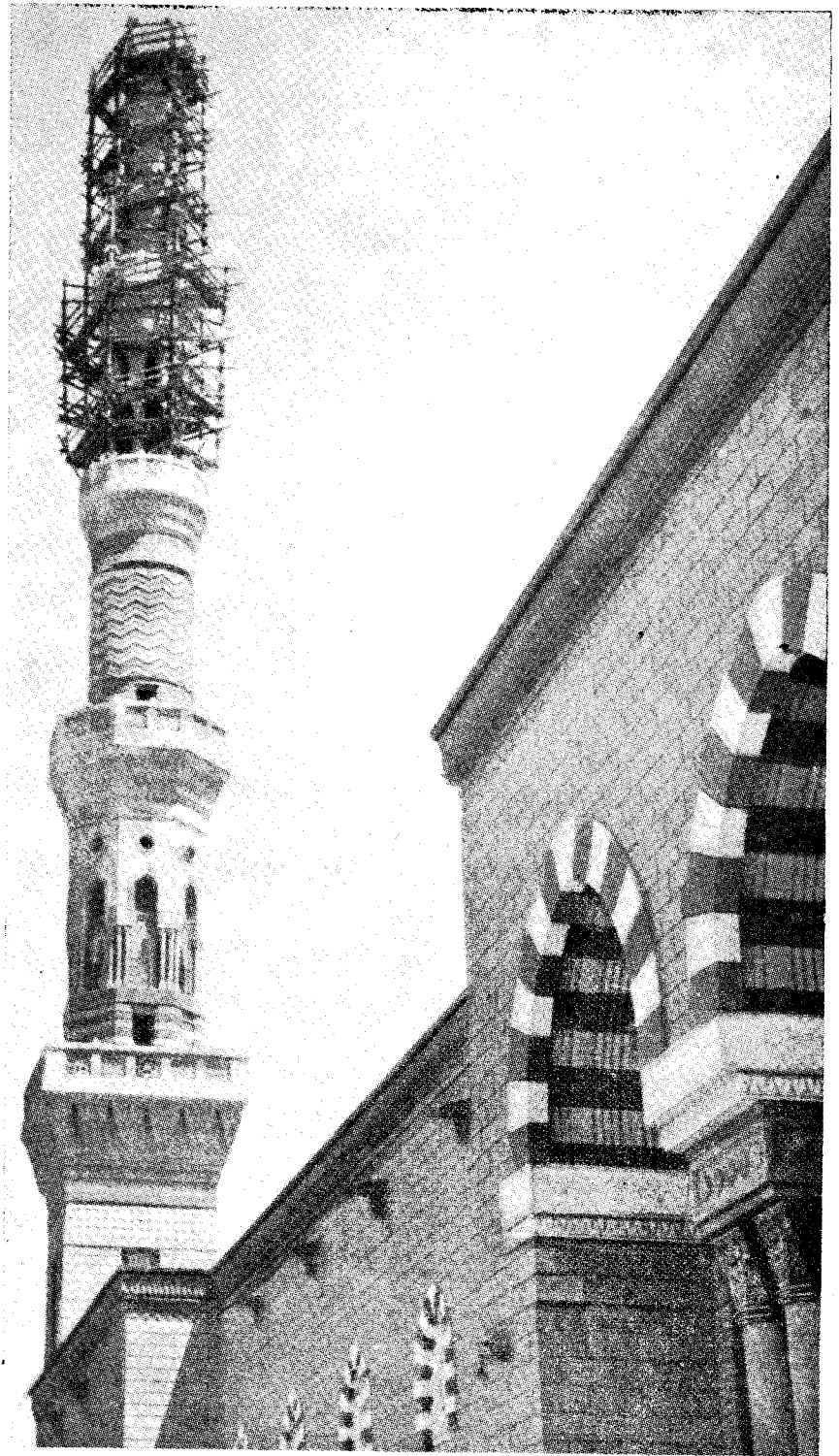
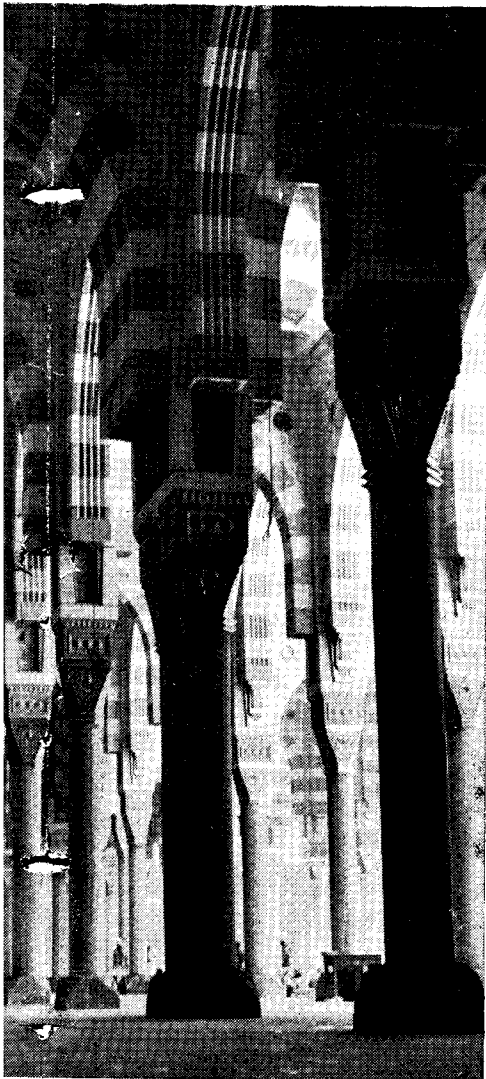
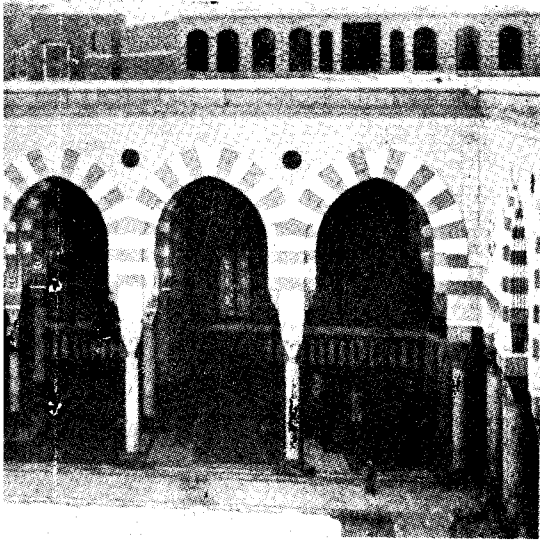
Above — An exterior view of one of the walls of the Su'udi extension of the Prophet's Mosque.



Centre top — A view of one of the new corridors in the new part of the Prophet's Mosque.



f the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, i Arabia



Above — The picture shows one of the new minarets for the call to prayers in the Prophet's Mosque.

Centre bottom — A view of one of the new corridors in the Su'udi extension of the Prophet's Mosque, showing the details of the new arches and pillars.

Continued from page 19

walls with the use of marble and mosaics. Embellishment work was also executed in gold leaf. He is also the first ruler to have introduced the *mihrab* and the minarets for the call to prayer in the Prophet's Mosque.

The Abbasid extensions

Another renovation was undertaken by the Abbaside Caliph al-Mahdi (d. 785 C.E.) in 165 A.H. (782 C.E.), who extended it by 100 *dhiraa'* (about 170 ft.) on the north side. His building followed the style of Walid.

A long period elapsed before material changes were introduced into the Mosque. The Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li Din 'Allah (d. 1225 C.E.) built a vaulted chamber in its courtyard for the preservation of relics. He also gave 1,000 gold *dinars* annually for its repairs.

It was in the year 654 A.H. (1256 C.E.) that the Mosque caught fire and was burnt down. It was rebuilt by the rulers of Egypt and the Yemen.

The Mamluk ruler of Egypt, Qa'it-ba'i (d. 1495 C.E.), was the next notable who introduced arches in the construction of the Mosque in 881 A.H. (1475 C.E.), and also raised the roof of the Rawdah al-mutahharah (the area occupying the Prophet's Mausoleum and the original Mosque), and repaired the east roof. He also built a dome on the mausoleum in 886 A.H. (1481 C.E.).

The Ottoman Turkish extension

It was during the days of the supremacy of the Ottoman Turks that memorable changes were introduced in the Prophet's Mosque building. In 1266 A.H. (1849 C.E.) the Sultan 'Abd al-Majid (d. 1861 C.E.) built the Prophet's Mosque anew. He added to the north side schoolroom, and 5 *dhiraa'* (about 8 ft.) to the east. He demolished all parts of the structure excepting the west wall, the *Hujra* (the Mausoleum of the Prophet). The Su'udi additions to the Prophet's Mosque have not disturbed its south part, which was built by the Sultan 'Abd al-Majid. In this building columns and arches in red stone replaced the previous ones in ordinary stone and the roofs of the various parts of the building received domes. This Mosque had three gates — the *Bab al-Salaam* (the Gate of Peace), also known as the *Bab al-Rahmah* (the Gate of Mercy), in the west side, the *Bab al-Nisaa'* (the Gate for Women), the *Bab Jibril* (the Gabriel Gate) in the east side, and *al-Bab al-Majidi* (the Majid Gate) in the north side.

The total superficial area of the Prophet's Mosque as reconstructed by the Sultan 'Abd al-Majid was 10,303 square metres. The Mosque had an open courtyard with an area of 3,084 square metres enclosed by four corridors. The southern corridor had twelve rows of arches, the eastern and northern corridors each two rows of arches and the western three rows.

The Su'udi extension

It is worth mentioning that the idea of extending the Prophet's Mosque is the result of the late King Ibn Su'ud's mature thought. It was brought to his notice in an open letter by the Editors of *al-Madinah al-munawwarah*, Medina, Su'udi Arabia, for 6th Sha'ban 1368 (1948 C.E.), that the Prophet's Mosque was no longer large enough for the ever-increasing number of pilgrims and devotees who repaired to it for their prayers.



The new Bab al-Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy) in the Prophet's Mosque showing the beautiful workmanship executed in it.



A view of the Prophet's Mosque showing the details of the workmanship in the new stone pillars. In the background is the famous "Green Dome" of the Shrine of the Prophet Muhammad with one of the two new minarets for call to prayer.

Thereupon the late King graciously deigned to appoint a special commission consisting of engineers under the chairmanship of His Excellency the Shaikh Muhammad ibn Laadan, the Director-General of Projects in the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia. This was followed by a report of a technical mission under the chairmanship of Mr. Mustafa Fahmi, an Egyptian engineer in the Ministry of Works of Egypt. The mission prepared all the necessary drawings showing all the details for King Ibn Su'ud, who gave orders that the work be proceeded with forthwith.

It was on the 1st Shawwal 1730 A.H. (10th July 1951) that His Excellency the Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Laadan went to Medina to inaugurate the work of extension of the Mosque. On this occasion he held a reception after which he invited the guests to witness the demolition of the buildings surrounding the Mosque on the west side.

In the extension work it was decided that the three corridors on the east, west and north sides enclosing the open courtyard of the Mosque would be removed and that the south side would be preserved. The parts that have been demolished covered an area of 6,247 square metres. The Su'udi extension has added another 6,024 square metres. Thus as a result of the Su'udi extension, with the area of 4,056 square metres on the south side which was not demolished, the Prophet's Mosque occupies an aggregate area of 16,327 square metres.

Some memorable dates in the Su'udi extension

The following dates are worth recording in the extension of the Prophet's Mosque:

(1) 5th Sha'ban 1371 A.H. (1951 C.E.) saw the beginning of the demolition operations on the west side of the Mosque and removal of the debris.

