March 1953
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THE COVER

The picture on the cover is that of the façade of the gate of the Chahar Bagh Theological School at Isfahan, Persia. Originally built as a Mosque during the Safavid Shah 'Abbas (1587-1629 C.E.), it later became a Madrasah (school) and centre of religious teaching. It is now preserved by the Iranian Ministry of Education, and a part of the building is being used as a religious school where young scholars receive their training.

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
IRAN UPHOLDS THE LAWS OF ISLAM

Muslims must respect their laws first before they can expect others to respect them.

In February 1953, the Majlis of Iran enacted a law that prohibits the use, production and sale of alcoholic drinks throughout the country. The Bill was passed in spite of the Government's advice that it should not be rushed through without due consideration of the heavy loss of 250,000,000 rials a year in taxation revenue. But the Majlis took no notice of it and unanimously approved the Bill. Under the Act, breaches of the prohibition law will be punishable by imprisonment for two to six months and fines ranging up to 500,000 rials. The Act also compels the Government to collect all alcoholic drinks in a public store and to impose heavy custom duties on the import of alcoholic drinks for technical and medical use. The Iranian Parliament has done a great service to Islam and Muslims. It will continue to hold the world of Islam in its debt for a long time to come.

It need hardly be said that the step taken by the Iranian Majlis will go a long way to redeem the honour of Islam, and will be hailed by all those who believe that the Muslim countries, though far behind Europe in the political, economic and cultural field, can yet do a great service to it by showing the candle in the domain of social life, which is not regulated by a revealed code. In England alone the public spends on intoxicants more than 280,000,000 per year, or 2.50 per head. Public-spirited men who think in terms of health and morals rather than finance have always seen their efforts to get prohibition accepted as a norm of life thwarted, because there is no spiritual and moral backing from the public. Iran's action has made it abundantly clear that the Muslim countries whose religious and social life has been strongly influenced by Western ideas and which they have imitated in every respect, so much so that they even stopped thinking for themselves, if they wished to survive a complete annihilation, they have to restore the dignity of their own spiritual heritage. Iran’s action has fortunately come at a time when the economic and human resources of the Middle East have made this area one of the most vital zones of the globe.

A few decades before the condition of the Muslim world was exasperating, as the following quotation will show:

“Nothing in the nineteenth century was the period of outstanding European success against the Islamic world, whose remnants of political independence survived chiefly because of great-power rivalries. Most of North Africa went, by agreement, to France, with Morocco retaining a precarious freedom and Ottoman Tripolitania eyed greedily by Italy. Egypt and its shiny new Suez Canal, after a fling at independence and a flirtation with France, was subjugated by the British, who also shared with Italy, France, Germany and Portugal the Moslem-inhabited coast of East Africa.

“Arabia, too, except for Yemen and Wehhabi held in terror, fell within the British sphere, with wastes and islands ruled or protected by that nation. Persia was subjected to violent pressure from both Britain and Russia, and rivalry between them was intense — both there and in Afghanistan, which as the northern bulwark of Britain’s new Indian empire, became a fierce and unhappy bone of contention.

“Russia made tremendous acquisitions in Central Asia, annexing the great Khazars and becoming an utterly undesirable neighbour to Persia and Afghanistan. She also gobbled up Transcaucasia in a series of well-timed bites, and acquired Bessarabia in Europe, while her Balkan protégés in Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia, freed themselves from Ottoman rule. Greece, Crete, Cyprus and, for all practical purposes, the Lebanon, were also lost by the hapless Turk, whose remaining European holdings were clearly doomed and whose very existence depended on the vagaries of balance-of-power politics” (The Atlas of Islamic History, p. 30. Princeton University Press, 1952).

When the fate of the Muslim world lay in the balance, and apparently there was no hope left for its regeneration, Providence, walking in its own mysterious ways, came to its rescue. It imparted the Muslim world on a new importance both politically and strategically. The presence of oil in the Middle East and the decision of the fate of the last two world wars in the Middle East gave the Muslims a sudden shaking. Soon it was apparent that the whole Muslim world was feeling the urge for a new life. It had become conscious of its latent powers.

With political awakening came the painful realization of cultural, social and spiritual backwardness. It realized that if it had to exist as an entity it had much to learn from the West, but that everything which came from the West was not to be accepted in its entirety. It also realized that it was not yet morally bankrupt; that it could offer much in the spiritual and social domains to the West. It came to understand that the West, ridden by materialism, needed a re-evaluation of life, and no other religious system could help Europe in this task but Islam. Iran by her resolution to restate the teachings of Islam has commended them to the world, and Iran by her action has shown to an emphasized to the whole Muslim world that the Muslims must be proud of their culture and social systems. She has brought home to the Muslim world that no one would respect the Qur’an and what it contains until and unless Muslims themselves show respect for it.

The Qur’an has condemned intoxicants as “devil’s work.” The Prophet Muhammad has cursed all those people who are engaged in the manufacture, selling and buying, and even in offering intoxicants to others. Their dangerous effects in the life of an individual and a society are too well known to the scientific world now.

The Muslim world has suffered a great deal from wars, epidemic diseases and political and economic exploitation. But they have suffered more from developing social evils like drinking and gambling. Wars come to an end, epidemic diseases are overpowered, political denominations are overthrown, economic exploitations can be stopped, but intoxicants, when once they seize their victims, stay with them and ultimately destroy them.
THE FUTURE OF MUSLIM NATIONS

By MUHAMMAD NASIR

“There are now signs of a great stirring. But we still have in our social body the sickness which all but destroyed us. It is possible that this awakening of ours is the stirring of a fevered soul, the waking up of the sick, as the crisis approaches. Perhaps we are waking up for a last glimpse of the sky before dropping into oblivion. Perhaps we are about to rise again, to heights which long have awaited us. . . . A vast evil has come upon this earth. It is apparent that great sections of the people of the West and the East have dedicated themselves to mutual destruction. On the eve of that terrible happening, we Muslims and our lands have been granted a sudden new dignity. Suddenly we are of ‘strategic’ importance. Our land areas are a ‘key’, but whether to damnation or glory it is up to us to determine. . . . We must now put aside sterile argument. This is the hour of decision, not equivocation. We have babbled about capitalism and Communism. But we must not remain negative any longer. We must show the world that we do have a positive alternative to solve our problems, economic, social and cultural.”

Pakistan is a Muslim country. So is my country, Indonesia. But, though we recognize Islam to be the faith of the Indonesian people, we have not made an express mention of it in our constitution. Nor have we excluded religion from our national life. Indonesia has expressed its creed in the “Pantjasila”, or the Five Principles, which have been adopted as the spiritual, moral and ethical foundation of our nation and our State. Your path and ours is the same, only it is differently stated.

You are resolved to make a constitution that will conform to the precepts of Islam. This will be epoch-making work. The result of your endeavours will be for the whole world a test of what we Muslims mean by Islamic government, a test of whether such government and its laws can be compatible with freedom of religion and worship for everyone and with equality before the law.

When European countries declare Christianity as their State religion, nobody blames them for “going theocratic”, but when any Muslim country adopts Islam as its State religion, it is regarded as a retrogressive step.

We have to realize that appreciation of the virtues of Islam is greatly lacking outside the Islamic world, and that even amongst Muslims there are many misconceptions about the true aims and purposes of Islamic teachings. Centuries of abject submission to foreign rulers has destroyed the prestige of Muslims and their aspirations in the world, as well as their sense of self-respect. Nevertheless, the West, having once experienced the greatness and power of Islam, has never lost sight of the potentialities contained in the Muslim world. The endeavour of the Muslim nations, in the nineteenth century, to come close to each other and to resurrect themselves, known as the Pan-Islamic movement, met with suspicion on the part of the Western world. It regarded this movement as a menace to its power and its colonies, which provided it with precious raw materials, indispensable for the prosperity of its economic life. Writings such as Lothrop Stoddard’s The New World of Islam and The Rising Tide of Colour, and even the articles on Pan-Islamism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, bear witness to the open or at best covert animosity to that movement. But the Muslim world could not make its voice heard above these untrue and unjust fears and accusations.

There is one outstanding misconception to which I would like to call your attention. Many say that a Muslim country, such as Pakistan, will develop into a theocratic State. Unfortunately those who hold this view are not at all clear as to what they really understand by the word “theocracy”, except that they regard it as something objectionable. Most Americans of the United States do think of their country and their people as Christian. A former President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was very outspokenly Christian, and during the second world war seldom failed to mention Christianity in his appeals to the peoples of the world. So are the British people a Christian people, with Christianity as their State religion, with their Queen as the head of the Anglican Church and defender of the faith. As a consequence, religious or church ceremonies in Britain have a great place in many events of the State. So also are the Dutch a Christian people, who have it laid down in their constitution that their monarch shall be of the Protestant creed. Even France, which is declaredly non-religious in its State organization, and several other Christian countries of Europe, have always given great support to Christian missionary activities in extra-European countries, in Asia, Africa, Australia, and especially in the colonial or semi-colonial territories. So much so that up to the end of the nineteenth century, it was said that Europeans established their rule in the colonies through the three ‘m’s’ — mercenary, missionary and military. The Netherlands had a Christian clericalist government from the beginning of the twentieth century (to be more exact since 1903 until 1940). However, it is never said that the government of any one of these countries is theocratic. But no sooner do we, after the achievement of our independence, proclaim ourselves an Islamic nation, than concern is expressed about our “going theocratic”.

The truth is that Islam has no priests. We have scholars of theology, the Ulama, as they are called. We have the teachers of theology; we have experts in the various branches of the theological science; we have the jurists or jufada. But they are not priests. They do not require ordination or investiture by any authority, religious or secular. They are not called by a parish to perform the divine services for a church or a chapel, as a Christian clergyman or a minister is. There are also the ‘Imams’, persons who lead the congregational prayers. But the institution of official professional ‘Imams’ is not a requirement of our religion. It is based solely on practical grounds.

Thus there is, and can be, no priesthood in Islam; no priestly hierarchy, no private authority or priestly rule, having any essential function in the State, either in government or in legislation or in the administration of justice. Still more important is the fact, which is self-evident in the absence of priesthood or clergy, that there is in Islam no “church”, in the sense of a separate body, having a separate existence within the State, Islam, as a religion, must live in every Muslim’s daily life, in his private affairs as well as in his relations to society and the State. It must thus pervade the life of the whole community. And therefore Islam cannot conceive of a separation of religion from the life of the community, or the society, or the nation, or the State. But this is far from what is to be understood by theocracy. It is not my intention to be apologetic about Islam. For Islam does not

1 Being the text of an address to the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 1952. By courtesy of the Editor, Pakistan Horizon, Karachi, Pakistan.
need any apology. But I do want to expose this most dangerous misconception, rooted in Western minds, that a State or a nation, avowing a religious creed, is necessarily a theocracy.