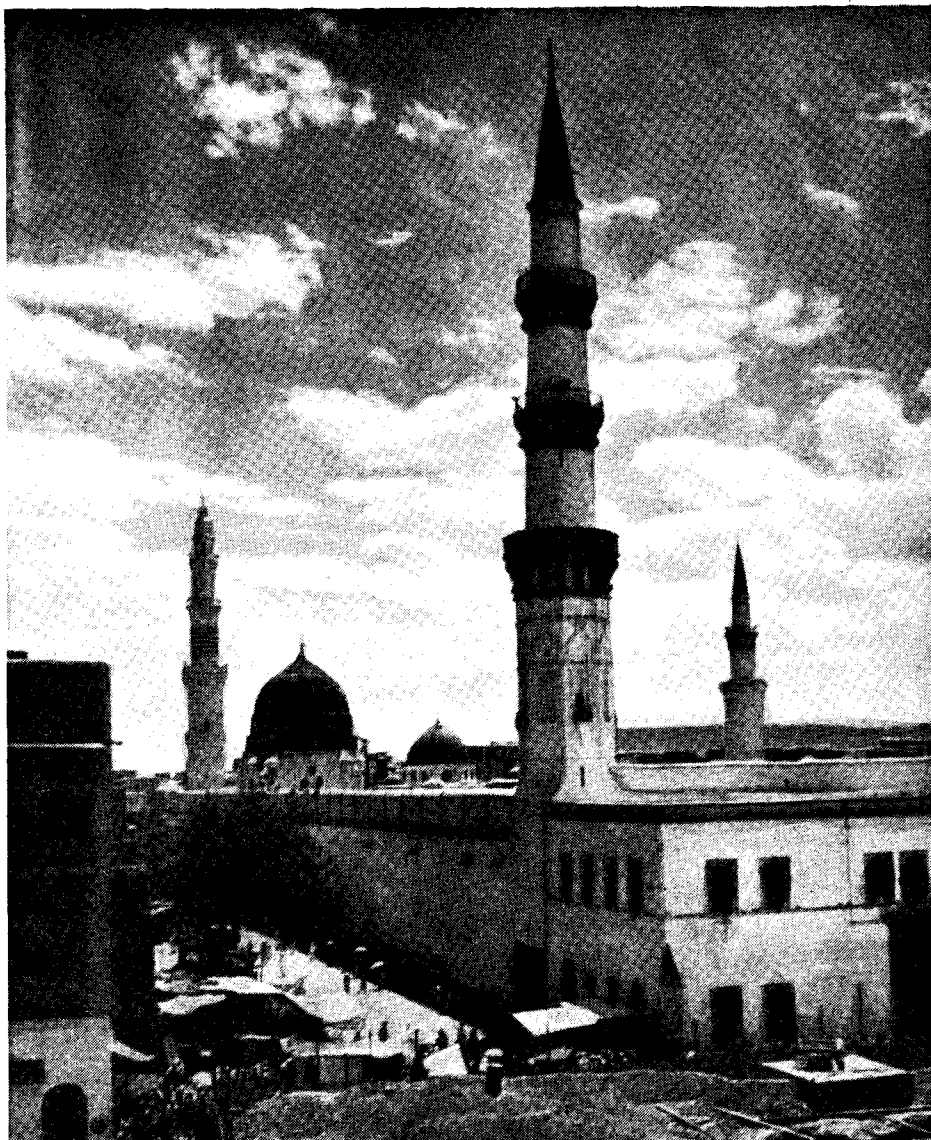
(2) 13th Rabi' al-awwal 1372 A.H. (1952 C.E.), His Majesty King Su'ud laid the foundation stone.

(3) In Rabi' al-awwal 1373 A.H. (1953 C.E.), His Majesty King Su'ud laid four stones in the corner of the west side wall, by way of following the example of the Prophet Muhammad, who took part in the building of the self-same Mosque 1,400 years ago.

The area of the properties acquired for the extension so far amounts to 22,955 square metres. The process of acquisition is far from complete. A special committee has been authorized to deal with the evaluation of the properties sequestered for the purpose of extension.

A few details of the work and materials employed in the Su'udi extension

At Dhu 'l-Hulaifah a factory for mosaic work has been set up where Italian craftsmen and also 400 workmen are employed. The building work is under the supervision of 14 engineers, of whom 12 are Egyptians, one Syrian and one



An exterior view of the Prophet's Mosque after the completion of the Su'udi extension.

Pakistani. Under these engineers more than 200 Egyptian, Syrian, Pakistani, Sudanese, Yemeni and Hadhramauti workmen are working. Besides these there are also employed more than 1,500 Su'udi workmen.

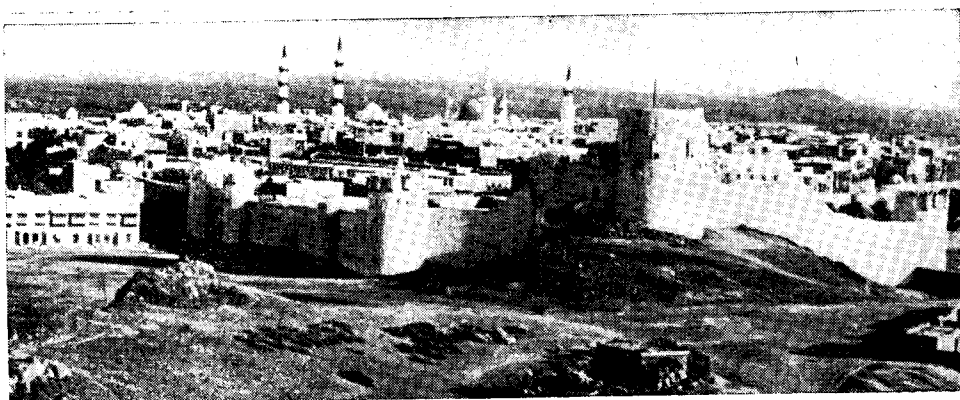
In the construction work steel, wood and cement amounting to 100,000 tons had to be imported from abroad.

Details of the new features of the extension

The east and west walls are each 128 metres long, whereas the north wall is 91 metres. The number of square pillars surrounded by the walls is 474 and that of the round ones 232. The number of new arches is 689, and that of the windows 44. The depth of the foundations of the walls and the pillars is 4 metres, but that of the minarets for the call to prayer is 17 metres. The number of these minarets is two. Nine new doors have also been added to the Mosque.

Extension declared open by King Su'ud in October 1955

In Rabi' al-awwal 1375 A.H. (1955 C.E.) a reception was held in the west side of the Prophet's Mosque to commemorate the opening of the extension part of the building. At this auspicious occasion His Majesty King Su'ud declared open the new extension and opened the Su'udi Gate himself.



A view of the city of Medina with the Five Minarets of the Prophet's Mosque. In the background on the right-hand side can be seen the "Green Dome" of the Mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad which also contains the grave of the Caliph 'Umar, whose remains were laid to rest by the side of the Prophet Muhammad

THE STATE LETTERS' OF CALIPH 'UMAR (634-644 C.E.)

By Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq

VII

79. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

The following letter is from an anonymous MS. on *Maghazi* and *Futuh* (Wars and Conquests) in the Dar al-Kutub al-misriyyah, Cairo. It gives many details and several letters (culled from an extinct treatise of Mada'ini on the conquest of Iraq) which are not to be found in Tabari or any other published work. The author says that the letter was written by 'Umar on getting from Sa'd the tidings of the fall of Mada'in.

"I urge you to fear God, the Being by whose fear comes happiness to those who are happy and for want of whose fear misery is the lot of those who are miserable. You know well, O Sa'd! the favour of God in extricating us from idolatry and its followers, in getting us rid of the worship of the idols and in delivering us from their (idolators') misguided life. You are also aware of the way we got away from them,² one camel carrying a whole party, including provisions and only one blanket, to share together. Those who reached their haven (Medina) did so after straining their utmost, and those who stayed back were persecuted for their faith and beaten, their nearest relatives treating them the worst. All this and the Messenger of God was telling us on oath: 'You shall indeed be the masters of the treasures of the Chosroes and Caesars.' We but wondered at his prophecy. Nevertheless, God kept you alive and you yourself have been instrumental in getting those treasures. (Keeping all these great facts in view) it is your duty now to lead a life that disregards the worldly pleasures until you meet your brethren who starved while they lived and were in rags when they left this world, whose bellies were sticking to their backs, who were always careful not to displease their Lord, who refused to be seduced by the world, or get changed for its sake. You should follow their example and should not go astray. Behave like that auspicious and complimented

people about whom God, the Blessed and Exalted, says: *We have made them leaders, they guide in accordance with Our decree; We have inspired them with the urge to do good acts, to perform prayers, pay zakat. They are Our sincere worshippers. . . .*" (Kitab al-Maghazi wa 'l-Futuh, No. 3268, pp. 369-370).

80. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

This letter is given by A'tham in his *Futuh*. It asks Sa'd to halt his advance in Iraq and stay at Mada'in until the new offensive launched by Heraclius in Syria is dealt with. It also directs Sa'd to return the troops which Abu 'Ubaydah had sent for his help. A'tham records that 'Umar as a matter of policy avoided war in Syria while it was on in Iraq and vice versa.

"Wait in Mada'in for some time. Let your army take rest and let you be acquainted with the local conditions. Do not send troops after the fleeing Persians. Return the reinforcements 'Ubaydah sent to you. Heraclius has launched an offensive against him in Hims and as long as we are engaged in fighting with him (Heraclius), war should be avoided with the Persians . . ." (A'tham, p. 35; *Nasikh al-Tawarikh*, 4/251).

81. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

After about eight months' stay at Mada'in, Sa'd knew that two armies in the north and north-east had surged forward to fight the Muslims. The army of the north, led by the Persian general Mihran, had massed at Jalulaa, and the

1 The sixth article in this series appeared in *The Islamic Review* for October 1956.

2 Reference to Hijrah (the Migration of the Prophet Muhammad to Medina).

other one, comprising the Christian Arab tribes of Mausil region and the Greeks, had gathered at Takrit under the Greek general Antaq. Situated at the bank of a big river in the north of the Sawad and on the trade route to Khurasan, Jalulaa claimed a strategic importance. In the rear the Persians had the river, and on their right, left and front they had dug a large trench to which all approaches had been strewn with grappling iron. Having supervised all necessary preparations at Jalulaa, Yazdajird moved with his officers and treasures to Hulwan, the town which separated Iraq from the mountainous Persian province of Jibaa. The sanguine battle of Jalulaa took place in 16 A.H. (637 C.E.), nine months after the occupation of Mada'in. Arab reporters estimate the Persian forces at eighty thousand and the Arabs at less than thirty thousand. The Muslims made as many as eighty assaults, losing heavily. At last their efforts were crowned with success, and the Persians fled in the direction of Hulwan. When the Commander-in-Chief informed the Caliph of the double concentration above referred to, he received the following directive:

"Send a force twelve thousand strong under Hashim Ibn 'Utbah to Jalulaa. The leader of its vanguard should be Qa'qaa' Ibn 'Amr, its right and left wings should be commanded respectively by Si'r Ibn Malik, 'Amr Ibn Malik, Ibn 'Utbah and 'Amr Ibn Murrah Juhani. Another force under 'Abdullah Ibn Ma'tam should go to deal with (the Greek General) Antaq with the following as the leaders of its vanguard, right and left wings, rearguard and cavalry: Rib'i Ibn Afkal, Harith Ibn Hasan Dhuhali, Furat Ibn Hayyan 'Ijli, Hani Ibn Qays and Arfajah Ibn Harthamah" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/179-186).

82. To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.

Soon after the above directive, Sa'd received the following:

"If God defeats Mihran and Antaq, then send Qa'qaa, the leader of the vanguard, to take up positions between the Sawad and Jibaa but not further on" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/179).

Accordingly Qa'qaa' dashed forward and chased the defeated Persians till Hulwan, which Yazdajird had already left for Rayz, leaving behind a small garrison. Qa'qaa' did not have much difficulty in taking the city (Sayf-Tabari, 4/185-86).

83. To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas

The above letter favouring the decision of a pursuit of the enemy as recorded in Sayf-Tabari seems to be countermanded by another from Ibn Ishaq which is prohibitory of the pursuit. It reads:

"Stay where you are and do not pursue the retreating Persians. Make for Muslims a home and cantonment. In doing so take care that no river intervenes between them and myself . . ." (Ibn Ishaq-Tabari, 4/141).

84. To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.

Sending out Qa'qaa' in pursuit of the Persians and leaving a skeleton force to guard Jalulaa, the commander of the army, Hashim Ibn 'Utbah, came back to Mada'in. Meanwhile a new Persian force under a son of Hurmuzan emerged from Jibaa into the Sawad to challenge the conquerors. When Sa'd let the Caliph know of the new threat the latter wrote:

"Send a force under Darrar Ibn Khattab to meet the Persians. Ibn Hudhayl 'Asadi should be the leader of its vanguard and 'Abdullah Ibn Wahb Raasibi and Mudarih Ibn Fulan should command the wings" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/187).

85. To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.

After the battle of Jalulaa and return of Hashim to Mada'in, news came to Sa'd that the princes of the Jazirah had raised an army of which a part had gone to Hims to reinforce Heraclius and part had advanced to Hit to challenge the Muslims. Sa'd let the Caliph know of the new situation and received the following order:

"Send a force under 'Umar Ibn Malik Ibn 'Utbah to Hit. Its vanguard should be commanded by Harith Ibn Yazid 'Amiri and its wings by Rib'i Ibn 'Amir and Malik Ibn Habib . . ." (Sayf-Tabari, 4/187).