The real co-operation between the West and the Muslim countries is only possible when the views and considerations of the Muslim world are fully taken into account

Nevertheless, the course of history has brought about the resurrection of the Muslim world; and we are gradually coming into our own again. The West, after having belatedly found out that Islam is not the peril the world has to face, is now soliciting our co-operation to preserve and ward off the peril of a calamitous third world war. This change of attitude, however, is as yet only negative, consisting, as it apparently does, of the choice of the lesser of two evils. As long as this position persists, we shall have our misgivings about the real aims and purposes of the West. And in the light of our past history, we have good reasons to be suspicious of the West. That being the case, no fruitful results can be expected from co-operation between the West and ourselves. The existing misconceptions about Islam must be rooted out completely, if mutual suspicion and distrust are to be overcome. Further, with regard to the part that we should play in the proposed co-operation, our own views and considerations must be fully taken into account. We cannot be expected just to fall in line and do what we are told. Islamic precepts and our position as Asiatic countries are decisive factors, which cannot be neglected. It is of the greatest importance that we ourselves should take a major part in abusing the West of its many anti-Islamic prejudices and misapprehensions, which it regards as real knowledge, and on which it bases its attitude and policies.

It is most necessary from our own point of view that we should participate to the fullest extent in the activities and endeavours of the United Nations. We are also conscious of the need for establishing an international relations the most favourable conditions for developing a workable organization for the settlement of disputes between States and nations, without recourse to war. For this purpose mutual trust, or at least the absence of more or less obvious reasons or occasions for distrust and suspicion, must undoubtedly be considered as a most desirable condition. In this, we can do our part by giving honest information and clarification about our position and tendencies, such as they are, arising out of our Islamic creed.

Muslim world has its own internal difficulties — religious zealots, Westernized intelligentsia, too much talk about Islam and less of practice

We have also to meet internal difficulties, some of which are very serious. Like all religious communities, we Muslims have in our ranks zealots. Our zealots believe in a Muslim State, which is a copy of the society of the Prophet's time. They are inimical to all things new, even though these may be desirable and even necessary in the present-day world, with its new angles of national and international life. They are opposed to scientific and technical innovations, especially those that have come from the West. They think of an Islamic State as if it were exclusively for Muslims. They are against progress of all kind. The greatest danger is that in some countries the zealots make appeals to the ignorant masses, who have the strong, and not altogether mistaken, impression that the Western world is hostile to Islam and Muslims.

Another difficulty is caused by Westernized people in our midst, whose notions about Islam, and for that matter about religion in general, are derived from Western ideas. They think of religion as a conservative and retrograde influence. They look upon Islam, which they still see practised in a pious, devoted and conscientious manner, by people who take their religious principles and duties very earnestly, as worse than Christianity, whose followers are now apparently under the influence of modern, humanistic, unreligious theories and principles. In constitutional and legislative matters, they can only think of following the patterns of the modern Western world. This too is not right. To find out what is right, a profound and thorough study of the Qur'an and of the history of the foundation of Islam and of the early Islamic State is needed. This study should be of a more scientific character than has been attempted in the past.

I have come here not to speak of or for my nation or yours. I think it is time that we looked at ourselves as Muslims, as human beings, as men and women, as flesh and blood, and weighed ourselves up. I know next to nothing of anthropology and of the science of races. But I do know something about myself as a human being and of you as human beings. I was born a Muslim and know something about my religion. Today, here as a Muslim and among Muslims, I think I would like to critically examine ourselves.

I think, in fact I am firmly of the opinion, that we have placed too much vocal, verbal stress on the fact of our being Muslims. We are Muslims. We are born Muslims. We live as Muslims. We die as Muslims. But there is no place for vanity in Islam. We have been taught that Islam is not a mere profession of faith. We must prove our faith by our actions, by striving, by glorifying our God and our religion by our deeds. Words of mouth are not enough. The Qur'an tells us that Islam is a religion of action, of going forward, of action. The Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings) taught his followers to go forward and prove their faith by their deeds.

For the past ten centuries we have spent a great deal of our time professing our faith. We are doing the same today. But very little effort seems to be devoted to the doing of things. Today our Muslim lands are among the most backward. We experience little difficulty, it seems in explaining this away — geography, climate, foreign exploitation. But climate has not changed appreciably since the time of Islam's beginnings. Yet the fact remains that we once surpassed Europe in almost every field of human achievement. Modern science was evolved from Muslim science, not from the European intellectual vacuum of the Dark and Middle Ages. The West borrowed from us then, but as we lost ourselves in blind bickering and futile argument, the West went ahead. We remained behind. And still we remain behind, though there are now signs of a great stirring. But we still have in our social body the sickness which all but destroyed us. It is possible that this awakening of ours is the stirring of a fevered soul, the waking up of the sick, as the crisis approaches. Perhaps we are waking up for a last glimpse of the sky before dropping into oblivion. Perhaps we are about to rise again, to heights which long have awaited us. Some of us believe that God has granted Islam one more chance. Most of us are convinced that we can succeed. A vast number of us are determined to move forward, upward — not only to the heaven of the Hereafter, but the heaven we can make of this world — if we practise Islam, instead of merely talking Islam.

Drafting a constitution and laws of various kinds is an arduous task. However, it represents only one aspect of the problem. Laws alone do not change man. The constitution must be made to work by the people by their earnest motives, their purposeful endeavour to live up to its noble principles, and to conform to its letter as well as to its spirit, by their words and their deeds in their everyday lives, individually and collectively.

However, faith cannot be legislated. Love cannot be legislated. A man loves when he is inspired to love. A believer believes because he is inspired to believe, inspired by the nobility of the creed and its inner beauty, which to the true believer is constantly revealing itself.

If we tell our youth to admire and believe in Islam, and at the same time we surround our youth with ignorance, wilful
ignorance, their elders sunk in squalor and filth and lost in petty arguments, can we wonder that some turn their backs on us? Unless we can give our youth something better than they have been offered in the past, we are doomed to lose their respect and their love. It is difficult to appreciate that which is ridiculous.

Islam is the light of this world. We have not been Muslims in the real sense of the word for a long time. We have not been worthy of leadership; and so we have had to follow.

The Muslim world has suddenly got a strategic importance. Its land areas are a "key", but whether to damnation or to glory this the future will decide.

I, and many others like me, believe that we are on the threshold of a great new era. A great opportunity is presented to us, the opportunity to rise again. We will not rise by bluff or on the strength of polemics. We can never gain stature by mere profession of faith. We can survive only by labour and daring and integrity! We shall rise only when we desist from examining our neighbour and, instead, search our own hearts.

Islam is not the empty quoting of the Qur'an or the mounting of the Hadiths. Islam is the secret covenant between God and whosoever praises and glorifies God. Islam is good, accomplished in anonymity, for the sake of our brotherhood, and not to earn our neighbour's praise or excite his envy.

A vast evil has come upon this earth. It is apparent that great sections of the people of the West and the East have dedicated themselves to mutual destruction. On the eve of that terrible happening, we Muslims and our lands have been granted a sudden new dignity. Suddenly we are of "strategic" importance. Our land areas are a "key", but whether to damnation or glory it is up to us to determine.

We have been granted this respite from the descent we have been making in the past. We shall start upward now — or, be exterminated. And if we do not rise after this long punishment, then we deserve to perish.

We must prepare ourselves for the challenge and the opportunity that has been presented to us. Our strength is about to be tested. I pray that we have come to the end of our Dark Ages. I pray that we put away vanity and earn the right to be proud.

We must now put aside sterile argument. This is the hour of decision, not equivocation. We have babbled about capitalism and Communism. But we must not remain negative any longer. We must show the world that we do have a positive alternative to solve our problems, economic, social and cultural.

NAPOLEON ON ISLAM

By DR. SHAHIDULLAH

"Napoleon was a great worker, and like all great workers a great dreamer. He dreamed a great dream when he wrote: 'I hope the time is not far off when I shall be able to unite all the wise and educated men of all the countries and establish a uniform régime based on the principles of the Qur'an which alone are true and which alone can lead men to happiness'. But the dream never approached any fulfilment in his life; whether it will ever be fulfilled in any other person's life, time alone will say."

Islam has produced many great men like Napoleon Bonaparte. It does not at all, therefore, stand in need of a certificate from one person or another. However, it is interesting to know the views of that great Frenchman on religion in general and on Islam in particular.

"I am the watch that exists and does not know itself," said Napoleon Bonaparte

Though living in an age when scepticism was in vogue, Bonaparte was not an atheist. He sincerely believed in the existence of one God and admitted the benefits of religion. But his study of comparative religion, unfortunately, led him to the opinion that all religions were human products. Here I may quote an incident from his memorandum at Saint Helena.¹

"In the evening after dinner the topic turned on the subject of religion. The Emperor participated in it for a long time. I am giving below the substance of it as it bears on a subject which has undoubtedly often excited the curiosity of many.

"The Emperor, with a very lively and warm emotion, said, 'All proclaim the existence of God. This is indubitable. But all our religions are evidently the creation of man."

"Why should all these religions decree each other and fight with each other? Why has this been so at all times and at all places? It is because men will always be men. It is because the priests have spread everywhere fraud and falsehood."

"Ever since," continued the Emperor, "I have had the power, I have felt the desire of re-establishing religion. I would have made it serve as a basis and as a foundation of social life. Religion is, in my opinion, the foundation of good morals, true principles, and good manners."

"Assuredly, I am far from being an atheist, but I cannot believe all that they teach me and all that runs counter to my reason, making me insincere and hypocritical."

"To say whence I come, what I am, and whither I go, is beyond my understanding. Yet nevertheless all this is; I am the watch that exists and does not know itself."

What Napoleon thought about Jesus Christ and the authenticity of the Bible

His critical studies of the Old and New Testaments made him entertain doubts about the existence of Jesus and the authenticity of the Bible. I give below an extract from the journal at St. Helena, edited by General Baron Gourgaud, under the title of Journal inédit de 1815-1818.²

"As for me, my opinion is formed; I do not believe that Jesus ever existed and I would have believed in the Christian religion if it had always existed. But how Socrates would be damned, as also Plato, the Mahommedans, and the English; this is too absurd. Jesus might have been hanged like many other fanatics who desired to play the prophet, the Messiah. In every age there have been such persons. I obtained at Milan a manuscript of the History of the Jews by Josephus, in which one could see that someone had interpolated in the lines four or five words about Jesus, because Josephus himself had not mentioned Jesus. The Pope tormented me very much for the possession of this manuscript. This much is certain, that the public opinion was in favour of worship of a unique God, and those among the ancients who spoke about it were well received; the circumstances were such. It is similar to my own case. If I have become Emperor from the lowest rung of society, it is on account of certain circumstances and because the public opinion was in my favour.

"I read the Bible; Moses was an able man; the Jews are villains, cowardly, and cruel. Is there anything more horrible than the story of Lot and his daughters? . . .

"The science which proves to us that the earth is not the centre of the heavenly movements has struck a great blow at religion. Joshua stops the sun! One shall see the stars falling into the sea . . . I say that all the suns and planets, etc.