86. To the Conquerors of the Sawad.

A number of prominent Arabs addressed a letter to the Caliph consulting him about the disposal of the property known as the Sawaafi, which comprised:

- (1) Lands belonging to the Chosroes and royal family;
- (2) Property endowed for the maintenance of roads, post routes, bridges and fire temples;
- (3) Property whose owners had either fled or been killed in battle;
- (4) Forests; and,
- (5) Pools, swamps, springs and mountains.

Income from the Sawaafi, according to one assessment, amounted to four million dirhams, and according to another seven million (Abu Yusuf, p. 57; Baladhuri, p. 280; Yahya Ibn Adam Qurashi, p. 64).

Reply by the Caliph to the above:

"Divide the Sawaafi into five parts of which four are to be given to those who have conquered it, the (income from the) fifth should be forwarded to me to be spent on items fixed by the law. However, if the conquerors wish to occupy the Sawaafi themselves and manage them, they are entitled to do so" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/184).

87. To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.

The Commander-in-Chief took after Jalulaa a census of the population to the east of the Tigris (between Mada'in and Jalulaa) and found it to be over a hundred and thirty thousand families. Sa'd asked the Caliph how to deal with them and the latter replied:

"The cultivators should be left in their former positions. Those of them who fought with you or fled to the enemy but were later captured are to be treated in the same way as you have done with regard to other cultivators of the Sawad (to the west of the Tigris)" — this is followed by an unintelligible sentence (Sayf-Tabari, 4/183).

88. To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.

The above letter relates to the cultivators only. There were in the Sawad other categories of people with different vocations with regard to whom the letter said nothing. Sa'd, therefore, consulted the Caliph about them, and the latter wrote:

"With regard to the non-cultivators you may act as you like provided you have not divided them among yourselves. Those of them who have fought with you and have fled are to forfeit their land (belongings) to the Muslims. But if you have invited them to come back and returned their land (property) before distributing it among yourselves, and they have also agreed to pay the Jizyah, then they should be treated as Dhimmi. But if you have not invited them to

come back, their property goes to the Muslims" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/183).

89. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

A delegation of prominent Arabs from Mada'in visited Medina after the great victories of Jalulaa, Hulwan and Takrit. The Caliph was shocked to see their wrinkled and pale faces. He inquired the cause of their ill-health. They said that the climate of Mada'in did not suit them. To make sure, the Caliph addressed an inquiry to Sa'd, who affirmed the statement of the delegation. 'Umar wrote:

"Only such places can be healthy to the Arabs as are to their camels. Ask Salman and Hudhayfah (Ibn Yaman, the survey-officer of the Sawad) to find a healthy place near desert and water, but no river or bridge should separate the Muslims from me" (Baladhuri, p. 284; Tabari, 4/189).

90. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

In accordance with the above directive, Sa'd founded the city of Kufah in 17 A.H. (638 C.E.). It lay on a large plain of which one side penetrated into the fertile country irrigated by the Euphrates and the other touched the barren tracts of Arabia. The congregational mosque was laid out first. At the back of the mosque were built the house of the governor, the treasury and the offices. A burglary took place in the treasury some days later and much cash was stolen. On coming to know of it, the Caliph wrote:

"Shift the mosque and rebuild it by the side of the governor's house. The presence of men day and night in the mosque will eliminate the danger of burglary in the treasury" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/192).

91. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

The residence of the governor was simple and crude, and so was the mosque. A Persian landlord prevailed upon Sa'd to build for him a more decent mosque and chancellery in keeping with the requirements of the governor. The chancellery was made of gypsum and rested on stone pillars and had a gate. Round about it and the mosque were the bazaars, and there was so much noise there that Sa'd and his staff found it very difficult to work. Complaint reached 'Umar that Sa'd had made himself a palace to which a gate was added to keep people away. The Caliph was displeased. He gave the following letter to his confidant Muhammad Ibn Maslamah and asked him to hasten to Kufah and set fire to the palace:

"I learn that you have built a palace, known as the Palace of Sa'd, in which you live cut off from the people. You have also made a gate to keep them away. I think it is not your palace but that of folly. Only that portion of it which is adjacent to the treasury should be used by you for residence, and the rest should be closed. No gate is to be kept outside so that people are not discouraged or prevented from coming and presenting their difficulties to you" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/193).

92. *To 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf.*

'Umar had appointed 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf, a noted Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, as survey-officer of the lands watered by the Euphrates. Considerable land of Iraq owned by the imperial house passed to the Islamic State on the defeat of the Persians. Some

Arab narrators say that 'Umar gave fiefs out of this land (also called the Sawaafi) to certain Arabs who had done conspicuous military service. One among them was Jarir Ibn 'Abdullah, whose tribe, Bajilah, had made great sacrifices during the conquest of the Sawad and who himself had performed extraordinary feats of bravery during the battle of Qadisiyyrah and thereafter as their commander. He asked the Caliph, so goes the tradition, for a fief, and the latter, in appreciation of his services, conceded his request. Giving Jarir the following letter, he asked him to convey it to 'Uthman Ibn Hunayf:

"Give Jarir Ibn 'Abdullah out of the Sawaafi a piece of land that is merely sufficient to sustain him."

As no fiefs had so far been given and the Sawaafi were considerable public property, 'Uthman hesitated and thought it wise to consult the Caliph about the authenticity of the letter. 'Umar wrote:

"Jarir is truthful. Give him land in accordance with my previous directions. You did well to consult me."

93. *To Hudhayfah Ibn Yaman.*

Hudhayfah Ibn Yaman was revenue-officer of the lands watered by the Tigris with headquarters at Mada'in. He married a Jewish lady. When the Caliph knew about it, he asked Hudhayfah to divorce her. But the latter refused to do so until the Caliph satisfied him why he disallowed a marriage which the Qur'an had allowed. 'Umar wrote:

"Marriage is permissible with women of the revealed religions, but I dislike it on the ground that Persian women are often attractive and if you start marrying them the Arab women would be thrown into the background . . ." (Sayf-Tabari, 4/147).

94. *Another version :*

"I urge you to divorce your Jewish wife on receiving my letter. I am afraid that other Muslims would follow your example and this would be a great misfortune for Arab women" (Izalat al-Khafa', 2/102 and 108).

95. *To Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas.*

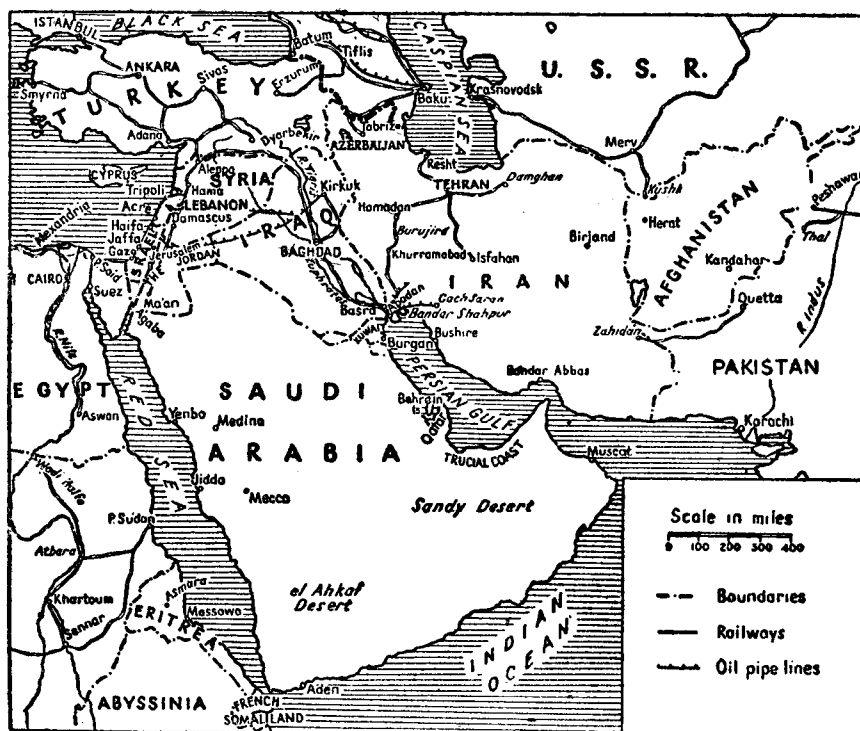
The following letter is said to have been written at a critical juncture. According to the exclusive testimony of Sayf Ibn 'Umar, when Khalid was busy with raids (after the conquest of most of Syria) in the Syrio-Greek frontier towns, the Christian tribes of Mesopotamia concluded with Heraclius a pact of mutual aid to expel the Muslims from Syria. Accordingly a large army of the Greeks and Mesopotamians invaded Hims, the headquarters of Abu 'Ubaydah, and several divisions of it were directed to intercept forces coming from Arab cantonments for the help of Abu 'Ubaydah. Though he called back Khalid and some other commanders who could invade the enemy, his forces were, nevertheless, so inadequate that he could not face the combined might of the Greek and Mesopotamian allies with any fair chance of success. He was, therefore, compelled to seek shelter in the fortress of Hims, from where he addressed an urgent letter to 'Umar for succour. The Caliph immediately wrote to Sa'd:

"Ask the Arabs of Kufah to get ready at once for war and rush on the day you receive my letter a force under Qa'qa Ibn 'Amr to Hims, where Abu 'Ubaydah has been encircled. This force should reach Hims with all possible despatch" (Sayf-Tabari, 4/195).

TURMOIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Anglo-French-Israeli Aggression in Egypt

By DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH



I. FOR THE RECORD

The grave tensions in the Middle East have at last erupted in turmoil and warfare, which at one stage threatened to spread into a world-wide conflagration.

On 29th October 1956, the Israeli Government announced that it had ordered its army to cross the international frontier into Egyptian territory.

This invasion came after a week-end of mobilization, the anticipated consequences of which had prompted the President of the United States to send urgent messages to the Israeli Government, on the two days preceding the attack, warning it against breach of the peace. The mobilization and the attack had been preceded by high-level consultations in the Israeli Government, in which Israel's ambassadors at various world capitals had participated; they were thus manifestations of a considered and planned policy.

Mystery surrounded every detail of the Israeli attack against Egyptian territory. Observers, official and unofficial, had been anticipating an Israeli attack on Jordan, not on Egypt; and the direction of the attack as well as the size of the task force involved were the subject of puzzled speculation all over the world. Even an Israeli spokesman was widely quoted as having observed that the attacking force was too large for a so-called reprisal raid and too small for a war.

The mystery, however, was soon clarified. Within a few hours, the British and French Governments — whose forces had been mobilized and moved to the vicinity of Egypt in recent weeks — served an ultimatum on invader and victim alike, warning that, unless the fighting stopped in twelve hours, they would occupy the Suez Canal. The Anglo-French ultimatum asked the forces of Egypt and Israel to withdraw ten miles to the west and east of the Canal respectively, and asked Egypt to permit the landing of Anglo-French troops in the Canal Zone.

It will be observed that, at the time when the ultimatum was given, the Israeli forces had not come within ten miles

of the Canal. It will also be observed that, had Britain and France been concerned about the safety and peace of the area, their ultimatum would have been addressed to the invading party, and their military intervention would have been aimed at the invading forces. But such was not the case. The full might of the British and French empires descended upon Egypt in a determined effort to destroy its military potential, injure its people and civilian installations, hurt its dignity, and in every respect perform the avowed objective of Eden and Mollet which had been reiterated for weeks — “destroy Nasir” — while Israeli forces were given a free hand, and the Israeli invasion was allowed, by virtue of the necessary concentration of Egyptian forces in the Canal area, to attain its objective of expansion and occupation of Egyptian territory east of Suez.

The promptness and nature of the Anglo-French ultimatum thus revealed an obvious fact: that the Israeli attack had been planned jointly with Britain and France, in order to serve as a pretext for their occupation of the Canal.

That there was collusion between Britain, France and Israel, only the naïve will question. The very course of events demonstrates it beyond doubt.

Two questions must be asked: why did the three invading countries connive and conspire to attack Egypt simultaneously? And why did they choose this particular time for their attack?

II. “UNHOLY ALLIANCE”: THREE COURSES CONVERGE

Each of the three invading countries had a distinct purpose, and was motivated by a special objective. Thus what the world witnessed in late October 1956 was the convergence of three essentially distinct national interests and ambitions on one point, the intersection of three originally independent policies of three different countries, the focusing of three initially unrelated attitudes of hostility: and Egypt was fated to be that point of convergence, intersection and focus.

1. *French Colonialism in North Africa*

To France, Egypt had come to symbolize above everything else the staunch championing of the struggle of Algerians for independence and self-determination. With the rapid dwindling of the French empire in the past few years — the loss of Indo-China, of Morocco and of Tunisia — Algeria came to be a symbol and a rallying-point for die-hard French colonialists, who refused to adjust themselves to the current realities of the world situation and to accept for France a modest position in the world proportionate to its real power and its real degree of stability and health.