"I prefer the religion of Muhammad"

"A prince of Italy one day gave a piece of gold to a Capuchin monk in the church who wanted to ransom some souls from Purgatory. The monk being pleased with the gain, cried out: 'Ah! My Lord, I see thirty souls going to Paradise.' ‘Have you seen them?’ asked the prince. ‘Yes, My Lord.’ ‘In that case, I take back my coin, because these souls will not come back to Purgatory.’ See how they cheat men. Religions are always based on miracles; and on such things as nobody listens to, like the Trinity; Jesus called himself the son of God and yet he was a descendant of David! I prefer the religion of Muhammad. It has less ridiculous things than ours; the Turks also call us idolaters."

Bonaparte cherished these ideas all through his life, though only during the leisure of exile at St. Helena could he find time and opportunity to express his ideas so clearly and unequivocally. A rationalist, he was, it seems, still wonder to find that Islam, which approached his ideas so much, should have attracted him. Viewed in this light his utterances in Egypt in favour of Islam must be regarded as sincere. The man who could long afterwards say "J'aime mieux la religion de Mahomet" could not be supposed to have professed it in Egypt only as a political ruse, even though we may not deny a political tinge in his motive. Nakula mentions that in an assembly of the savants, governors, and nobles at Cairo, Bonaparte declared: "Surely I have told you on different occasions and I have intimated to you by various discourses that I am a unitarian Muslim and I glorify the Prophet Muhammad, and that I love the Musalmans." Bonaparte's proclamation to the Egyptians, dated the 2nd of July, 1798, begins with the words which read:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but God. He has no son and He reigns without a partner." 4

4 In another place it reads as follows: "O Radhis, Shaikhs and Imams. O Chorbajis and the nobles of the city, tell your people that the French are also sincere Musalmans." 4

In this proclamation "Musalm" might have been used in the Qur'anic sense of the one who submits to God. We may remember in this connection the expression of Goethe: "If this be Islam, do we not all live in Islam? Yes, all of us who have any moral life, live in Islam."

In the same year, Bonaparte celebrated with great pomp the nativity of the Prophet.

I shall now give translations of some extracts from the writings of Napoleon (cf. Bonaparte et l'Islam, pp. 105-125).

The revolution wrought by Islam

"Moses has revealed the existence of God to his nation, Jesus Christ to the Roman world, Muhammad to the old continent. . . ."

"Arabia was idolatrous when, six centuries after Jesus, Muhammad introduced the worship of the God of Abraham, of Ishmael, of Moses, and of Jesus. The Aryans and some other sects had disturbed the tranquility of the East by agitating the question of the nature of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Muhammad declared that there was none but one God Who had no father, no son, and that the Trinity imported the idea of idolatry. . . ." He wrote on the flyleaf of the Qur'an: "There is no god but God."

"Muhammad was a prince; he rallied his compatriots around him. In a few years the Muslims conquered half of the world. They snatched away more souls from false gods, pulled down more idols, demolished more pagan temples in fifteen years than the followers of Moses and Jesus did in fifteen centuries. Muhammad was a great man. He might have been, in fact, a god, if the revolution which he was instrumental in bringing about had not been prepared by circumstances. When he appeared, the Arabs had been, since many years, afflicted with civil wars. All those nations that have achieved great things have done them when they came out of such ordeals that renewed equally their souls and their bodies. If the battles of Kadesia and (gap in the original MSS) which enabled the intrepid Muslims to plant the standard of the Prophet on the banks of the Ouxus and on the frontiers of China; if those of Ajnadine and Yarmuk, which caused Syria and Egypt to fall under their domination, were turned against them; if the Khalids, the Zerars, and the Amirs had been defeated and repelled to their vast deserts, the Arabs would have gone back to their wandering life; they would have lived like their forefathers, poor and miserable; the names of Muhammad, 'Ali and 'Omar would have remained unknown to the world . . . ."

Islam's contribution to literature and science

"The Parthians, the Scythians, the Mongols, the Tartars and the Turks have generally shown themselves enemies of science and arts, but this reproach cannot be fastened on to the Arabs, no more than upon Muhammad. Mu'awiah, the first of the Omaysad Caliphs, was a poet; he granted peace to a rabbi because he had prayed for grace in four beautiful Arabic verses. Yezid, his son, was also a poet. The Muslims attached so much value to this art that they regarded it as equal to bravery. Al-Mansur, Harun al-Rashid and al-Mamun cultivated arts and sciences. They were fond of literature, chemistry and mathematics; they lived with savants, caused the Greek and Latin authors — the Iliad, the Odyssey, the Euclid, etc. — to be translated into Arabic, and founded schools and colleges for medicine, astronomy and moral science. Ahmad corrected the tables of Ptolemy; Abbas was a distinguished mathematician; Costa, Alcide, Thabit and Ahmad measured one degree of meridian from Saana to Kufa. Chemistry, alembics, sun-dials, clocks and the numerical signs owe their existence to Arab invention. Nothing is more elegant than their moral tales; their poetry is full of fervour. Muhammad extolled everywhere the savants and such men as devoted themselves to a speculative life and cultivated letters. If the Arabs have neglected anatomy, that was because of a religious prejudice. (This is not a fact—Translator.) In the library of Cairo there were 6,000 volumes on astronomy, and more than 100,000 on other subjects; in the library of Cordova there were 300,000 volumes. Sciences and arts reigned five hundred years under the Caliphs and made great progress, which was brought to naught by the invasion of the Mongols . . . ."

On the question of polygamy

"Muhammad reduced the number of women which one could marry; before him it was indefinite: the rich used to marry a large number of women. He thus restricted polygamy. Women are not born more in number than men; why then is this permission to man to have more women and why has not Muhammad adopted the law of Jesus in this matter? In Europe the legislators of nations, whether Greek or German, Roman or
Gaul, Spanish or British, have never permitted but one wife. Never in the West was polygamy authorized. In the East, on the contrary, it has always been authorized. Since historic times all men, Jews or Assyrians, Arabs or Persians, Tartars or Africans, could have more wives than one. Some have attributed this difference to geographical conditions. Asia and Africa are inhabited by men of various complexions; polygamy is the only effective means to blend them together, so that the white may not persecute the black, nor the black the white. Polygamy makes them born of the same mother or of the same father; the black and the white, being brothers, sit and see each other at the same table. In the East, also, colour does not give one superiority to another. But to fulfil this object Muhammad thought that four wives were sufficient. One may ask how it is possible to permit four wives when there are not more women than men. As a matter of fact polygamy does not exist except among the wealthy class. As it is this class which forms the opinion, the mixture of the colours in these families is sufficient to maintain the union among them.

If we should like our colonies to give liberty to the black and to get rid of the colour prejudice obtaining in them, our legislators will have to allow polygamy.

On slavery

In the East, slavery has never had the same character as in the West; the slavery of the East is like that which one finds in the Holy Scriptures. The slave inherits his master's property and marries his daughter. The majority of the Pashas had been slaves. Many of the grand viziers, all the Mamelukes, Ali Bey, Mourad Bey, had been slaves. They began their lives by performing the most menial service in the house of their masters and were subsequently raised in status for their merit or by favour. In the West, on the contrary, the slave has been always below the position of the domestic servants; he occupies the lowest rung. The Romans emancipated their slaves, but the emancipated were never considered as equal to the free-born. The ideas of the East and West are so different that it took a long time to make the Egyptians understand that all the army was not composed of slaves belonging to the Sultan al-Kabir. The father of the family is the first magistrate of his house; he has absolute rights over his wives, children and slaves. Never does the public administration meddle with what happens in the internal affairs of a house so as to disturb the authority of the father. His wives are sacred and respected, even in civil wars.

Napoleon was a great worker, and like all great workers a great dreamer. He dreamed a great dream when he wrote: "I hope the time is not far off when I shall be able to unite all the wise and educated men of all the countries and establish a uniform régime based on the principles of the Qur’an which alone are true and which alone can lead men to happiness." But the dream never approached any fulfilment in his life; whether it will ever be fulfilled in any other person’s life, time alone can say.

Napoleon was so called in Egypt.

ISLAM IN EUROPE

A Culture-Historical Comparison

By 'UMAR ROLF BARON EHRENFELS, Ph.D. and MAHMUD SHERIFF, M.A., B.L., Dip.Anthr.

The problem of culture-change and cultural survivals

It was not until the Western nations broke away from their religious law, that they became more tolerant and it was only when the Muslims fell away from their religious law that they declined in tolerance and other evidences of highest culture.1

A brief survey of the history of Islam in Europe will bear out the truth of these remarks. Islam was introduced into south-western Europe (viz., Spain) by the Arabs and Berbers during the eighth century, while the Osmanli (or Ottoman Turks) carried the torch of Islam to south-eastern Europe (i.e., mainly the Balkans) during the fourteenth century. It tarried with Christianity at both ends, but with diverse results to the people concerned and with varied consequences to Islam. Islam reigned supreme for more than six centuries (though in different periods) at both these corners, contributed immensely to western European civilization, revived arts and learning, and at the end gave way to Christian reconquests.

After six centuries of fruitful Muslim rule, characterized by benevolence and tolerance towards the subject people, during which it carried the torch of civilization to the whole of Europe in its darkest epoch (the Middle Ages),2 Spain fell back to the Christians. After the loss of Granada, their last important key post, the Moors (i.e., Spanish Muslims) and Arabs were persecuted, ruthlessly exterminated,3 or forcibly converted to Christianity. Their sacred places and mosques were turned into churches;4 and even their beautiful baths were destroyed as undesirable vestiges of Islam.5 There was hardly any trace of Islamic civilization left after the expulsion of the Arabs.

1 Prickett (1932), p. 90.
2 McCabe, p. 13, seq.
3 Lane Poole (1912), p. 279.
4 Ibid., p. 270; also Conde (1854), p. 118.
5 Ibid., p. 273.
6 Hazard (1951):
   p. 2—Albania has 810,000 Muslims, i.e., 69% of total population.
   p. 4—Bulgaria has 806,000 Muslims, i.e., 12% ditto.
   p. 34—Greece has 140,000 Muslims, i.e., 2% ditto.
   p. 34—Rumania has 50,000 Muslims, i.e., 3% ditto.
   p. 34—Yugoslavia has 1,730,000 Muslims, i.e., 11% ditto.
of Musa, the Viceroy of North Africa, landed in the year 710 A.D. on the southernmost tip of the peninsula at Jabal al-Tariq (i.e., Hill of Tariq), which has ever since borne his name, viz., Gibraltar, and defeated the last Visigothic king on the banks of the Guadalete. What was begun as a raid ended in a conquest. By 732, the conquest of the peninsula by the Muslims was almost complete.

The population of the country on the eve of the entry of the Muslims was suffering under the corrupt rule of the Visigoths. The aristocracy and wealthy nobles were absorbed in luxury and ill-treated the serfs, as was so common in Gaul and other parts of Europe during that period and for centuries afterwards. The middle class was overtaxed and overburdened, bankrupt and ruined, and the serfs were reduced to the status of slaves. The rich and opulent clergy had done little for their uplift. The Jews were likewise tired of the corrupt rule under the prevailing conditions. Many cities openly welcomed the Muslims. Gothic civilization yielded with hardly any serious resistance. The change of masters did not at first deeply affect the subject population, and the orderly rule of the Moors soon turned out to be a boon.

The Moors were tolerant and chivalrous. They allowed the peasantry peaceful utilization of the land and its resources, encouraged agriculture and gardening, introduced new varieties of corn and built bridges and canals. Generally they allowed freedom of religion, encouraged arts and crafts, and built up the libraries and universities, to which students from France and Germany came, much in the same way as nowadays Muslim students go to study in universities and technical high schools in European and American lands with a Christian background. The Muslims also erected baths (when the neglect of cleanliness was considered meritorious in puritanical Europe of the Middle Ages). Thus the Muslims established an enlightened and civilized rule, which won the admiration also of European writers. The tenth Christian century (fourth Muslim century) marked the culmination of Muslim political and military power in Spain. In this century Muslims raised Cordova to architectural and cultural eminence with outstanding Muslim scholars. But as the map shows, during this century the frontiers of Islam contracted in Spain as well.

The Arab conquest," says Dozy, "was a benefit to Spain." The conquerors relieved the burden of the middle classes, while the serfs were emancipated to be free labourers under their non-agriculturist masters. The Christians and Jews were (except for those of the Christian clergy, who showed distrust of Muslim rule and its Arabizing influence) generally well disposed and not ungrateful for having been allowed to prosper under the Crescent. All classes gained. The proof of their satisfaction is well evidenced by the fact that during the whole of the eighth century there was not a single revolt of the subject Christians.

The threat to Moorish power came not from within but from without, i.e., from the Christian principalities in the northern mountainous regions of the Pyrenees, which were never completely subdued by the Muslim conquerors. From their mountain fastnesses Christian armies descended on to the plains and harassed the peasantry by their guerrilla tactics, till they found the Muslim power weak enough to be penetrated in Central Spain proper.

The Moorish population was never strong numerically, and waves of immigrants from the Barbary coast, i.e., Morocco, came in different periods to infuse new blood into the Moorish ruling classes. This encouraged a certain clannish spirit. Once these newcomers settled in the provinces, they engaged themselves in domestic feuds. There were at one time twelve Muslim dynasties ruling over different parts of Spain during the twelfth century, which afforded an opportunity for the Christian principalities in the Pyrenees to descend on to the southern Muslim

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provinces. Fresh bands of immigrants such as the Almoharides, who won a great battle at Zallaca in 1036, and later the Almohides (1145-1150) did help to check the power of the Christian onslaught from the northern mountains, but the treachery of the Muslim princes and their clansman spirit reduced Moorish rule to the kingdom of Granada. The union of the Christian principalities, Aragon and Castile, supported by their religious zeal, sealed the fate of Granada in 1492, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the Muslim population was completely subdued. By the end of that century, the Moors were either banished, exterminated or forcibly converted to Christianity.

Thus both in the history of Islam and in the history of Europe the glorious chapter of Moorish Spain came to a tragic end.

The Turks in the Balkans

"The history of Islam is the history of periods of decay, followed by revival under some new chieftain or some unexhausted race." 21

When the Moors were losing their power in Spain, during the thirteenth century, Islam was gaining fresh outposts in the Eastern corner of Europe. The Seljuk Turks had already mastered the greater part of Asia Minor during the eleventh century, and were measuring swords with Byzantium. The Osmanli, or Ottoman branch of the same race, in the beginning of the fourteenth century and under their able leader, Osman, and later his successor Orchan, replaced the Seljuk in Asia Minor. 22 Suleiman crossed the Hellespont and established his first settlement in Europe in 1536. The rapid conquests of the Ottoman Turks 23 were not mere inroads, but the realization of a scheme made possible by rulers of exceptional ability and administrative skill. 24 The extinction of the Abbaside Caliphate in 1259 and the weakening of Byzantium by the occupation and annihilation of the Latin Western Church in 1204, gave them an opportunity to move forward with success. The Tartar invasion of Asia Minor by Tamerlane delayed their progress in the East but strengthened their rule on the already conquered European soil. Murad I (1359) conquered Thessaly and Adrianople.

Constantinople was taken in 1453. In 1481, when Sultan Muhammad died, Asia Minor, Greece, and the main part of the Balkan Peninsula had been under Turkish rule and the Turkish power was secure on the Adriatic, the Ionian Islands, Senotari and Orlando. Selim I (1512) brought the Caliphate into the Turkish house, and Baghdad was replaced by Istanbul. Sultan the Magnificent (1494-1566) added Rhodes Island and Belgrade to his vast empire consisting of North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Albania, Greece, and the other present Balkan States. The Turks were knocking at the gates of Vienna in 1683, but they did not take it. From then onwards a slow decline of the Turkish power began to set in. An efficient army, largely consisting of Janissaries (Christian orphans brought up as Muslims), a well-run administration, a wise and tolerant policy, and last, but not the least, the non-interfering spirit of the Turks, helped them to rule over their subjects, partly through indirect rule. The temporary resistance of John Hunyadi, an Hungarian patriot, in 1437, and the alliance of Austria, Venice and Poland, instigated by the Pope in 1699, helped but little in driving the Turks out of Central Europe. Austria, however, stood as a bulwark against the onrush of the Muslims, and she was supported by the Pope. Turkish power slowly declined when its administration began to become corrupt. Budapest and Belgrade were retaken by the Turks from Austrian occupation, but these were only transient victories. The power that ended the Turkish hegemony in Europe was not so much Austria, but the national uprisings of the Balkan nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. 24 The rising surge of nationalism of the Slav people under the domination of Austria-Hungary engulfed the Balkans in the Ottoman Empire also, and finally united both of them.

But the decadence of Muslim power here was gradual. "There is about the rise and decline of an empire," says an

21 They adopted the crescent and the star as their insignia, after the fashion of the Seljuk. Bukhari (1942), p. 251.
24 Fisher (1946), pp. 1038, 1040.
historian, "something of the inevitability of the biological process of life, birth, youth, age, decline and death" — and to this stage we must add one more, "resurrection".25

In this gradual decline, we find that not so much the Turks as the native Muslims of south-eastern Europe are saved from the extermination and forcible conversion to which their brethren-in-Islam in the south-west, namely Spain, were subjected to six centuries ago. The Muslims in the Balkan States live today in harmony and amity with the Christian subjects; they enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship in their respective countries, and they co-operate with other groups.

For this marked and significant contrast with the fate of the Spanish Muslims there are several reasons.

One important reason for this is to be found in the intolerant attitude of Western (Roman) Christianity in Spain, and the different, more tolerant, attitude of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Balkans.

In this connection, the attitude of the Muslims towards their subjects is also important.

The attitude of Muslims towards Christians and other subject groups

"For the Muslims, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are but three forms of one religion, which in its original purity was the religion of Abraham — is-Islam, that perfect self-surrender to the will of God, which is the basis of theocracy."26 Al-Qur'an preaches toleration, and enjoins respect for all the other prophets, those known to the Arabs in the days of the Prophet, e.g., Jesus and Moses, and also all the others who were not known to the Arabs at that period, such as Krishna, Buddha, Lao Tze and many others.

"The Prophet Muhammad had breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of social virtues, and checked by his law and precept the thirst of revenge, and oppression of widows and orphans."27

When 'Umar, the second Caliph, conquered Jerusalem, he treated the Christians honourably. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was spared, and its keys delivered to the patriarch; so also the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.28 The Copts of Egypt in later days likewise enjoyed full freedom. In Syria, North Africa, Iraq, and later in other countries under Muslim domination, there were prosperous and populace Christian and Jewish communities. "There never was anything like the Inquisition or 'Fires of Smithfield', nor did the Muslims interfere with the internal affairs of these communities."29

This noble tradition was generally followed in Spain also. The Muslim conquerors allowed free exercise of religious institutions to the subject population. The Moors were never numerically strong in Spain, so they treated their Christian and Jewish subjects well,30 allowed them to carry on their trade and occupation, and the peasantry under their non-agricultural Muslim masters flourished. Emancipation of the serfs, and the removal of the burden of taxation, improved economic conditions. The land tax Christians shared equally with the Muslims. The poll tax, however, which was imposed on them according to the capacity of the payer,31 ranged from 12 to 48 dirhams a year (equal to £3 to £12), in twelve easy monthly instalments. There was peace and plenty in Spain under Muslim rule. Enjoyment of life, pleasure, gaiety and refinement were common to both Arabs and Spaniards. This very tolerance exasperated the fervent zeal of the Christian clergy who were absorbed in the ascetic form of Christianity, believing in penance and self-mortification for salvation, so they were not able to approve of the Muslim attitude. The Christian laymen, on the other hand, were generally not at loggerheads with the Berbers. In fact they readily took to them, and helped in building up a high standard of civilization. One significant result of this assimilation was a great measure of Arabization of the Christian subjects, who had equally yielded to Roman influence under the Roman rule and became Romanized. So, also under the Arabs, Greek and Latin gave place to Arabic, which the clergy mastered. Eulogius, one of the more fanatic of the priests, regretted this change in the linguistic habits of the Spaniards. 'The homogeneous nature of the Christian population helped in this process of Arabizing the Romanized Spaniards.'32

The population which the Turks met, on the other hand, was widely divergent, nationally and ethnically, and divided between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Churches, each hating the other intensely. The Orthodox Church, however, was predominant in the Balkans. The Turks also followed a wise policy of toleration towards the subject non-Muslims and did not interfere with their internal life.35 They built up a strong administration, organized local governments, and settled themselves in camps, and unlike the Moors, entered deeply into and struck roots in the European soil. At one stage, when Tamerlane was overrunning Asia Minor, Turkish rule was actually confined to the western, i.e., the European, provinces of present Turkey. The subject Christian peoples, already separated into smaller national groups by the tradition of centuries,34 kept their own languages and cultures, customs and traditions, their own schools and convents, visited by missionaries of their own faith, and thus formed a patchwork of nationalism35 amidst the superimposed Turkish framework, unlike in Spain, where Arabization has largely taken place. The Greeks, Bulgars and Serbs lived under indirect and irregular Turkish rule, practising their religious rites and offering, as it were, a quiet resistance to Islamic institutions. The Balkan population was neither homogeneous nor brought under a central Turkish rule. The patriarch was regarded as the head of the Christians and he had full freedom to deal with their institutions. The various sects of Christianity were represented in the Council of the Empire36 by the patriarch. The ecclesiastical organizations of the Christian and Jewish subjects were allowed to exist and wield their own authority.37 The Christian subjects regarded the Sultan as their sovereign, as did the Muslims (save in non-secular affairs). The temporal headship of the Christian Churches passed from the Byzantine Emperor to the Sultan. The Greek patriarch in fact received from the Sultan appointment and authority and in instrument, including a command to the bishops, clergy and people of his faith to render obedience to him in matters within his province; and the other Christian groups and Jews were likewise independent.38 Turkish rule was thus based on the theory of Sharia or customary Law of Islam, which recognizes no source of legislation, except the religious one, which, through the Qur'an, had legislated for all. In granting the Christian subjects full freedom of conscience the ruler was bound by the same law which guarantees complete freedom of religion and culture, and which

26 Pickthall (1912), p. 91; comp. also Elhapi-Esherif (1952), p. 5 seq.
28 Pickthall (1932), pp. 102, 104.
30 Lane Poole (1912), p. 43.
31 ibid., p. 48.
32 ibid., p. 52.
33 Gibbon (1855), p. 110.
34 Lebey (1946), p. 211.
36 ibid., p. 151.
37 ibid., p. 150.
38 Lebey (1913), p. 151.
is wholly beyond his alteration\(^{39}\) and which the muftis and ulama of the Ottoman Empire generally upheld.