When France walked out of the General Assembly in the autumn of 1955 simply because the General Assembly had decided to inscribe the Algerian question on its agenda, it revealed the tenacity with which certain sectors of French public opinion adhered to colonialism.

The French campaign to repress the Algerian struggle for freedom was intensified in 1956, in an obvious effort to quell the rebellion before the 11th session of the General Assembly convened in November 1956. Unto this end, France stationed about half a million troops on Algerian territory, withdrawing from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Command forces which it had committed for the defence of Western Europe.

That there was no limit to the extent to which France was prepared to go in order to suppress the demand of Algerians for self-government is evidenced by its resort to trickery, kidnapping and aerial piracy on 22nd October 1956, when it conspired for the re-routing of a plane carrying five Algerian leaders to a conference in Tunisia where they were to discuss, with the Sultan of Morocco and the Premier of Tunisia, terms of a peaceful settlement of the Franco-Algerian problem. But the hopes of France that the kidnapping and arrest of these leaders would paralyze the Algerian revolution soon encountered total frustration: instead of pacifying Algeria, the action of the French Government re-enflamed Tunisia and Morocco and placed the relations with these two countries under great strain.

The championing by Egypt of the cause of Algerian independence had for months been the cause of Franco-Egyptian tension. Nothing was more obvious than that the French Government was prepared to go to any extent to embarrass Egypt and destroy the Egyptian régime in order to make France's objective of preserving her colonial rule of Algeria easier to attain.

2. *British Neo-Colonialism in Suez*

Britain, on the other hand, had been experiencing similar agonies in her helplessness in the face of the inevitable shrinking of her domination and influence in the Eastern Mediterranean. It attributed to the example and influence of Egypt whatever invigoration the National Liberation Movements in that area had undergone in the last few years.

The independence of Libya and the Sudan, the replacement of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty by the Baghdad Pact, the dismissal of Glubb Pasha, and the evacuation of British forces from the Suez Canal area in June, 1956, together with the growing precariousness of the British position in Cyprus, are manifestations of the eclipse of the British Empire in the Middle East. There were additional disputes with Sa'udi Arabia over Buraimi, with the Yemen over Aden, and with 'Oman. Nor was the thinly veiled domination of Britain over the oil-rich Arab principalities of the Persian Gulf immune to challenge from the rising nationalism of the area. Coming in the wake of Britain's débâcle in Iran, these were revelations of the dawning of a new day in the Middle East and reminders of the passing away of the British Empire, and as

such were far from comfortable to the Conservative Party in power.

Thus when Egypt decided to exercise one of the essential prerogatives of its sovereignty, by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company — an Egyptian company operating an Egyptian waterway — the growing restiveness of the British colonial diehards erupted in violent anti-Egyptian sentiments. This coincided with the French anti-Egyptian feelings over Algeria and, as a result, a new colonial *Entente Cordiale* emerged from the fury of the two empires.

The first reaction was a flood of threats and intimidations, coupled with an anti-Egyptian propaganda campaign, global in scope. Economic warfare against Egypt was instantaneously launched. For a moment, it looked as though the leaders of the British and French empires had lost track of the time at which these events were taking place — and in their utterances and deeds gave room for the suspicion that they felt that this was still the nineteenth century. They utterly ignored the United Nations for two months. It was not until world public opinion reminded them that the age of colonialism had disappeared and that the growing community of nations was intolerant of neo-colonialism that they resorted to the United Nations, in the hope that they might receive therefrom support for, and endorsement of, their effort to redominate the area under the guise of a new formula: "international operation" of the Suez Canal. It is no secret, however, that the principles enunciated by the Security Council on 13th October 1956 were virtually a slap in the face of colonialism and neo-colonialism — inasmuch as they asserted categorically that respect for Egypt's sovereignty was a fundamental requirement of any settlement of the issue. Hence the assertions by the leaders of Britain and France, immediately after the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of its resolution of 13th October 1956, that the use of force in the attainment of their objectives was not precluded.

Military measures of mobilization and movement of troops and naval and air forces to the vicinity of Suez were intensified. Constant meetings between British and French leaders invariably resulted in re-affirmation of Anglo-French solidarity and in outpourings of belligerent warnings to Egypt. The injunction by the Security Council, that Britain, France and Egypt negotiate for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the six principles laid down by the Council, were scornfully disregarded despite Egypt's open indication of enthusiasm for the idea of a negotiated settlement.

3. *Israeli Expansionism in Palestine*

To Israel, the involvement of Egypt in protracted struggle with Britain and France was a most welcome prospect. For Egypt was the main obstacle to the attainment of Israel's traditional and oft-declared aims of spreading its rule over the remainder of Palestine and the whole of Jordan. The destruction of Egypt's military potential, or at least the temporary distraction of Egypt and the diversion of her forces to meet an attack from other sources, seemed to be the only hope for Israel to achieve its expansionist goals.

Thus it came to pass that, at one and the same time, the interests of Britain, France and Israel in the Middle East — often divergent and sometimes incompatible as they had been hitherto — came to coincide. All three, for different reasons, wanted Egypt destroyed as a military power.

All that France and Britain wanted was a pretext to invade Egypt and occupy the Canal; all that Israel wanted and needed was to see Britain and France do so — and Israel was therefore eager to provide Britain and France with the required pretext.

But the timing of the tripartite aggression against Egypt was determined by more than the coincidence of interests of the three aggressors. Certain features of the international situation rendered the moment highly propitious for a combined attack.

III. THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT

The United States was approaching a highly contested national election, in which, as usual, domestic pressures played some role, and in which, to an unusual degree, the issue of peace in the world was crucial, and the involvement or non-involvement of the United States in warfare of any kind was of great significance in determining the outcome of the election.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was facing the most serious trouble behind the Iron Curtain since the death of Stalin and perhaps since the withdrawal of Yugoslavia from the Soviet camp.

With these two simultaneous developments, the two Great Powers in the mid-twentieth century world were temporarily distracted from playing their post-World-War-II role as balancing forces among the less-great Powers. The less-great Powers, having thus had respite, if only for a brief period, from the uncomfortable position of being overshadowed by the two Colossi, found themselves freer to act in accordance with their colonial traditions. It was virtually as though, momentarily, the world had slipped back to the time when America was isolationist and Russia was backward and weak, when Europe was the centre of power and force in the world, and when European great Powers were the world's Colossi.

The norms and patterns of the era of colonialism were conjured up from a past which the world that thought was dead. Strong-arm methods, plotting with smaller tools for instigation of smaller conflicts in order that the greater Powers might intervene on the pretext of seeking to protect interests or safeguard peace and security, came into operation as soon as it seemed that the threat of curbing action by either of the Great Powers of the day was momentarily removed.

It was thus that the new "unholy alliance" of the twentieth century was formed among three countries with different interests but momentarily with one objective: an empire seeking to preserve its shaky colonial rule, another empire seeking to reimpose its colonial influence, and a small country armed to the teeth standing ready, in order to achieve its perennial objective of expansion, to transform itself into a tool for the designs of colonialism.

IV. RATIONALIZATION FOR THE JOINT AGGRESSION

The justifications for this joint aggression which have been put forward by its authors are as absurd as its motives were heinous.

1. Israel's claim that its attack on Egypt and its deep penetration into Egyptian territory were preceded by provocations from the Egyptian side is belied by the fact that the Israeli-Egyptian demarcation lines had seldom been as quiet in the last few years as they have been in the months preceding the attack — to say nothing of the fact that, in all previous instances of military engagements between Israel and the Arab States, the Security Council has invariably censured Israel.

2. The allegation of Britain and France that their action was designed to serve the objectives of the United Nations is belied by the fact that 64 members of the World Organization opposed the aggression — and that only the three

aggressors and two of Britain's Commonwealth satellites opposed the General Assembly resolution calling for immediate cease-fire and for the withdrawal of the invading forces.

3. The Anglo-French claim that the two European invaders had acted independently of the United Nations because that Organization was not expected to prove capable of handling the situation effectively, is belied by the fact that it was precisely Britain and France who used the veto in an obvious effort to obstruct the Security Council's endeavour to restore peace.

4. The absurd contention of Britain and France that their invasion was a "police action" is shown for what it is — that is, a cynical invocation of moral principle in order to render palatable an immoral act — by the fact that their full fury and force were aimed not at the initial aggressor, namely Israel, but at the military and civilian establishments of the victim of aggression, namely, Egypt.

5. The claim of Britain and France that they intervened to protect the Suez Canal is belied by the facts that they acted when the Canal was not in danger, that their action distracted and aimed at destroying the very forces entrusted with the protection of the Canal, and that their military action led to the very opposite of what they claim they had wanted to achieve, and blocked traffic through the Canal.

6. Finally, the absurd contention that Britain and France sought by their military aggression to prevent the eruption of warfare in the Middle East is belied by the facts that it was their conspiracy with Israel which ignited the inflammable Middle Eastern situation, that it was their intervention which prevented the speedy repulsion of the Israeli invasion, and that the war they waged embodied the potential of spreading into a global conflagration.

V. CONSEQUENCES OF THE JOINT AGGRESSION

It is difficult at this stage to predict with any measure of certainty the *short-term* consequences, military or political, of the tri-partite aggression — whether in the Middle East or in the world at large.

The *long-term*, historic significance of this aggression, however, is already apparent.

When the turmoil is over and the world proceeds to pick up the threads, it will become abundantly clear that the very purposes at which the aggressors aimed have been negated by the processes which their aggression set in motion.

* * *

1. Instead of destroying Egypt and obstructing its revival and attainment of dignity, the aggression rendered Egypt, in the eyes of the whole world, a symbol of heroic resistance by a small country to the joint forces of two mighty empires.

2. Instead of isolating Egypt from the Arab world, and from the larger rejuvenated world of Asia and Africa, the aggression has engendered a spectacular closing of ranks among all Asians and Africans — and indeed among all peoples dedicated to the preservation of world peace, the safeguarding of international justice, and the realization of the rights of nations to dignity and self-determination. Seldom has the Afro-Asian community acted, in or outside the United Nations, with such sustained solidarity and impregnable unanimity as it displayed in the present crisis.

3. If Britain and France sought to "protect" by force the freedom of shipping through the Suez Canal, even though it had not been endangered, their joint action contributed to the very opposite: that great waterway of peaceful navigation became a battlefield, and the acts of war blocked it.

4. If Britain and France sought to maintain by force the flow of Middle Eastern oil to Western Europe, their action all but halted that flow.

5. Traditional bonds of friendship, and even normal diplomatic relations, between Britain and France, on the one hand, and some Arab States, on the other, were either totally severed or placed under the greatest strain experienced in the long history of European-Arab relations.

6. The very stature of Britain and France in the world has been adversely affected. *It will be observed that, apart from her two accomplices and two of her Commonwealth satellites, Britain now stands alone in her aggression — deserted or at least not supported by her allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the South-Eastern Asiatic Treaty Organization, in the Baghdad Pact, in the so-called "Users' Association", and in the Commonwealth.* Even the Anglo-American axis, so fundamental to the policies of the two countries since World War II, has never been as fatefully jeopardized: for whatever inaction the United States Government may have displayed in the first few days of the crisis, the attitude of the majority of the American people was inspired by the deep, spiritual principles enunciated by President Eisenhower when he said, on 1st November 1956:

"We cannot and we will not condone armed aggression — no matter who the attacker, no matter who the victim.

"We cannot — in the world, any more than in our own nation — subscribe to one law for the weak, another for the strong; one law for those opposing us, another for those allied with us.

"There can be only one law — or there shall be no peace."

7. The convergence of the three problems — of French colonialism in North Africa, British neo-colonialism in Egypt, and Israeli expansionism in Palestine — has compounded the difficulty of attaining a settlement for each of these problems. If the purpose of the three aggressors was to settle by force the three problems simultaneously, their joint aggression has only made it more difficult to settle any of these problems.

8. As far as the Israeli-Arab conflict is concerned, it can be categorically affirmed that Israel, by conspiring with Britain and France and furnishing the initial spark that set the area on fire, has revealed its true image as *the handmaid of colonialism*. Israel has also convinced the Arab mind, as well as neutral observers, that it does not hesitate to conspire with colonialism — to exploit or to be exploited by it — in the colonial-national struggle in the Arab World, as long as it can thereby attain its dual objective of expanding at Arab expense and weakening Arab resistance.

Israel has also given conclusive evidence of the fact that it has not abandoned its expansionist aims

By so doing, Israel has rendered incalculably more difficult its acceptability to the Arab mind — which acceptability is, in the long run, the imperative condition for any durable settlement of the Palestine problem.