The ulama and the muftis generally represent the community in the congregational prayers of Islam.\(^{40}\) They are meant to be well-versed in the Sharia, but do not thereby exert any institutionalized power, as the popes, bishops and the priests do. Islam is pre-eminently a religion without priests in the sense of investiture and office. It is to the credit of the ulama that in the Ottoman Empire they always guided the Porte in allowing the Christians a free life. The Greek patriarch instructed by Mufri Jemal won over Selim the Grim when he tried to interfere with Christian institutions, and saved them.\(^{41}\) In Spain, too, though at one stage, as in the reign of Hakam, the theologians became powerful enough to exert influence in the affairs of the State, they generally encouraged toleration. In fact, when the Christian zealots under the inspiration of the priest Eulogius thought fit to court martyrdom by blaspheming the Prophet Muhammad in their frenzy and zeal for self-mortification, the qadhes, much against the sentiments of the Muslim subjects, tried their best to get at the Christian bishops and to put a stop to this wave of fanaticism, which was also opposed by the majority of the Christians themselves. They tried their utmost to make them recant.\(^{42}\)

**Diverse results of the policy of toleration**

Voluntary Arabization\(^{43}\) was one of the fruits of toleration in Spain, which, to a great measure, helped in the assimilation of the population. Inter-marriages and close co-operation in economic fields no doubt also had played their part. The threat to Moorish Spain, therefore, was not from within but from without; that is, from the unsubdued, independent principalities of Navarre, Castile, Aragon, etc., on the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Spain. The fanatical priests and their allies hated not only Muslim Arabs and Berbers but also their own Arabized Christian countrymen.\(^{44}\) The same policy of religious toleration, however, produced an altogether different situation in the Balkans. Here there was no Turkification of the subject people. The Hungarians, Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Roumanians and Albanians lived their own national lives, preserving their own culture, existing as partly autonomous territorial units, and constituting a group of organizations that were "parallel and rival to Muslim institutions."\(^{45}\) Thus they presented a hindrance for unification of the Balkans under Turkish rule, and later developing into strong national groups, which vehemently opposed each other. There the Greek orthodox national institutions were old, tenacious and strong. In them centred the hopes and aspirations of the subject Christians and helped in keeping alive a sentiment of nationality and separation that in later times was to break off great sections from the Ottoman Empire. Their removal would have left the Muslim rule a free field.\(^{46}\) The subject Christians were not Turkified in the Balkans, in the way that the Christian Spaniards were largely Arabized in Spain.

Significantly enough, even the Balkan converts to Islam from the subject populations were generally not Turkified. They kept, on the other hand, their own respective national language and cultures as Muslim Albanians, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Greeks or Roumanians, whilst even the Christian Spaniards became Arabized, let alone the few Spanish converts to Islam. This their Christian brethren led by the priests hated, particularly their gaiety and refinement,\(^{47}\) so that Rome intensified efforts to re-hispanize the Spanish Christians, and persecuted expressions of Arab culture even where it had become part and parcel of the Christian Spanish culture. In the Balkans, on the other hand, Muslim subjects were considered co-nationals by their national groups after independence from Turkey had been achieved.

**The Christian attitude towards Islam**

The Christian attitude towards Islam and the Muslims has to be differentiated into

1. the difference of attitude taken by the Roman Church, as compared with that adopted by the Eastern Greek Orthodox Church; and,

2. the attitude of Christians, generally, characteristic of the eighth to fifteenth centuries, when Muslims were in Spain, as compared with those during the thirteenth till twentieth centuries, when Muslims played an important role in the Balkans.

Christians generally regarded the outside world as damned eternally. "The Western, Roman, Christians, till the arrival of the encyclopaedists in the eighteenth century, did not know and did not care to know what the Muslims believed, nor did the Western Christians seek to know the views of the Eastern Christians with regard to them."\(^{48}\) The Muslim is generally depicted as an idolator and the Prophet Muhammad as an intentionally deceptive imposter in early Christian literature. To the medieval Christians, the Muslims were crude, barbaric and wicked. "They were believed to be worshippers of Muhammad as God."\(^{49}\)

Yet there was no effective check to the Muslim advance in the West, i.e., in Spain. The Christian subjects, estranged by the Visigothic rule and left uncared for by the clergy, readily made common cause with the Muslims and were generally pleased with these new masters. During the eighth century there was not a single rebellion by the Christian subjects.\(^{50}\) The long and widespread forays between the Berbers and the independent Christian principalities in the north were mostly political, at least during their early stages. These principalities were fighting among themselves, and the support of Muslim emirs was often sought by Christian princes. The Christian subjects not only lived under, but also served in the armies of the Muslims.\(^{51}\)

These conflicts assumed a religious character only later, owing to the active intervention of Rome in the twelfth century. The crusading spirit of the Spanish reconquista is a product of later centuries, inspired by the guidance of the Popes.\(^{52}\)

When Islam entered in the Balkans, the Turks had to encounter a quite different organization in the Greek Orthodox Church. The Christian Church had by this time split up into two, i.e., the Roman Catholic (Western) and the Greek Orthodox (Eastern) groups, with their capitals at Rome and Constantinople respectively. It had come to such a pass that, as Gibbon shows, Eastern Christianity preferred the tolerant Muslim rule to that of the Western (Roman) Christians, who had a little while previously conquered and plundered Constantinople, and who would have wiped out the Orthodox (Greek) Church and converted the Balkan peoples to the Roman faith had they remained there.

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39 ibid., p. 151, seq.
40 ibid., p. 105, seq.
41 ibid., p. 211, seq.
42 Lane Poole (1913), pp. 86, 81; Jinarajdidas (1932), p. 12.
43 Ameri 'Ali (1949), p. 487; also Encyclopaedia of Islam (ch. on Aria) (1913), p. 349. Even the Franks and Christian principalities in Asia, after the conquest of Jerusalem, were Arabized at least in dress, food and tastes; Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (ch. on Crusades): also Hitti (ch. on Crusades).
44 Lehyer (1913), pp. 211, 195.
46 Lehyer (1913), p. 211.
48 Pickthall (1932), p. 87.
49 Hitti (1948), p. 168 (ref. to Pope Urban II at Clermont).
52 ibid., p. 367.
It is not a distinguishing feature of the Byzantine Church either to be tolerant towards other sects. History affords many examples of its harsh treatment. It had also forbidden and, with the help of the ruling emperors or councils, prosecuted many an important deviating group. This led to serious political complications and territorial loss.53

The Greek orthodox attitude towards Islam seems to have been different.54 There were, besides trade relations, long-standing cultural contacts between Byzantium and Islam. The Muslims had undertaken two unsuccessful attacks on Constantinople as early as the eighth century A.D. But later there used to be frequent exchanges of friendly embassies and envoys.55 A mosque was even built at Constantinople as early as 914,56 long before it came under Muslim rule. Artisans, too, were frequently exchanged. Trade relations appear to have been flourishing until they were interrupted by the Crusades, when political considerations began to predominate over economic ones. On the eve of Byzantium’s fall to the Turks, Eastern Christianity seems to have preferred Muslim rule to that of the Latin Church. Lucas Notarius, a Greek orthodox dignitary, for instance declared: “It is better to see in the city the power of the Turkish turban than that of the Latin tiara.”

The Crusades and their repercussions in the West and the East

A cursory view of the Crusades will show some reasons for the less tolerant attitude of Western Christianity towards Islam during the Middle Ages, as compared with that of the Eastern Christian Church at the same time, and will explain also the tragic fate of the Moors in Spain.

The early view of the Roman Church was that heathens should not be exterminated but won over to Christianity though with little regard to the means employed. This principle was given up during the period of the Crusades and the use of force became at that time prominent as the chief method of propagation. “More often the effort of the Church was not to convert the heathens but to destroy them.”57

The immediate cause of the Crusades was the appeal made by the Byzantine Emperor in 1094, asking Pope Urban II for help to save Byzantium from the Seljuks. The Pope perceived in this an opportunity for combining subordination of the hitherto diffident Eastern Church with the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in Palestine from Muslim domination.

This period was pre-eminently an age of faith. The Pope, referring to the venture of this Crusade, declared: “He who will not follow me and take up his cross, cannot be my disciple.”58 Peter, the Hermit, went barefooted, in coarse garments, through the streets and market places of Europe, inciting the people to join in the Crusades. Christian Europe gave a popular response. Knights and heroes, but also adventurous brigands; feudal armies, but also landless serfs — moved forward in a wave, seeking to expiate their sins by taking up the Cross and fighting the Muslims. In the first attempt they succeeded in taking Jerusalem, Nicaea, Antioch and Edessa, at the close of the eleventh century.

But soon this first Christian domination over Palestine came to an end. Edessa fell back to Muslim hands by 1144. St. Bernard, however, preached a new Crusade. England, France and many other European countries joined in it. But now Sultan Salahuddin had come on the scene. He reconquered Jerusalem and distinguished himself by his tolerant treatment of the Christians, thereby winning the admiration of European statesmen and minstrels.

We are, however, here concerned with the spirit and attitude that guided the Christians, rather than with the detailed events that followed. A fierce hatred of the Muslims coloured the European mind and behaviour of that epoch in spite of the esteem for Salahuddin, cases of friendly relations, and even some inter-marriages. The Crusaders wrote after one of their victories to the Pope, “God was appeased by our humility, and on the eighth day of our humiliation he delivered the city and its enemies to us. And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon’s porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses.”59 This was the guiding spirit of the events that followed also in Spain.

During the thirteenth century the Papacy began to build up its power, following the decay of the Holy Roman Empire. A succession of powerful Popes, particularly Innocent III, successfully suppressed heresy, organized inquisitions against them, and endeavoured to unite the armies of all Europe against the Muslims, who were in possession of the Holy Land. This policy, however, unsuccessful in the final conquest of Palestine, brought forth more tangible results in Spain. The Pope impressed upon the small Christian principalities there that they should lay aside their political animosities for the sake of the common religious cause of driving out the Moors.60 In this they were successful. The reconquest of Spain by the Christian armies was made possible through the enthusiasm created by these appeals, which brought French, Italian and German knights to support the international army of Alfonso II. The monasteries that fostered the orders of knights thus supplied the Spanish Crusaders with shock troops.61 The victory at Las Naxas, followed by the coalition of Aragon, Navarre and Castile, reclaimed by 1266 all Spain for the Roman Church, excepting only Muslim Granada. The Papal influence began from then onwards to increase more and more. It was not only the Moors but also the Spanish Jews (numbering more than 200,000) who were expelled62 Queen Isabella, combining her hatred for heresy with zeal for religious uniformity, introduced the Inquisition into Spain, which was authorized by a bull of Pope Sixtus IV in 1478.

By 1492 Muslim Granada itself fell to the Castilian Government. The fate of the Muslims and Jews there was a sad one: “The Moors were suddenly called upon to choose between conversion or exile. Half a century of smouldering hatred ensued. The Moriscos (i.e., Arabs converted to Christianity) grudgingly fulfilled their minimum of religious duties imposed on them by their outward conversion, but they took care to wash off their holy waters with which children were baptized, as soon as they were out of their priest’s sight. They came home after their Christian wedding, to be married again in the Muslim fashion.”63 All traces of Arab life and culture were removed or destroyed. Religious conversion of Muslim Arabs was followed by their, i.e., the Moriscos, Spanishization. More than this: in Spain even Christians were persecuted for having adopted the Arabic language, Arabic customs or costumes, and the re-Spanishization of the Arabized Spaniards was taken up with great zeal.64 By an edict of expulsion for Muslims and Jews in 1609, Spain was deprived of an industrious and cultured part of its population. There was, according even to Christian historians, no greater tragedy in European history than the extinction of the Arab-Muslim civilization of Spain, which contributed so much to

53 Vasiliev (1944), p. 308, seq.
55 Ibid., p. 311, seq.
56 Ibid., p. 311, seq.
58 Grant (1942), p. 332.
59 Grant (1942), p. 33; compare also Wells (1943), p. 369.
62 Lane Poole (1912), p. 271.
63 Ibid., p. 272.
64 Ibid., p. 280.
European culture, and might have contributed even more had it been allowed to live on. Gloom enveloped the countries which the Arabs had brightened and enriched.

Had the Muslim world united in the way the Western Christian world did at that time, the Turks, who conquered Constantinople forty years ago, might have saved the last stronghold of Islam in the West. But that was not to be.

The intolerant attitude of Western Christianity during this period found expression also in the temporary occupation of Byzantium by a Latin army in 1204, and its haughty — even hostile — attitude towards the orthodox Eastern Church, which, however, using also the national sentiments of the Balkan people, overthrew this Latin invasion, so that the Greek Empire was reconstituted in 1261. The havoc wrought on its soil, however, had weakened Byzantium to such an extent that it could not resist any more the impending Turkish onslaught from the East.

The sole desire of the Greek Church and Byzantine Emperors, during this period of the Crusades, was to save Constantinople from the Turks. In the eleventh century the idea of aggressive Crusades against Palestine was not popular in Byzantium, nor were there preachers calling for Crusades. The problem of recovering Palestine appeared not to be a vital one for the Greek Empire, or popular among its people. Byzantium was reluctantly involved in this enterprise and paid dearly for it, when its own capital was, as mentioned, sacked by armies of the rival Western Church. This added more sentiment to the fact that, in spite of some antipathy to the Muslim Turks, the majority of the Christian population in the Balkans was yet more antagonistic to a union with the Roman Church than to Islam.

The Turkish rule in conquered Christian territories of these Balkan countries was at first neither intentionally cruel nor intolerant of the Christians, except when its secular authority was questioned. It was content with raising taxes, administering its territories, and leaving the subject communities to follow their own way under the somewhat irregular, often indirect, Turkish rule. The Christian population enjoyed cultural and ecclesiastical autonomy.

The corruption of the Turkish administration, however, which gradually set in, its ability to assimilate subject national groups, and last, but not least, the intervention of foreign powers, accelerated national uprisings and caused the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. But the almost complete disappearance of Turkish rule from the Balkans by the beginning of the tenth century C.E. was not followed by religious fanaticism directed against Islam, nor by the extermination of Muslims in the predominantly Christian new Balkan States. The national movements in the Balkans were not so much religiously as linguistic and, generally, political in character. Muslims, speaking the State language in the Balkan countries, were generally accepted as co-nationals and treated as such.

The growth of nationalism in the Balkans

The Turks thus ruled in the Balkans over a population confirmed in nationalism by a tradition of centuries. The Turkish policy of religious toleration and national non-intervention in the life of the territorially organized Christian communities further helped the latter to develop their national consciousness. Pax Augusta, which stood as a bulwark against the westward expansion of Turkey, combining in it such diverse elements as Austrian proper, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Roumanians and Southern Slavs, yet failed to bring about a free association of nations. Internal strife of linguistic character undermined its foundations. Since 1848, when Austria-Hungary became a constitutional monarchy with stress on German and Hungarian linguistic — rather than on Hapsburgian dynastic — supremacy, the Slavonic (as well as the Roumanian and Italian) speaking citizens became restless. The spirit of the French Revolution and Continental nationalistic movements had earlier stirred their national feelings and set at work the Balkan nations against Austria and Turkey as well. The Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, though divided by geographical, linguistic and partly also ritual differences, realized under the influx of the Pan-Slavonic movement that they belonged to a mighty family. Tsarist Russian expansionism supported them by a quasi-missionary propaganda for Pan-Slavism, which was linguistic rather than religious in character. The Czar had, however, also assumed the right and duty of defending the Greek orthodox faith among the Slavs, Roumanians, Greeks and orthodox Albanians of the Balkans, instigating them against the Turks. It was the Tsarist policy to exploit these national movements for his designs on Constantinople and the Bosphorus in Turkey. By the middle of the nineteenth century other foreign powers, too, such as France, England and Germany, besides Russia, allied themselves for and against Turkey as their policy dictated.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Balkan nationalism was on the march. Greece won her independence. Roumania, Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria were all in revolt. The Tanzimat, or constitutional measures to give them a better rule, were not successful. The Balkan War of 1912 finally resulted in reducing European Turkey to Eastern Thrace. This war again was actuated by national rather than religious motives, hence the greater tolerance towards Muslim Slavs, Albanians, Greeks or Roumanians, whilst the fewer Turkish-speaking citizens were not encouraged to remain in these newly-conquered national States, and have partly been even expelled by force.

The spirit of the Modern Ages

The religiously more tolerant attitude in the Balkans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as compared with that in Spain in the Middle Ages is also the result of the changed spirit of the times. The problem of the protection of minorities has been the subject of many international conventions and treaties. The minority treaties after the Balkan wars signed by Balkan States, such as Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece and Hungary, grant and recognize Muslim family law, personal status and waqf, etc., and this attitude has brought about a quite happy state for Muslim Yugoslavs, Albanians, Greeks, Roumanians and Bulgarians in their respective national countries. Thus, while the revolt against Islamic rule in Spain was mainly religious, it was, half a millennium later, mainly national in the Balkans, inspired by linguistic nationalism, especially Pan-Slavism. Thus, when the Balkan national States achieved independence, they generally did not persecute their national Muslims, but did frequently extradite Turkish-speaking Muslim minorities. National considerations have grown more violent in this age than religious ones. “The Mohammedan Bosnians have certainly become patriotic Serbs or Croats. The Bulgarian-speaking Mohammedans, the Pomaks, are fully integrated with the Bulgarian nation.”

65 Conde, quoted by Bakhari (1946), p. 189.
67 Ibid., p. 322, seq.
68 Muir (1928), p. 188; ref. to the Report of the Macedonian Revolutions Committee, 1926.
70 Ibid., p. 1046.
71 Ibid., p. 797.
72 Ibid., p. 732; Vasiliev (1948), p. 325.
75 Ibid., p. 20; see also Iqbal Ali Shah (1936), p. 60.
Centuries had to elapse before religious prejudices against Muslims could be shed in the light of modern inquiry, experience and research. Among minor reasons for the difference in attitude of the Spanish and Balkan Christians towards their respective Muslim neighbours and co-nationals, the fact may also be mentioned that in the Balkans many Muslims were peasants, whilst the Muslim population in Spain consisted almost exclusively of officers, merchants or intellectuals. A good number of converts from the indigenous peasant population in the Balkans seem to have been won for Islam by the Dervish and Sufi orders. Many Albanian Muslims, to whom Islam was introduced by Sari Salik, belong to the Bektashi order. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina there is also a sprinkling of Bektashi, Sufi and Naqshbandi orders, who seem to have had a great appeal for the native peasantry, among whom many converts were gained. 76

Martial Turkoman, and other Anatolian tribes who were posted as frontier guards at different parts of the Ottoman Empire, settled down there and mixed freely with the rural population, 77 a process which led to national amalgamation of old and new Muslims. The Bektashi order, which seems to have been influenced by Christian traditions and ideas, 78 specially appealed to the rural population of the Balkan countries. The peasantry thus appears to have been generally sympathetic towards the Muslims and their culture-concepts. They thus attached themselves to Islam without giving up their original occupation or nationality, whilst in Spain, Muslims did not take to husbandry, nor bother to convert Spanish peasants. On the other hand, Spanish intellectuals, Muslim, as well as even Christian, were largely Arabized in language, customs and dress. The Balkan Muslims, again, being mostly peasants, were deeply rooted in the Balkan soil and stuck to it; much more so than the non-agricultural Moors, who remained strangers in Spain.

Summary and conclusions

1. The difference in attitude between the Arabs in Spain and the Turks in the Balkans towards their Christian subjects is more important where language and nationality is concerned. The Arabs (and Berbers) in Spain Arabized a lot and made few converts. The Turks Turkified little and won many converts, whom they left, however, to be nationals of their respective countries and groups.

This difference in attitude seems to be largely responsible for the difference of the fate of Muslims, viz., extermination in Spain and survival in the Balkans after the overthrow of Muslim rule in the respective areas.

2. The attitude of the Western (Roman) Church to the Muslims was on principle antagonistic and uncompromising, whilst that of the Greek Orthodox (Byzantine) Church was not. This accentuated the already existing difference in the fate of the two Muslim groups, here compared.

3. The difference in attitude between Western and Eastern Christianity is perhaps partly due to innate character and traits within these two great branches of the Christian Church, but has also changed during the half-millennium that elapsed between the fall of the Arabic Empire in Spain and that of the Turkish Empire in the Balkans. The change of the spirit of the time in the question of religious toleration, since the fifteenth century, must, therefore, be considered as a third important factor in the different fate of the Muslims in south-western Europe at the close of the Middle Ages, as compared with that in south-eastern Europe at the close of the Middle Ages, as compared with Europe now, or during the last century.

4. Among the minor factors which appear also to have added to this differentiation in the fates of Muslims — the plurality of Christian national ideologies in the Balkans, as compared with the singleness of Spanish nationalism, deserves mention here.

5. The existence of a Muslim peasantry in the Balkans, which spoke the various national languages of their respective countrymen. The absence of a Muslim peasantry in Spain, on the other hand, rendered the Muslims there more susceptible to persecution, expulsion and finally extermination.