9. Perhaps a graver consequence of the joint aggression is the impact it has had, and will continue to have, on the mind and heart of new Asia and Africa. All assurances that colonialism was dead and that Britain and France had abandoned their former aims to redominate the under-developed world, albeit in a new form, have now been belied; and the Afro-Asian mind is today disturbed by a profound doubt in the intentions of the two West-European empires. It will take a long time of patient and genuine reorientation on the part of Britain and France to disabuse the minds of the peoples of Asia and Africa of this doubt, and to undo the damage which the Anglo-French rash and immoral act has dramatically inflicted on the hopes and confidence of the peoples of the under-developed world.

10. Finally, the very fate of the United Nations was placed in jeopardy. If the United Nations had failed to halt the aggression, and to enforce effectively its reiterated injunctions for the withdrawal of invading forces from Egyptian territory, it would have embarked on the course sadly travelled before by the League of Nations.

Historians in the immediate future would have recorded with sorrow that the second effort of mankind to organize for peace and justice was undermined by two of the main pillars of the United Nations acting in concert with the first creature of the United Nations.

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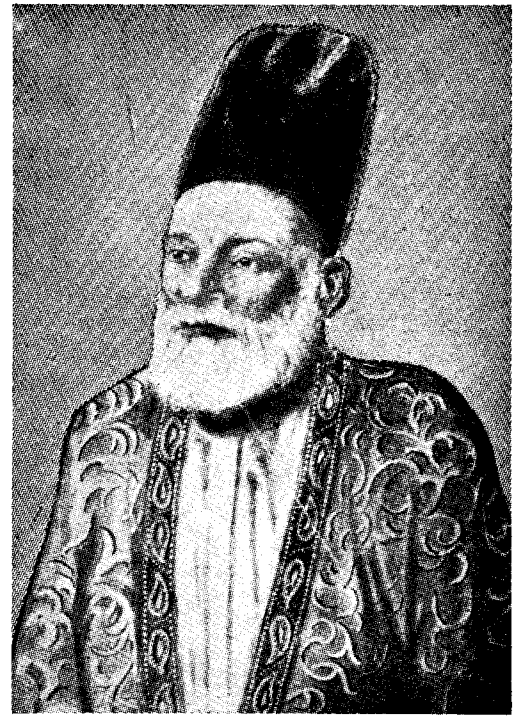
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GHALIB

(d. 1869 C.E.)

One of the greatest Urdu poets of
India and Pakistan

By S. A. 'ALI



Asadullah Khan Ghalib

Caliph : Ah, if there ever shall arise a nation whose people have forgotten poetry or whose poets have forgotten the people, though they send their ships round Taprobane and their armies across the hills of Hindustan, though they mine a league into the earth or mount to the stars on wings — what of them ?

Hasan : They shall be a dark patch on the world.

The burial place of Ghalib

When I first visited Nizamuddin,¹ Delhi — the famous burial-ground of poets, priests and princes — in the summer of 1954, I was anxiously on the lookout for the resting-place of Ghalib.² My guide, whom I had picked up in Chandni Chowk, led me to the gorgeous tomb of Humayun (d. 1556 C.E.), then to Khusru's (d. 1325 C.E.), then to the shrine of Nizamuddin. But the poor wretch knew nothing about that sacred strip of ground that had received the relics of that great genius inspired by Erato, whose name it would be criminal for the lovers of Urdu and Persian to let fall into oblivion.

The sun was at its zenith, scorching the back, yet a strange and irresistible fondness to have a glimpse of the sepulchre of the gifted poet who had ravished my soul during my teens pulled me on, defying the swelter. Each embellished and ornate tomb that the eye described I took to be that of the Great Master; for it was hard for me to believe that the man who enjoyed such popularity in India that he was almost deified would receive a cold burial, and no monument erected where he lay in the long last sleep as a symbol of the tremendous sway his writings had on the hearts and minds of men.

And then, emerging from the sixty-four-pillared marble hall³ which contains the remains of Emperor Akbar's family, I suddenly found just north of it a brick-and-mortar fence, tarnished by the ravages of time, with a rough-hewn door upon which was set a small marble slab with the inscription *Madfan-e-Ghalib*, meaning "the place of Ghalib's burial". I walked in, and was taken aback to find that, contrary to my belief, the great bard lay in a corner in a sorry state. His was like any poor man's grave — hemmed in by weeds, and

with a not-too-easily-decipherable epitaph.⁴ I recalled the lines written by Oscar Wilde about the grave of Keats, which could as well be applied to the grave of Ghalib:

"He rests at last beneath God's veil of blue . . .

"No cypress shades his grave, no funeral yew."

He himself, acting as a diviner for a moment, had presaged his *post mortem* plight and burst out in verses tragic and sublime:

"A watery bier I'd fain embrace —

"No funeral march, no resting-place

"To suffer after death disgrace."

When I turned away from his grave, at last, a mist floated before my eyes. Something had moved me, but it was not the miserable condition of the poet that lay under my feet. Many great men before him had shared the same fate. England's greatest poet, Shakespeare, was not recognized during his lifetime. There was no one to make an idol of him while he lived.⁵ One of Germany's greatest philosophers, Arthur Schopenhauer, was not respected as a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Berlin, and went into seclusion with his dog to write his great book, *The World, Considered as Will and Idea*.

Critics like Iqbal and Bijnauri on the greatness of Ghalib

The thing that had moved me was how that golden age of Muslim rule which had brought intellectual and spiritual enlightenment to its acme had gone — gone like a dream — burying my people in an apathy that seemed fatal. Almost a century had elapsed since Ghalib's death on 15th February 1869, yet during all this time there was no man of means to declare, "I will raise a monument by his *hic jacet*".⁶ Our people had forgotten their poets. Would, then, their lot be

just what Hasan had described before the Caliph in nine words contained in the superscription?

The answer was a spontaneous "yes". For while I do not hold that it is to court disaster for a nation to forget its poets (because I know that, though soon after the rise of Islam the Arabs had virtually blotted out the works of their worthy poets, yet there descended upon them a glory unprecedented) it is my conviction that if a people obliterate the name of a poet like Ghalib (whom Dr. Iqbal has ranked with Goethe,⁷ and whose works, which have become a part of the daily life of the people of India and Pakistan, the well-known critic, the late Dr. 'Abdur Rahman Bijnauri, considers the second divine revelation of the country,⁸ the other being the Vedas, just as the English think of the works of Shakespeare as next only to the Bible), they certainly would. What is there in the works of Ghalib which makes him an inspired poet *par excellence*? It is notorious, it might be argued, that his poems are redolent of pessimism, and serve as a spur to act upon the rule of "let us eat and drink; for tomorrow we shall die";⁹ or that they preach asceticism — as is apparent from the following lines — which has been the chief characteristic of all the great works produced during the Muslim rule, whether it is the moral verses of the Muslim saint Kabir (d. 15th century C.E.) or the *Ram Charit Manas* of the Hindu poet Tulsī Das (d. 1623 C.E.):

*"Let us now seek a place to live alone,
Where no one breathes, and never speech has sound:
Our house shall have no door, nor wall of stone,
Nor neighbour near, nor watchman going round;
When we fall sick, no tender standing by,
And our death come, and not a mourner cry."*¹⁰

In order to weigh these claims, and to follow the evolution of the poet's ideas, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the story and get a true picture of his early life — the conditions under which he lived, and which had influenced him and shaped his course of thought.

Early life and lineage of Ghalib

"In the eleventh century a group of Turkish tribes, the Seljuk Turks, came down into Mesopotamia and made the Caliph their nominal ruler, but really their captive and tool. They conquered Armenia. Then they struck at the remnants of the Byzantine power in Asia Minor. In 1071 the Byzantine army was utterly smashed at the battle of Melasgird, and the Turks swept forward until not a trace of Byzantine rule remained in Asia."¹¹ To the fierce Seljuk warrior, to whom H. G. Wells pays his tribute in such a glowing account, did Ghalib trace his lineage. After their power had been dissipated, some of them went and settled in Samarqand. One of these was Ghalib's great-grandfather, Tarsam Khan. His son, Ghalib's grandfather, was the first member to immigrate into India, and got a respectable post at the court of Shah 'Alam (d. 1806 C.E.).

Ghalib was born under an ominous star, as his tedious life would show, on 27th December 1797, at Agra, home of the Taj. The first few years of his life, which he spent with his mother at the house of her father, who was a Commandant in the army at Meerut and a notable citizen of Agra, must have been one of ease and comfort with all the attendant care to be found in a well-to-do family. But his heyday was short-lived, and miseries compassed him before he had ceased lisping. He had not yet attained five summers when the paternal affection left him. Fate had fired the first harrowing shot. His uncle, Mirza Nasrullah Beg, who was a Risaldar in the British army and was married into a rich family in Delhi, now undertook to rear him. When a couple of years later he visited Delhi, he took the little poet with

him. That was the first time that Ghalib, then seven, went to Delhi. Two years later the second sledgehammer blow came upon him — his uncle departed for the blessed realms, leaving him to stem the roaring billows of his misfortune. That was not all. Marriage, the second great event of man's life, after death, as Shaw put it, had yet to leave its horrible and everlasting impress upon him. We find him married at thirteen in the same family with which his uncle was bound by matrimony, and settling down in Delhi soon after. And, as often happens, we find his wedding to be directly contrary to the significance that clings to the word in common parlance. This is clearly reflected in his poems and prose. When he says:

*"He is not wise who takes a wife to him,
Seeing not so is riddance of the grim."*

*"Our God is powerful? — ah, but he's at home
Without a wife between the cherubim"*¹²
he says it from the experience he had within the precincts of his own house.

Again, when he writes

*"O you who to the holy Ka'bah press,
I praise you so desirous; but confess*

*"From all this running easy is to guess
You entertain an angry shrew at home"*¹³
he is betraying the shrewishness of his own better half which would sometimes have tempted him to run away.

Ghalib's unhappy married life

In one of his letters he refers to his ill-omened marriage in a beautifully allegorical way. "Thirteen years since my birth I spent in prison (the world) and then I was sentenced to life imprisonment. A fetter¹⁴ was put around my feet, and the city of Delhi was the gaol into which I was thrust."¹⁵

So much for his childhood. When we turn to the afternoon of his life, we find his burden of grief not a whit lightened, but added to by a fresh tide of tragedies against which he could no longer struggle with the patience and courage that belong to youth. All of his seven children had been taken away, one by one, by the king of terrors, and the wounds of their separation were still green in his heart when suddenly 'Arif, his adopted son, whom he loved very dearly for his tender speech and presence of mind, died a young man. This incident upset Ghalib's mind for some time, and, when the balance was restored, he wrote such a pathetic elegy in Urdu that it cannot fail to bring tears to eyes that have never been bedewed before:

Then, in 1857, when a fierce revolution was sweeping the country, Ghalib's private life, too, was revolutionized. In the upheaval that followed, his monthly stipend from the Red Fort (the Moghul Emperor's Court) ceased, and, because of his connection with Bahadur Shah Zafar (d. 1862 C.E.) the pension which he received from the British Government was also suspended on suspicion of conniving with the conspirators. It was restored three years later when he was found to be guiltless. In the same year in which this worst pecuniary crisis of his life had arisen, there came another calamity. His only brother, Mirza Yusuf Khan, whom he held dearer than his own soul, died at the age of twenty-four, in the prime of youth. Ghalib never forgets this deep-set grief, and refers to it time and again in his poems and letters.

Those three years during which his pension was stopped were not the only days of his financial trouble. Being too generous to let anyone who stretched his needy palms before him go empty-handed, he was always facing a grave monetary situation. As he was wont to drink daily, he sometimes had

to sell or mortgage his household articles to procure wine, as he says in this couplet:

"I had many periods of privation and many a spring season without wine."

"Days when rain gladdened the earth, and nights when the moon lit the sky"

"Were dark in my eyes, without a drop of drink."

"The cloud of the month of Bahman covered the horizon,"

"While my earthen cup of wine remained as empty as ever."

"Many a spring found me searching for the necessities of life."

"And the door of my house was left open because there was nothing in it to protect."

"Many a time the world has been gay with the rose and the tulip,"

*"While I have been living moodily in my cell. . . ."*¹⁶

He epitomizes his whole life in just two lines:

"Indescribable is that"

"Which passed on Ghalib's head ;"

"This disdained creature had no God,"

"Is all that can be said !"

Was Ghalib a pessimist ?