6. The political, personal, and even religious differences among the various Muslim rulers and States in Spain added not a little to their final destruction. This stands in contrast with the comparatively united Muslim policy as represented by the Turkish rule and administration in the Balkans.

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OMAR KHAYYAM’S CONTRIBUTION TO ETHICS

By DR. ISHRAT HASAN ENVER, M.A., PH.D.

“There is open to each man a scale of ascending motives and the good man is he who acts on a higher motive in the presence of a lower one, and the bad man is he who does the reverse of it, i.e., who in the presence of a higher motive chooses the lower one and acts on it. Here there seems to be both a happy coincidence and a lively contrast between Kant and Khayyam. Kant had, with certain reservations, made morality depend on motive, i.e., the ‘goodwill’; but then it was interpreted to mean bare respect for the moral law. Khayyam, likewise, makes morality depend on motive, but instead of interpreting the latter as ‘bare respect for the moral law’, he makes it as equivalent to love for the moral authority, who is the source of all moral laws.”

Omar Khayyam, the sceptic and the materialist

Omar Khayyam (born in the latter half of the eleventh century at Naishapur, died 1124 C.E.) is a great Persian genius who has compressed his philosophical meditations into a number of quatrains, which have earned him world fame and have appealed greatly to the European world in view of their materialistic strain and practical vision. To the orthodox ethicists in Islam, however, Khayyam would appear to be the most unethical of all the Persian moralists, and in an attempt to place him among the high ranks of the Persian ethicalists would seem to them hardly defensible. But Khayyam has his claim to be in the galaxy of the Persian ethicists, firstly, because he established certain traditions of a typical approach to ethical problems which afterwards became the cherished aspirations of some great Persian poets and mystics on the one hand, and an object of phenomenal criticism and comments by a group of eminent ethicists (e.g., al-Ghazali, Nasir ud-Din Tusi, Jalal ud-Din Dawwani) on the other. Secondly, he seems to be the earliest consistent Persian materialist after the Arab conquest (635-657 C.E.) who attempted with some measure of success to base ethics on a purely hedonistic foundation, though it is not the whole truth about him, as will be seen in the sequence. Thirdly, his scepticism in morals, as in everything else, is a landmark in the history of philosophical thought in Persia and has to be taken seriously.

His metaphysical reflections

The ethics of Khayyam may be said to have passed through two distinct stages, viz., the critical stage, which has the imprint of his medical deliberations and metaphysical reflections, and the constructive stage. In the first stage he is critical of all spiritual and moral values, and being through and through materialistic in his approach to ethical problems, fails to appreciate moral and religious values. A careless reader in a cursory glance through his quatrains would be duped to suppose that Khayyam has either nothing to contribute to ethical thought or that he is a staunch supporter of absolute hedonism, based as it is on a dry-as-dust materialism.

In this critical stage of his reflections, Khayyam makes ethics depend on a particular type of metaphysical system, the ontology of which is Hellenistic, being affiliated to Democritus and Heracleitus, and the cosmology of which is pseudo-Islamic, affirming as it does a monotheistic God, who is to Khayyam more of a spectator than a creator. The word is a conglomerate of atoms, and further, it is undergoing constant flux and change:

Now get up: it is the late morning,
Come fill the cup, my darling:
This present moment in the Dungeon of Death,
Thou would seek much without finding.
Fill the cup with the wine that causeth glee,
Bringing the flagon which is the friend of the free,
Thou knowest the world is of dust,
Like wind it would from thee ever flee.
Be happy! The world would pass away,
The soul would cry for body sway,
This head thou seest today,
Would lie beneath the potter in clay.
These two salient features of his ontology, i.e., the atomic nature of the world and the continuous change that is overpoweringly constant, go a long way to determine the nature of his approach to the problems of life and conduct. Life, like everything else, is a transitory phenomenon, a passing sport that must recur again. It is the result of an accidental conglomeration of atoms which are of four essences, the fiery, the material, the airy and the aquatic:

The setting of thy dispositions is transitory,
Guard thyself, for there is to thee constant tyranny,
Sit with the wise for the essence of thee and self
Is either lusty, fiery, moisty or pure airy.

Is life an accident?

Now life, being an accident in the cosmic process, cannot be said to have an absolute value as understood by some idealistic theories of perfection. Khayyam tenaciously holds a mechanistic theory of perfection which emphasizes change and determinism. Life was originally a mere accident, and its recurrence was somehow made possible by certain uniform happenings and natural laws which are, in their own turn, mere accidents.

For instance Haфиз.
2 These philosophers do not make Khayyam the direct object of their attack, but their criticism is directed against all those who might hold hedonism as a sound ethical theory. Akhlaq-i Nasiri, by Nasir ud-Din Tusi, pp. 32-36; Akhlaq-i Jalal, by Dawanni, pp. 135-136; Koo man-i Sa’adat, by al-Ghazali.
3 This argument is strengthened by a study of his treatise on “Existence” (Risala-i Wajda).
4 He was addressed in his time, as even today by some persons, as a heretic and a renegade, as is obvious from the following quatrain:
Whatever is said of me with deep malice is said,
Always thou would have me called heretic and hated renegade,
I submit I am whatever is said of me,
But thou unjustly thy criticism is ill-bred.
But a time seems to have come in his lifetime when he repudiated his too rationalistic approach to the quest of ultimate values and reconciled himself against mysticism. At best some hint is manifest in his quatrains:
5 It is not wholly Islamic, for Islam attributes a spiritual principle even to matter, and further, it treats God as an absolutely free creator, not bound by the limitations of matter.
approximate probabilities, and never carry with them the strength of certainty that is demanded of scientific reflection.

My heart to love was never lost,
The secret of life it had sought.
To unravel, though stubbornly fought,
But eventually it had known naught.

Even our so-called scientific knowledge is nothing more than mere approximate generalization from certain particular facts. Knowledge is gained through the senses, but these yield the knowledge of the particular only, and in no way entitle us to pass to the universal or eternal truths. Thus there is an inherent uncertainty clinging to all our scientific propositions:

They who became the oceans of philosophy and thought,
And those who became the candle of knowledge for them
who sought
It; could not find their way out,
From this dark dungeon and all efforts came to naught.

Scepticism is itself the measure of all things and has a positive value in being the last word in our quest after truth.

No one the knot of mysteries untied
We all with our limitations did abide,
I tested all the guided as well as the guide,
Found all broken with helplessness, sitting tied.

Stoicism or Epicureanism?
Life again to Khayyam is a mystery and no knowledge of ultimate values and facts can be had. Nor is it reasonable or worthwhile to project values into things which, to all outward appearance, seem to be essentially devoid of them. Materialism is the last word of science as well as of metaphysics, and it leaves no room for any postulate of spirit, or soul, or self, or immortality, etc.

To great apprehension, O Heart, thou shalt not rise,
Shalt not join status in the eyes of wise,
With wine and cup make this earth a Heaven,
For there may or may not be paradise.

Such a view of the nature of knowledge and ultimate reality would make a man either a pessimist, nihilist or stoic; or would drive him to become an epicurean and spur him to eat and drink and enjoy life while he can. Both stoicism and epicureanism are thus the two forks of the same ultra-rationalism which ends in materialism, eventually tending either towards stoicism or epicureanism. In the history of Greek thought, for instance, these two modes of thought found expression in the schools of stoicism and epicureanism. In 'Omar Khayyam, however, these two currents of thought could not be kept apart and during the critical stage of his thought, he stood not for any single one of them, but for both, and at times he seems to incline towards the one and on occasions is attracted by the other.

The chief characteristics of this period of his ethical thought, though it involves a radical departure from traditional ethics, may be summarized as follows:

Materialism is an ultimate truth about the nature of reality. All attempts at evaluation, whether religious or ethical, have to accommodate themselves within the rough corners of the hard facts of materialism.

The thesis in its consequence brings in the conviction of absolute determinism and makes freedom of action a mere delusion. With the denial of all spiritual values, including human freedom of action, comes in a deep sense of despondency, melancholy, biting frustration, pessimism and nihilism. Now there is no hope for Khayyam against which he may reclaim his head and find some peace, solace, or satisfaction — a fate which awaits all those who in their hyper-rationalistic flights are led to denounce all types of spiritualism and idealism. He seems to be deprived of all interest in life alike like Schopenhauer or Von Hartman, seems much inclined to recommend suicide as an antidote for all sorrows and human griefs. He, however, does not go to the full length of his pessimism, and only confines himself to recommending, like Buddha, the purgation of all desires and wishes, which recommendation, if examined closely, appears to be a polite approximation to suicide as recommended by Schopenhauer and Von Hartman.

Khayyam, by nature being a strong man and possessed of poetical imagination and artistic talents, could in no way preach the doctrine of death, and even his stray recommendations to struggle desires are not with a view to frustrate the self, but with a long-range motive to enable the individual to enjoy as much as he can and for as long as he can. Thus his previous stoicism by a strange anomaly finds its logical conclusion in the epicurean doctrine of pleasure. He exorts us to make the best of the present and enjoy life while we can, for it does not behave the self-integrity of the individual either to commit suicide or to postpone his enjoyment for the fear of a tomorrow which is uncertain. His incessant emphatic and even at times undue exhortation to pleasure, enjoyment and merrymaking is, however, never an unadulterated attempt to enjoyment, but thorough-out smacks of a deep-laid pessimism and melancholy to overcome which he at times seems to go beyond the permissible limits of a reasonable enjoyment of pleasure. His sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts, and his pessimism by the touch of his personality and art is turned into epicureanism, and thus may be termed pessimistic-optimistic epicureanism which enables him to take hard realities as they are and to make the best of them while he can. This strain of his thought has a close affinity with the European spirit of hedonistic thought and has accordingly appealed to them most.

Doctrine of Divine Love
But Khayyam could not for long remain a pure hedonist, and by gradual steps seems to have ascended to a theory of perfectionism in which Divine Love is made the sole criterion of it. This salient feature of his thought is seen in its full relief in what we have chosen to call the constructive period of his ethics.

Being dissatisfied with his ultra-rational approach to the ultimate problems of value and the materialism of the Democritean stamp, he now attempts to review the too dangerous a journey that he had made towards scepticism and the pessimistic epicureanism resulting therefrom. He has now to set things in their proper perspective, and for that he now bypasses scepticism and takes himself to love, regarded as the highest of all values and expressed in the happy epithets of wine, wine-cup, flagon, tavern, etc.

Such lively and cheerful metaphors became the legacy of the future, and a host of Persian poets and mystics later on indulged in them too frequently, though perhaps not exclusively under the influence of Khayyam. By means of such pleasing and pleasant expressions, the technique of which is borrowed from the traditions of the tavern, Khayyam preaches the doctrine

* This conclusion is further strengthened by Khayyam's attitude towards astrology. Though himself a great astrologer, he had no faith in the science. Chahar Masala, p. 98.