This, then, is a short sketch of the miserable existence of the genius that was Ghalib. But we should not, as lovers of poetry, feel sorry for it. For, rooted deep in the Niagara of sorrow and severity lies that element that supplies to the poet the sweetness for his songs that perpetually touch the heart-strings. If he had not suffered these turmoils and tribulations, his poems would have been stripped of all those sad and sublime thoughts — and stripped, too, of half the sweetness. For, as an English poet says, "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."¹⁷

Nor are we to mourn that he had no schooling which might have brought his talents into fuller play. For there was before him the open book of Nature, the greatest teacher of all times and the best of guides. It taught him when to smile and when to weep, and blended in his nature a proportionate amount of humour and pathos that we see reflected in his poems. I say proportionate, because his life was so full of ordeals that, had there not been Nature's inspiration, each word of his poems would have carried the blood-stain, so to speak. But we find that in both the collections of his poems (the Urdu collection as well as the Persian one, of which he rightly feels proud, and which, unfortunately, has been neglected owing to the dearth of lovers of Persian in India lately), there are verses to amuse and to infuse bright hopes into saddened hearts. They are not always for tears. The statement, therefore, that his works breathe pessimism is not tenable. If he weeps over his own despair or the despair of his fellow being, he also has many moments of cheerfulness. If he is dejected and crestfallen for a while, he springs forth to action with fresh enthusiasm, and his depression shades off into a rare delight:

"All our dreary hopelessness"

"Is in no time forgot"

"Before the joy of struggling on,"

"E'en tho' the result is nought."

If he is without a draught of the grape, he kicks his heels hopefully till his thirst is slaked:

"If thou hast not a tiff to drink,"

"Thy longing shouldn't decline."

"Be patient till the Saqi (cup-bearer) comes"

"And fills the cup with wine."

A pessimist, on the other hand, takes a gloomy picture

of everything in nature. He finds all things are heading for chaos. The blazing sun and the gentle moonbeams seem dark in his eyes. There is no melody to change his sullen mood, no jest to tickle his senses. Ghalib, who tries to overlook the dark aspects of things and to face the bright ones and who tries to laugh when fortune frowns at him, is really not a pessimist. If he can at all be said to have a pessimistic cast of mind, it is in the sense that some of his ideas are analogous to those of Schopenhauer, as we shall see by and by. But this European Pessimism, as it is called, is different.

How Ghalib differs from other poets

Art ceases to be art when it is employed for selfish pursuits. The real artist, who has a keener sense of observation than most others, sees things from new angles, analyses them sharply, and then tries to reproduce them exactly without adding or subtracting one jot or tittle. He is only an imitator of Nature, and his works are its mirror. Here by the word "artist" I do not mean only the followers of visual art, as the painter, the sculptor and the architect ; I also include our hero, the poet. He too "believes nothing but what he sees. The power of his utterance springs forth from this, that all his statements carry with them the immediate warrant of experience . . . his brilliant statements of truth are sudden divinations born of experience, sparks thrown out into the darkness from the luminous centre of his own self-knowledge."¹⁸

It is this one quality of the artist in Ghalib more than in other poets, viz., copying faithfully what he experiences, that makes him shine so dazzlingly in the realm of poets. Unlike Zauq (d. 1855 C.E.), another famous contemporary poet, he does not readily stoop to write flattering verses in praise of the great to win their favour till late old age when indigence compels him to do so to keep his body and soul together. Consequently, these eulogies of Ghalib, which break the rule of "art for art's sake", have no charm in them. Similarly, the earlier part of his poetry lacks the savour of true art, because we find the young hero, to whom inspiration has not yet come, repeating commonplaces and composing poems with strained effort. But, as he advances in years, he relies more upon Nature, who winks at him to use his special faculty of observation to extract the essence of everyday experience hidden from the human eye. He becomes an imitator of Nature — nay, more than that. What Pope says of Shakespeare is also true of Ghalib: "He is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument, of Nature ; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks thro' him." Ghalib himself declares:

"Were verse the order of the day,"

"Thy name would to the Pleiades shine."

"And, Ghalib, had it religion been,"

"Thine would be the Book Divine."

Book Divine? Yes, because the ideas flow into the poet's mind from Above. As Carlyle says, "he speaks with the voice of a god".¹⁹ And it is for this reason that in Arabic poets are called the pupils of God: *Al-Shu'ara Talamidh al-Rahman* ("Poets are the pupils of God the Beneficent"). When inspiration comes to a poet, he has only to sit with a calm and receptive mind, and ideas begin to crowd into his head without any apparent mental exertion. We know that once Ghalib began to scribble as if thoughtlessly, and in a few minutes several fine poems were ready.²⁰ That was inspiration indeed. But it comes by its own will, not by the poet's. Of the 1,883 couplets of Ghalib in the Urdu collection,²¹ only one-fourth can be said to be inspired. It is on this small portion of his poetry that his fame chiefly rests. There are in it frank generalizations of human nature, there

are palpable truths about the here and the hereafter, there is witticism and pathos, ethics and philosophy — what aspect of life has been left untouched? For want of space we shall briefly review only the last of these.

Ghalib's philosophy

It is significant that though Ghalib had never studied the treatises of Western philosophers, his philosophical notions are parallel with many of them. He would have treated his theories at some length in his poems if the restrictions imposed by the *ghazal*, a form of poetry in which he excelled, had not stood in his way. He remarks:

*"I would there were a larger field
Than ghazal for my soaring thoughts."*

But because of this restriction his theories lie scattered like the pearls of a broken string. We shall, however, try to piece them together to make an outline of his beliefs.

He believes that in the beginning there was nothing but God. Then, prompted by the desire to see what he was like, he cast his reflection in the great void. This is the faith also of the great Muslim philosopher of Spain, Mohiyuddin Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240 C.E.).²² Ghalib expresses his belief thus:

*"Lord, was it not to see thy beauty
That thou gave the power of sight?"*

And because all reflection is unsubstantial, Ghalib believes with Schopenhauer²³ that this world, the reflection of God's image, is unreal and exists only in the mind:

*"The world an empty name I find —
All matter figment of the mind."*

'Omar Khayyam is probably the earliest Muslim poet to advance this theory. He says:

*"In surat-e-Kaun, Jumla Naqsh ast o Khayal;
"Arif nabuwad har kih na-danad 'in Hal.
"Binishin, Qadah Badah benosh o khush bash
"Farigh shau azin Naqsh o Khayalat-i-muhaal."
("This world in our imagination lies;
"The man who knows this not cannot be wise.
"Be merry with a cup of wine and shun
"Such notions false that in the head arise."²⁴)*

Ghalib seems to believe in the famous dictum of Descartes — *cogito ergo sum*: I think, therefore I am. But according to him the human ego is, like a drop out of the river, only an infinitesimal part of the Eternal Reality. It is not Reality itself. To the discerning eye the very presence of our consciousness is a proof of a Super-conscious Existence, just as it sees in a drop of water the presence of an ocean:

*"Not to see in a drop the Tigris,
"And the whole by part supplied,
"Is not to have the seeing eye
"But the plaything of a child."*

The next point is to what extent is man independent in his acts. There are many traditions imputed to the Prophet Muhammad which clearly imply that every action of man is controlled and guided by God. One set of mystics takes them to be literally true. The other school twists and interprets them differently. Ghalib belongs to the former, and sees the will of God behind each and every human act — rather he sees each act being done by God's own hands:

"With preacher I have quarrel none, nor have I slayer's fear:

"Let the Omnipresent God in any form appear."

This is but an echo of Sarmad's^{24a} cry when the slayer stood before him with an unsheathed sword. "Myself to Thee I dedicate. Come, come, for in whatever form Thou appearest, I recognize Thee fully well." It may be noted here that this conception is found in Hindu philosophy, also in *tat tvam asi* (Thou art He).

Now if a man is helpless in doing what seems to be good or evil, why is he given promises of heaven and threats of hell? Some, like Ibn Taimiyyah (d. 1328 C.E.), believe that both these are here in this world. So does Ghalib. He goes on to add that the reward for each act of a person follows immediately according to its nature. If a man does a good deed, the mental pleasure that accrues from it is an ample reward; if an evil one, the retribution is the painful feeling of guilt. That is, he thinks of heaven and hell to be but a state of the mind.²⁵

"Sev'n times more painful than hell

"Is shame that follows evil deed —

"Thinkest Thou not that it is

"For the criminal ample need?"

Ghalib believes, however, that whatever the state of a man's mind might be, he is bound to be in sorrow and affliction as long as he lives in this unreal world and does not realize his true identity. The path of his deliverance is above the cool shades of heaven and the raging flames of hell. It is above the Ka'bah and the cathedral, which are, in a way, a veil between man and the Reality.

"Between the Ka'bah and the cathedral I bide,

"As each of them draws me toward its side."

Faizee expresses the same idea in a beautiful way:

"Ham Ka'bah o ham But-kadah Sang-e-Rah-e-Ma bood,

"Raftem o Sanam bar Sar-e-Mihrab shikastem."

("The Ka'bah as well as the house of idols were both of them stones in my way.

"I went and struck the idol right against the niche of the Ka'bah.")

The path of man's deliverance is "the steep stairway of love"²⁶ that leads to his union with the Absolute, just as the salvation of a drop of water lies in its mingling with the vast ocean. And, as the great mystic Rumi has pointed out in the story of the King and the Maid-servant, the perfect love of God is achieved through mundane love:

"Guft 'Ma'shuq-am tu bud-asti na aan.

"Lek kaar az kaar khezad dar Jahan."

Said (the king) —

"My beloved art Thou, not she.

"But in the world action begets action."²⁷

Goethe also closes his *opus*²⁸ with the same expression:

"Das Ewig-Weibliche

"Zieht uns hinan."²⁹

("Love, eternal, immutable,

"On, ever on, draws us.")

REFERENCES

- 1 Named after the great saint and spiritual preceptor of Amir Khusru, Nizamuddin Auliya (d. 725 A.H.—1324 C.E.), during the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, whose graceful marble tomb keeps wafting abroad the fragrance of flowers and incense brought by an increasing string of his votaries; it lies four miles south of the Red Fort of Delhi.
- 2 *Nom de plume* of Mirza Asadullah Khan.
- 3 Known as *Chausath Khamba*.
- 4 *"Ya Hayy! Ya Qayyum
"Rashk-e 'Urfiy o Fakhr-e-Talib murd
"Asadullah Khan Ghalib murd.
"Kal main Gham o Andoh men bakhaatir-e-mahzoon,
"Tha Turbta-e-Ustaad pe baithaa' huaa gham naak,
"Dekhaa jo mujhe Fikr men Tarikhi ki majruh
"Hatif ne kahaa 'Ganje Mu'afi hai Tah-e-Khaak'."*
- 5 Walter Raleigh: *Shakespeare*.
- 6 Lest these words should be misconstrued as my inclination towards un-Islamic practices, I should like to clarify that I am opposed to all forms of superstructure erected over a dead body, which, according to an accepted tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, has been denounced thus: *F'ajtanibu 'l-Rijs mina 'l-Authan* ("Beware of the abominations of the monuments").

What I imply is that the literary taste of the people — who, when excited, are prone to act impetuously, regardless of whether what they do is or is not sanctioned by religion — was too feeble to work up their passions to raise a monument in honour of their greatest poet. Now that the beginnings of an intellectual awakening can be felt amongst the Muslims of India, a finely chiselled marble sepulchre has been set up over his dead bones. This awakening is the direct result of mass indignation aroused by the Indian Government's stern suppression of Urdu — the language spoken throughout the length and breadth of the country by people of all faiths, and in which Indian films are made, because the audience to films in Hindi, the national language of the new régime, has been unexpectedly thin, entailing great losses to the producers. But the more it is suppressed the more it bounces up. Centuries of its use as a language of the street and courts have given it that polish, sweetness and resilience that render futile all efforts to wipe it out. The anti-Urdu measure of the Government has proved to be a blessing in disguise, and the awakening now afoot will, I believe, usher in the Golden Age for Urdu literature before the close of this century.

7 Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Bang-e-Dira*.

8 Dr. Abdur Rahman Bijnauri, *Mahasin-e-Kalam-e-Ghalib*.

9 Is. 22 : 13.

10 J. A. Chapman, *The Rampur Anthology*, Milford.

11 H. G. Wells, *A Short History of the World*.

12 J. A. Chapman, *The Rampur Anthology*.

13 Ibid.

14 Cf. Ecc. (7 : 26). "And I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands."

15 Ghalib, *Urdu-e-Mu'alla*.

16 Sir 'Abdul Qadir, *Famous Urdu Poets*.

17 P. B. Shelley, *To a Skylark*.

18 Raleigh, *Shakespeare*.

19 Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-worship*.

20 Hali, *Yadgar-e-Ghalib*.

21 This figure is according to *Nuskha-e-Hamidiyya* of *Diwan-e-Ghalib*.

22 Ibn al-'Arabi, *Fusoos al-H'kam*.

23 Schopenhauer, *The World Considered as Will and Idea*.

24 S. A. 'Ali, *Ruba'iyat of 'Omar Khayyam : A New Version*.

24a A well-known saint whom the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb (d. 1707) got slain.

25 Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* — "The mind is its own place, in itself we make a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell."

26 Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, 11th ed., p. 165.

27 Rumi, *Mathnavi*, Part I.

28 Goethe, *Faust*, Vol. 2.

29 I have quoted the original German because the translators have been confounded in finding a correct equivalent for *Ewig-Weibliche*, which approximately means "woman-spirit". What Goethe intended was to show that the spirit of love generated by the woman on the earthly plane works higher and higher to a purer and diviner level till it is lost into the Reality which, according to the Bible, is Love itself (John, 4 : 8).

MUSLIM SHARE IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

A Panoramic Survey of the discoveries of Muslim scientists of the 9th to 13th centuries

By MUHAMMAD 'ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN



Professor A. R. Khan

A notable characteristic of the Muslim rule

In their heyday of intellectual supremacy Muslim scientists were responsible for a number of important discoveries. From the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the twelfth they were the foremost investigators in practically all branches of science. The Arabic language was the medium of expression of scientific knowledge before the Renaissance. It was the language of culture not only for Muslim Arabs and non-Arabs but for practically all the nations and communities that had adopted the civilization of Islam: Jews, Christians, Persians, Syrians, Berbers, Turks and Turkomans.

History has recorded the fact that intellectual activity is not the birthright of any particular race or community. It is the result of settled life, free from large-scale calamities

caused by adverse natural phenomena, internecine wars or tyrannical rule. Peace and plenty have generally provided the thoughtful mind of man, in all ages and climes, of all nationalities and creeds, with adequate means of scientific research. Those nations that have enjoyed peace and prosperity for longer intervals have naturally achieved more. Muslim nations even at the height of their political supremacy have had comparatively short periods of peace or settled government. There have been too many rapid changes in ruling dynasties with their concomitant family and racial disasters.

It has been a notable characteristic of Muslim rule that as soon as a new dynasty established its settled rule and acquired prosperity, it encouraged agriculture, developed trade and patronized learning and fine arts. As a result of

this, Islam through its followers and *protégés* contributed immensely to the advancement of science. Muslim historians, biographers and scientists themselves have written monumental works on this subject. A large number of these works were destroyed by Tartars in the East and Christian Spaniards in the West. What remained fell into the hands of ignorant Muslims and has been either preserved in the form of objects of curiosity or sold or given away to foreign libraries.

We are indebted to foreign Orientalists mostly for the publication and interpretation of some of these long-forgotten works. Dr. George Sarton has rendered yeoman service to civilization in general and Muslim science in particular by bringing out his monumental treatise on the *History and Philosophy of Science*. It is proposed here to write a short introductory account of some of the outstanding discoveries, etc., made by Muslim scientists.

The ninth century essentially a Muslim century

The age of translation from Greek, Persian and Sanskrit classics in science was succeeded soon by a period of original observations and research. The ninth century C.E. became essentially a Muslim century. Muslim savants were the real standard-bearers of civilization during that period. Al-Kindi (first half of ninth century C.E.), the Banu Musa (ninth century C.E.), al-Khwarizmi (ninth century C.E.), al-Farghani (ninth century C.E.) and a number of others shed their lustre all over the intellectual world, in mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, mensural music and other allied subjects. Al-Farghani's comprehensive treatise on astronomy remained the most popular work on the subject in its original Arabic and later Latin and Hebrew translations until the fifteenth century. He remeasured the diameter of the earth and determined the greatest relative distances and diameters of the planets. Abu Ma'shar (Latin Albumasar) (d. 885 C.E.) put forward a logical explanation of the tides as controlled by the moon, although his fame as a writer on astrology induced a man like Copernicus to refute it.

In the second half of the ninth century, al-Maahaani, Hilal al-Himsi and Ahmad Ibn Yusuf introduced Archimedian problems and the works of Apollonius of Perga and Menelaus of Alexandria to the Latin West. Al-Khwarizmi made a systematic study of quadratic equations both analytically and geometrically. Al-Battani (Latin, Albategnius) compiled a catalogue of the stars for 929 C.E. from his own observations at Raqqa, discovered the motion of solar apsides, found the procession of equinoxes to be 54.5 seconds per annum and the inclination or obliquity of the ecliptic 23 degrees 35 minutes (Newcomb's value being only six seconds smaller — a remarkable agreement). He deduced a number of important theorems in spherical trigonometry. Abu Kamil Shuja' Ibn Aslam and Ibrahim Ibn Sa'id (d. 1066 C.E.) — one an algebraist, the other a geometer — were the greatest mathematicians that adorned the age of al-Mas'udi (d. 956 C.E.), one of the greatest historians and geographers of all time.

The leading Muslim philosophers of the Middle Ages remarkable for their cyclopaedic knowledge

The leading Muslim philosophers of the Middle Ages were remarkable for their cyclopaedic knowledge. Abu Bakr al-Razi (d. 952 C.E.) — the famous Rhazes of Latin writers — was not only the greatest physician of the Middle Ages and one of the greatest of all times, but also a sound experimentalist in physics and chemistry. His brilliant tract on measles and smallpox is a masterpiece of scientific investigation. His views on the properties and constitution of metals are the first systematic treatment of the nature of chemical

elements before Lavoisier. His use of the hydrostatic balance to determine specific gravity marks him out as a brilliant exponent of experimental physics. Al-Nairizi wrote on atmospheric phenomena for the Caliph al-Mu'tadid (d. 1068 C.E.) and a treatise on the spherical astrolabe considered to be the best in Arabic.

'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi, Ibn Yunus, Ibn Haithm (1039 C.E.), al-Biruni (1048 C.E.), Ibn Sina (1037 C.E.), Umar al-Khayyam (d. 1123 C.E.) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1199 C.E.) would do honour to any age. The first was a great exponent of observational astronomy. His *Suwar al-Kawakib* is a mine of information for the study of stellar phenomena; the tables computed by the second at Cairo have led to many important discoveries in astronomy; the third was one of the foremost physicists of all times. His book on optics corrected several erroneous notions of the nature of vision; he deduced many important laws relating to dioptrics and ingeniously arrived at a fairly correct estimation of the height of the homogeneous atmosphere from a study of twilight phenomena. Al-Biruni's researches embodied in his *Qanun Mas'udi* place him in the foremost rank of astronomers. He was a most systematic observer of natural phenomena, as is evident from his description of the Zodiacal Light, number of petals in flowers, ascent of water in springs and the past history of the Sind valley. Ibn Sina's *Qanun fi al-Tibb* (*The Canon*) remained a medical bible for centuries. He shrewdly discovered the propagation of some diseases through water. 'Umar al-Khayyam's treatment of cubic equations and compilation of the Jalali Calendar eclipse his reputation as a poet of world-wide fame. Ibn Rushd, who was not only a great exponent of Aristotle, like al-Farabi, but also identified the retina as the seat of vision and is credited also with the discovery of sunspots and the invention of a measuring instrument similar to the vernier.

Muhammad al-Isfahani's translations of books five to seven of Apollonius on the conic sections (lost in original Greek) were the only means of re-imparting that knowledge to the world. Al-Sijazi (c. 951-c. 1024) made a special study of the intersection of conics and found a purely geometrical means of trisecting angles from intersection of circles and equiangular hyperbola. Nasir al-Din Tusy (1201-1274 C.E.) was in charge of Halagu's observatory at Maragha and wrote among other important works *al-Mutawassitat* and *Shakl al-Qattaa'* (Latin, *Figura Cata*), of long-enduring fame. His discussion of Euclid's fifth postulate was taken up by Cerolano-Saccheri (1733) and laid the foundation of non-Euclidean geometry. His pupil Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (almost as great a scientist), by his correct explanation of the formation of rainbows, anticipated Descartes by three centuries.

The travels of Ibn Hawqal (writing about 925 C.E.), Ibn Jubair, who went to Mecca in 1192 C.E., and Ibn Battutah, who was in Constantinople in 1353 C.E., are full of geographical, ethnological and economic details. A study of the monumental works of Yaqut (1228 C.E.) and al-Idrisi will even now lead to important results.

Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288 C.E.) pointed out the function of the heart in the circulation of the blood

Zahrawi was the greatest investigator of his time in anatomy. A number of important facts were recorded for the first time in his famous book *al-Tasrif*, the surgical part of which was published in Venice in 1497, at Basle in 1541 and at Oxford in 1778. Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288-9 C.E.), besides writing on Hadith, on eye-diseases and diet, in his *Sharh Tashrih Ibn Sina*, has clearly pointed out the function of the heart in the circulation of the blood. Muslim physicians were experts in the diagnosis and treatment of eye-diseases.

Salah al-Din Ibn Yunus' *Nur al-'Uyun* was consulted by medical practitioners for centuries after the author's death.

Manual labour being cheap and beasts of burden easily available, not much attention was paid to mechanical devices in the Middle Ages. All the same, Badi' al-Zaman al-Jazari (probably in 1205 or 6) discussed the technique of hydraulic apparatus, clepsydras, fountains, etc., in his *Kitab fi Ma'rifat al-Handsah*. Ridwan al-Saa'ati (1203 C.E.) and his father, Rustam, designed, perfected and described the water clock on Bab al-Jayrun in Damascus. The Arabs purified nitre and had a large share in the manufacture of gunpowder. They utilized the magnetic compass in navigation. Ibn Majid (1498 C.E.) navigated Vasco da Gama's ship to India.

Abu al-'Abbas al-Nabaati, al-Ghaafiqi and Ibn al-Baytar's (d. 1248 C.E.) treatises on medicine are full of important descriptions of plants. Many Muslim physicians travelled all along the coast of Africa, Syria and the Red Sea in search of medicinal and other herbs. It would be no exaggeration to state that scientific agriculture, started by the Arabs in Spain, spread all over Europe. Ibn al-'Awwam's *al-Filahah* is full of most significant facts concerning the importance of soil and manure in horticulture.

Al-Asma'i's (during the days of Harun al-Rashid (d.

809 C.E.) books on the camel (*Kitab al-Ibil*) and the horse (*Kitab al-Khayl*) are a proof of Arab interest in zoology. Many such works were written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries C.E. The theologian al-Nazzam (d. 845 C.E.) expressed views containing the germs of the theory of evolution. Ibn Tufayl's (twelfth century C.E.) *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, a pseudo-scientific romance on evolution (translated into many modern languages) is still read with much relish. 'Utaarid's *Lapidary* and al-Tifaashi's *Jawahir al-Afkar* reveal Muslim interest in mineralogy.

In spite of the Jabir-Geber (flourished in the early tenth century C.E.) controversy, Jabir Ibn Hayyan was undoubtedly the greatest investigator in pre-Renaissance chemistry. Muslim chemists distilled ammonia, concentrated acetic acid from vinegar, prepared a number of the more important acids and other useful pure substances.

We are indebted for all this (and a colossal amount of similar) information to the cyclopaedic works of Ibn al-Nadim al-Waraq (d. 988 C.E.), Ibn 'Usaibi'ah (d. 1270 C.E.), Yaqut and Ibn Khallikan (d. 1282 C.E.) and a number of other writers on Muslim biographies. Ibn Khaldun's researches in sociology may well entitle him to a prominent place in the list of Muslim scientists.



HERITAGE OF ISLAM, by K. Jamil Ahmad. Ferozsons, Karachi, Pakistan, 1956. PP. xvi + 390. Rs. 5/- or 8/6.

The path of the popularizer is beset with snares: in the choice and adaptation of materials the personal element plays a dominant role, so that the prejudices of the writer pervade his works. But to compensate for the partial view the reader has a more intimate vision of the field traversed, and he can, without too great a demand upon his intellect, conceive the pattern of the whole far better than he would were his guide a stickler for the detail. It is, however, our belief that before the popularizer can draw the larger patterns of cause and consequence, he must be a scholar first and master these very details which go to build up the picture. No writer can hope to stimulate the sympathy of the reader unless he manifests a fidelity to facts. The interpretation may be his own, but the substratum on which it is built must rest on firm foundations.

It is, therefore, with mixed feelings that we bring the attention of the reader to Mr. K. Ahmad's *Heritage of Islam*. The intention of the writer deserves every credit, which, as his publishers point out, is to "clear the great misunderstandings that exist about Islam among our educated class, which is ignorant of the contributions of Islam to the building of modern civilization". But the truth must be faced that the range of the subjects he has chosen is so extensive that he is unable to do justice to every part of it, as is only inevitable. It is therefore, not without knowing something of the insuperable problem of the author, nor being unaware of his goodwill, that we shall now forewarn the lay reader, to whom this book is directed, by pointing out the numerous errors and misstatements that have crept into the theme of

but a single chapter of his book — that on architecture (p. 144 *et seq.*).

PAGE 217.—He states that the palaces of Baghdad were of marble, which if it were true, would be without precedent in early Muslim architecture. In fact the complete disappearance of al-Mansur's Round City of Baghdad was due almost entirely to the use of perishable materials such as timber, brick and stucco. The only marble feature which does survive is the eighth century C.E. mihrab from the Baghdad Mosque, and this is believed to have been imported from Syria.

The author suggests that the Abbasid style resembled that of Damascus. However, it is well known that none of the palaces of Damascus survive, and therefore it is obvious that their style is unknown to us. The Omayyad palaces in the desert, moreover, evince a great variety of styles.

PAGE 218.—He maintains that the Delhi Pearl Mosque is beautiful because of its lack of ornamentation, despite the fact that inscriptions and bas relief carvings are certainly not absent. Here again, as is the case throughout this chapter, effusion takes the place of description, and the result is that no image of the object arises in the mind's eye of the reader.

PAGE 220.—This page is a *magnum opus* of blunders. The author describes the Quairuan Mosque as if it originated after Abdur Rahman I, whereas it is earlier than Spanish Muslim architecture and is in fact a composite of Omayyad-Abbasid-Aghlabid taste. It is incorrect to state that the prayer hall was introduced in Abdur Rahman's period as it had already occurred in the Great Mosque of Damascus in 715 C.E. One fails to see how the *Maqsura* could be described or translated as "The Chieftain's Lodge". It is in fact the screen isolating the ruler from the people. Mr. Ahmad says

that Cordova arches have alternating red brick and white "keystones". There is of course only one keystone in an arch, and it is the voussoirs in the Cordovan arches that alternate.

The description to the effect that the Cordova sanctuary consists of "11 galleries separated by arcades" is misleading. The use of the present tense suggests that this is the present Mosque of Cordova, whereas the 11-aisled prayer hall (not "galleries") refers only to the original edifice of Abdur Rahman I.

In describing the Cordova dome, the author says that it springs from "two intersecting quadrangles of arches". The author is not aware of the fact that they are not arches at all but ribs which are built into the canopy of the dome purely to produce a decorative effect. It is not correct to say that floral forms are executed in the plaster media at Cordova; for just the contrary to Baghdad, they are in carved marble. To talk of a richly carved *minbar* (pulpit) at Cordova suggests that our author is quite unaware that this *minbar* disappeared hundreds of years ago. At Cordova the *mihrab* is not covered with glazed tiles, as he says, but with glass mosaic.

The photograph opposite p. 220 is not of the Mosque of Cordova, as captioned, but is in fact the Jewish Synagogue at Toledo, the Santa Maria Bianca.

PAGE 221.—Having already described the Mosque of Cordova on the previous page, the author begins all over again and says it was commenced by Abdur Rahman II! But perhaps the printer's devil is responsible for this error!

It should be noted that the "third row of arches superimposed upon a second" at Cordova occur only in the Maqsura screen. The original timber ceiling is not intact as stated, as is clearly evident from the photograph on the very opposite page. However, some beams from the old ceiling are exhibited in the Courtyard of the Cordova Mosque.

The shell dome is not over the *mihrab* arch, but over a chamber behind the *mihrab*, and this chamber is not "octagonal" but seven-sided.

PAGE 223.—It is incorrect to speak of the "impregnable fortress of Alhambra" in 1161. As the oldest surviving portion of the Alcazaba of the Alhambra is not earlier than the thirteenth century, it is useless to make exaggerated claims for an earlier period.

For "Al-Ahmar monarchs" read "Nasirid monarchs". Photographs 222 and 223 are falsely labelled. Captions should read — Alcazar, Seville.

PAGE 225.—Pavilions in the Court of the Lions do not project into the corners but on to the centres of each side of the court.

For "lattice work" read "stucco work".

PAGE 226.—Coloured tiles at the Alhambra are not on the floor but on the dadoes.

The roof of the hall of Abenserrages is not supported by columns but by clustered corbels, or "stalactites".

PAGE 229.—Ivans do not have "ogee" arches but four-centred pointed arches. The *mihrahs* are not in "all" Ivans but only in the sanctuary Ivan, as that is the only Ivan that faces Mecca. It is only the sanctuary Ivan that is flanked by minarets, and sometimes also the entrance portal. The Ivan itself is not crowned by a dome. It is the prayer chamber behind it that is covered by a dome. In Persia the Founder's Tomb is scarcely ever in this dome chamber.

PAGE 230.—Persian mosques do not employ "slender pillars", but only colonnettes engaged along the jambs. Mosque oratories occasionally are supported by cylindrical brick piers which are in any case not slender. The Blue Mosque at Tabriz is a nearly centralized type of building

with domes over the court and *mihrab*, and is by no means "typical of the Iranian plan".

For "Masjid Shah" read "Masjid e Ali Shah" — the date of which is not the 15th century but *circa* 1315.

The Mashad Mosque of 1418 should not be confused with the shrine of the Imam Riza. It is in fact the neighbouring mosque known as Gawar Shad (wife of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh).

PAGE 231.—The most significant portions of the Isfahan Jami were not built in the twelfth century, when it was admittedly restored, but in 1085-8.

The Quseir Amra is an Arab and not "a Persian palace", and there are no ante-rooms preceding its audience chamber.

PAGE 232.—Persian domes are not usually bulbous, and are not carved but are covered with glazed tiles.

PAGE 233.—The author says that two-centred arches were not much employed in Muslim countries, but as against this it must be remembered that this arch was actually invented by the Muslims.

Coloured glass is not usual in Persia; neither are battlements.

PAGE 234.—The Pearl Mosque of Delhi was not built by Shah Jehan but by Aurangzeb.

Syrian architecture is almost entirely omitted and only five lines are devoted to Egyptian architecture as compared with 150 lines for the insignificant late buildings of East Pakistan. The chapter on "Fine and Minor Arts" has not been read by the present reviewer, but it was noticed in passing that the author includes Maani, who was condemned for heresy in the Sassanian period, actually as a Muslim artist! It is apparent at a glance that the illustrations, which, as it is, are badly reproduced and detract considerably from the value of the book, could have provided the book with a redeeming feature if the author and the publishers had procured original photographs, instead of photographs of prints in other books, for their blocks.

The book is studded with spelling mistakes: (p. 125) "Malaya" should be "Malaga"; (p. 218) "Harvel" should be "Havell"; (p. 220) "lobar" should be "lobed"; (p. 221) al-Hakim II should be al-Hakam II; (p. 223) the river "Douro" should be "Darro"; (p. 228) "Cosmatic" should be "Cosmati" or "Cosmatesque"; (p. 228) "Edirne" is to be preferred to "Adarna"; (p. 230) "Nazin" should be "Nain".

Not only has the author no particular system of transliteration to follow in the spelling of Arabic words, he does not seem to attach any importance whatsoever to their correct transliteration. Here are a few examples which, to say the least, are most disconcerting to a lay reader, leave alone a scholar:

Page 11: Ibn Yunis should read Ibn Yunus;
Page 23: *Kitab al-Haywan*, *Kitab al-Hayawan*;
Page 25: al-Mughani, al-Mughni;
Page 52: Muqabla, Muqabala;
Page 54: Hindusa, Hindasa;
Page 229: Mahrab, Mihrab; and
Page 225: Half al-Fudul, Hilf al-Fudhul.

We have seen it fit to point out these mistakes, mainly because we are anxious that the standard of literary production in Pakistan should rise. With all this, let us also say that a casual reader can profit from this book.

As the Professor and Head of the Department of History of the University of Karachi recommends this publication, it is unfortunate that so many misconceptions should have gone unnoticed.

WHAT OUR READERS SAY . . .

PROFESSOR TOYNBEE'S VIEWS ON ISLAM

The Friends of Islam,
Stadionplein 11/2,
Amsterdam Z., Holland.
15th January 1957.

Dear Sir,

The letter published in *The Islamic Review* for December 1956 about "Professor Toynbee's Misrepresentation of Islam" is very misleading. The quotation that:

"Mahometans, according to the principles of their faith, are under an obligation to use violence to bring about other religions to ruin"

is not his but that of P. Bayle (*vide Dictionaire*, 3rd edition, iii, 1859, ref. *An Historian's Approach to Religion* by Professor Toynbee, p. 206).

The above passage, however, does not form part of the chapter 15, but that of its annexe (set in small type) entitled:

"Contemporary Expressions of the Seventeenth-Century West's Revulsion from the West's Traditional Religious Intolerance".

Even the quotation from Bayle's *Dictionaire* is not complete as the presence of dots in this passage shows. The following remarks in the same passage about Christian, I hope, would be read with interest:

"The Christians have not yet been given orders to do anything but preach and instruct; yet, in spite of this, from time immemorial they have been exterminating by fire and sword all those who are not of their religion . . ."

Again, would it be fair to accuse Toynbee for such remarks against Christians only because he is quoting somebody else on the subject? I wish you had taken a little trouble in verifying the statement before publishing that letter and save the author of the book from unnecessary sharp criticism by Mr. Raschid.

If someone is, however, looking for Professor Toynbee's own opinion on this matter, he should read his remarks on pages 90 and 246 in *An Historian's Approach to Religion*.

Yours faithfully, S. M. TUFAIL.

* * *

MODERN CHRISTIANS AND THE TRINITY

Berwyn,
The Park,
Great Barton,
Bury St. Edmunds.
21st January 1957.

Dear Sir,

Assalamo alaykum!

Surely many "orthodox" Muslims will be unable to assimilate the fruitage of the reasoning of Mr. K. Cragg in his effort to establish a degree of parallelism betwixt Christian Orthodox trinitarian concepts of "God" and Muslim unitarian convictions as taught by the Holy Qur'an itself. Mr. Cragg presents a very speciously reasoned book, but being founded upon a wrong premise, it must not be permitted to beguile Muslims into any departure from the 1,300 years of Islamic teaching of the grandeur of solemn monotheism of God, which places Islam at the head of all faiths declared on this planet.

Mr. Cragg seems to forget the presence of the Divine Creator is evidenced in two ways, i.e., both within and without the universe. In the former, the Almighty Spirit of God pervades and sustains all phenomenal manifestations of

energy — solid, liquid and gaseous — and both animate and inanimate show "entities", every atom, as we know, pulsating with terrific power or "spirit". In that way the Divine character — Almighty God — *sustains* every single human being, as by the *general* effusion or emanation of His "Spirit", and this was the revelation of the prophets, as "in Him we live and move and have our being" (Acts 17:28).

But the prophets, e.g., King David, referred to "the Spirit" as of two grades: (1) free Spirit, i.e., which is general throughout the universe; and (2) "Holy Spirit" — the latter delivered directly, as through the prophets for a major revelational purpose as in Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, on whom all be peace!

But "Holy" or "separate" Spirit of God is obviously *subsidiary* to the Almighty and Divine Will, and this rules out any suggestion of a trinitarian "Godhead" as an equal division of three. Again, Mr. Cragg obscures the fact that trinitarian concepts in Christianity were introduced therein by the paganized "theology" of the Pauline falsifications, which at once reduces the theory to being "polytheistic", and which must remain anathema to all orthodox Muslims solely for that reason.

Yours in Islam,
AHMED P. ROBINSON
(Lt.-Com.(E), R.N. Retd.).

* * *

A JEWISH FRIEND ON THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL

Purity Movement,
6 Queen's Ferry Close,
Rugby.

20th January, 1957.

Dear Sir,

The establishment of the State of Israel was a mistake. The Arab-Muslim world will never accept this Western intrusion into their homelands. And, unfortunately, the Israelis, by their latest desperate act of aggression — some say necessary to ensure their survival — have proved their utter inability to grasp the most primitive facts underlying the thinking and feeling of the Middle Eastern peoples.

This total inability to comprehend the situation with which they are faced is, and remains, the doom of the State of Israel.

The only possible solution of the Palestine problem can be found in the establishment of a bi-national State, composed of Arabs and Jews, on terms of equality.

It seems that the very existence of Israel in the Middle East is and will remain the stumbling block to a permanent pacification of the area. The United Nations will, sooner or later, have to vote in favour of transforming Israel into a bi-national State which for a certain transition period might even have to be governed by the United Nations itself.

The Jews at present in Palestine will form part of the new State; any further Jewish immigration will become subject to the approval of the new government.

I wish to add that I myself am a Jew and hope as fervently as any for a re-establishment of a national home for our people. Such a home, however, I suggest is to be a spiritual home centred on Palestine and not a State, a home from which the eternal message of our religion, "Love God and Thy neighbour as thyself," will radiate again throughout the world as it has done through the ages.

Yours sincerely,
G. SCHINDLER-SHEPHERD.

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