* There are certain writers on Indian philosophy, e.g., Chatterjee and Dutta, who under the influence of Islam seem to hold that Buddha recommended moderation of desires rather than their extinction. Moderation of desires, however, will not in any way be adequately reconciled with his doctrine of the twelve links in the chain of suffering. Moderation of desires on Buddhist hypothesis cannot eradicate Upadana (clinging to things) and Tamma (wishes).

* See Shahr al-Ayam, Part I, pp. 262-263.
of Divine Love. His language being peculiarly fitted to expressing mundane emotions and sensual attachments, at times the impression is shed from it that he is a typically epicurean type of man and that his "wine", "wine-cup" and such other expressions should be taken literally. This, however, would be unjust to Khayyam, for there are more than a score of quatrains which with no imaginable feat of imagination can be explained to refer to anything but Divine Love. It was in view of this strain of thought that he was held in the highest esteem by all the Islamic dignitaries of his time, and titles and epithets such as Imam and Hujjat al-Haq" were not uncommonly prefixed to his name.

'Omar Khayyam thus cannot be said to have succumbed to scepticism. He too, like al-Ghazali, did rise above it, and his transcendence from such vagaries of sceptic thoughts did yield him some constructive ideas and permanent values. Previously he was a pure sceptic. Now his scepticism has been greatly hallowed down by Divine Love, and he eventually reclines himself against it, though not blindly, but because of an inherent demand of his will which he felt within himself after his too dangerous sojourns through the wilderness of scepticism, doubt and despair. There is in this swing from scepticism to mysticism a happy coincidence with al-Ghazali's thought. Both Khayyam and al-Ghazali wade through the filthy waters of scepticism and eventually arrive at mysticism. For Ghazali, however, mysticism is in the end made to defend the Islamic code of ethics, while Khayyam pays little heed to the ethical tenets of Islam and turns his mysticism into a springboard from which he may leap over the codified taboos of ethics and religion, particularly that of Islam. The reason for this seems to be that Khayyam, in all probability, had not the occasion to enjoy a high level of mystic experience.

With these remarks and reservations we may now determine his ethical ideas, which belong to the constructive period of his thought. As pointed out above, he repudiates reason as the sole or even a helpful guide to knowledge, whether it be of matters metaphysical, religious, or even ethical. With this denial of the claim of reason to self-sufficiency and a bitter tirade against the truth of all a priori propositions, Khayyam exploded the possibility of basing ethics on reason. Morality for him is not the concern of reason, but is of the heart. Here Khayyam strikes that note of moral thought, the vibrations of which resounded in Persia for centuries together, and which were perhaps never lost to Persian ears.

Morality, dependent as it is on the heart, is a matter of feeling. Divine Love is to be made the directing principle of all actions. It alone determines the moral value of our life:

O cup-bearer, give the wine musk-scented
Which would hold my tongue from talks frequented.
One cup to me presented
Would keep my dust from being molested.
I am a lover, a drunkard, a worshipper of wine;
In intoxicating corners of tavern, I pine.
Seek not from me ways and manners fine,
For Good and Evil, and all such thoughts I did resign.

**Kant and Khayyam**

There is open to each man a scale of ascending motives and the good man is he who acts on a higher motive in the presence of a lower one, and the bad man is he who does the reverse of it, i.e., who in the presence of a higher motive chooses the lower one and acts on it. Here there seems to be both a happy coincidence and a lively contrast between Kant and Khayyam. Kant had, with certain reservations, made morality depend on motive, i.e., the "goodwill", but then it was interpreted to mean bare respect for the moral law. Khayyam, likewise, makes morality depend on motive, but instead of interpreting the latter as "bare respect for the moral law", he makes it as equivalent to love for the moral authority, who is the source of all moral laws. Further, the principle of respect for the moral law is itself involved in the principle of love, for the latter is more exhaustive than the former. Divine Love, however, is not to be taken as a mere arbitrary emotion. It has its own discipline and authority. Love is the highest motive to action and subserves under all moral laws and respect for such laws, for it involves the principle of supererogation, i.e., doing more than one's duty.

In the presence of the very high motive of respect for the moral law, love supplies even a higher motive of doing more than is demanded by duty. The imperative of love, however, is as categorical as the categorical imperative of Kant. The dictates of love come to us categorically and for their own sake, but with the difference that the categorical imperative of Kant reflects a universal principle of action, while the code of love of Khayyam is essentially personal and peculiarly unique. But in a way the imperative of love is not even personal, for the self in choosing the dictates of Divine Love far transcends the self and mirrors the impersonal motive as such, which, being impersonal, is on a par with the principle of "bare respect for the moral law", if by "bare respect" we mean absolute expurgation of self while choosing an act. The principle of Divine Love, therefore, is not to be interpreted as something fanciful, whimsical or even personal, but objective, obligatory and unconditional. However, it cannot, though it may appear paradoxical, be made a uniform and universal principle of action. The universal principle of action implies the minimum of moral obligation, but an individual who is possessed of Divine Love would always yearn to do more than is obligatory for him to do on the basis of Kantian moral imperative. Thus for a true lover of God there is always a still higher imperative of love than that advocated by Kant.

Love, unlike the Kantian categorical imperative, yields not a bare formalistic principle of action, but supplies a whole content of obligations which, though they differ from man to man, have yet certain features of a universal pattern. The moral obligations as intimated by love are not mere duties of law, but duties of excellences. There is always a super-imposing wider horizon of excellence, beyond every duty performed for excellence, and there is no end to it.

The ethics of excellence, thus, finds no room for any egoism, and ultimately finds its logical conclusion in a supra-generous altruism. The only good which is of the highest value is to do good to others. But a man should choose for others not merely that which is the minimum of good required by moral obligations, but that which is the most coveted excellence as conceived by love. As to the question, "How is love to be guided while making a choice between two alternatives?" Khayyam's answer seems to be twofold. First, the principle of love, unlike the categorical imperative of Kant, needs no formulations. It is its own light and guide. In love alone is to be heard the most authenticated voice of practical reason in us. In it alone practical reason finds its highest manifestation and becomes absolutely free, as hitherto it has never been when acting under the pressure of the three formulations of the categorical imperative as given by Kant. And even if there be some slip or omission while making a choice, it is by all means excusable and by no means punishable. Secondly, the net amount of happiness resulting from such action would in the last resort prove whether our choice was justified or otherwise. So general happiness, which to Khayyam does not necessarily involve the happiness of self, turns out to be the ultimate test of actions done for love.

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THE ISLAMIC MERIDIAN

By SHAH SYED MUNIRUL HUQ, M.A.(Alig.), B.T.

"When the Muslim world is putting its house in order the writer of this article suggests that it is high time that it had its own meridian and its own Standard Time. Though apparently an insignificant gesture, this will go a long way to create a sense of unity among Muslim countries. The Ka'ba is the centre of devotion to Muslims. It can very well serve the purpose of an Islamic meridian."

"The Greenwich meridian passes through the extreme west of two continents and divides the entire Old World in such a proportion that the western part is only an insignificant fraction of the eastern part. So, no place on this meridian is central."

"With its geographical factors, antiquity connected with the Prophet Abraham and traditions relating to the Prophet Adam, the Ka'ba must have a deeper significance than superficially it is supposed to have. It should in all probability serve as a sheet anchor in the tumultuous and stormy atmosphere pervading the entire world, and guide the destiny of humanity."

The Ka'ba and its importance to the Muslim world

The Qibla or the Ka'ba is the Sacred House of God at Mecca, which is the spiritual nerve centre of the Muslim world. Every Muslim is supposed to turn his face to this house five times a day. And this is the house every Muslim aspires to visit at least once in his life.

When the Muslim world is putting its house in order the writer of this article suggests that it is high time that it had its own meridian and its Standard Time. Though apparently an insignificant gesture, this will go a long way to create a sense of unity among Muslims. The Ka'ba is the centre of devotion to Muslims. It can well serve the purpose of an Islamic meridian.
"The Ka'ba is the navel (ce
LITTLE THINGS

Adopt the Islamic Meridian

(re) of the Earth" – The Hadith

The Islamic meridian is numbered zero degree (i.e., taken as the prime meridian). Other meridians are counted from the Pacific and almost coincides with the boundary line between Alaska and Canada in North America.
Need for Islamic meridian and Islamic Standard Time

Any school globe will show that the Ka'ba is the meeting place of about 40° E. meridian (taking the Greenwich meridian as prime) and about 21° 30' N. latitude (taking the Equator as prime). Let the Muslim countries name the meridian of the Ka'ba as the Islamic meridian and its parallel of latitude as the Islamic parallel; let them calculate the distance of any place in their respective countries or any other country, east or west, taking the Islamic meridian as prime, and north or south from the Islamic parallel. Let them also take the time of the Ka'ba as the Islamic Standard Time (I.M.T.), to be followed by them in matters relating to international Muslim affairs. At present the Greenwich meridian is taken as the international prime meridian, and its time (G.M.T.) serves as the international standard time. There are also countries which have their own meridians passing through them, to serve them as such. When Muslims are seriously thinking of an Islamic bloc, they should also have their meridian for the area comprising their bloc.

Geographical factor

There is, moreover, a great geographical advantage of this area of the Muslim world, in that the whole region is almost a compact one, covering about half the circumference of the Equator, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific on the one hand, and from Central Asia to the Australian shore on the other, with its soul at Mecca, occupying the central position on the surface of the earth, spreading over three continents which together form the greatest land mass of the globe. The geographical factor demands that this vast region should have a prime meridian of its own. Let the Islamic meridian and parallel, therefore, be drawn broad and distinct, their meeting place (i.e., the Ka'ba) shown distinct and prominent and the Islamic meridian numbered zero (prime) in the maps and globes used in the academic institutions of the Muslim countries. It is interesting to note that the proposed meridian would pass almost through Medina, which contains the sacred mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad. With the Ka'ba and the city of Medina on it, the meridian in particular must produce a far-reaching and psychological effect in the minds of Muslims. Their goal, of course, is to go forward with the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet, and “hold fast the rope of God together”. The said meridian would also help them towards this direction. It is true that the meridian in itself is not the end, but it may serve as the beacon light for the long and arduous task ahead, and we must not forget at this stage the might of little things.

Muslim children to be made familiar with the geographical aspects of the problem

In teaching the mathematical aspects of geography to the schoolchildren of Muslim countries, the position of the Ka'ba on the map or globe must be ascertained. They must have the idea of the Islamic meridian and parallel, with their significance. The fact that the Ka'ba, the meeting place of the Islamic meridian and parallel, is the centre of the land masses of the globe must be explained to them clearly. Other aspects of geography are to be taught with special reference to the Muslim countries; they should have an idea of the existing, as well as of the possible, resources of this region; they should know whether these resources are being utilized by the children of the soil themselves or by foreigners. They should, at the same time, know the countries that are free, at the present moment, and those under foreign domination, and also the then known world, comprising the precious halves of Asia, Europe and Africa, the masters of which were their ancestors themselves.

All Muslims belong to one family of Islamic brotherhood with one God, one Book, one Ka'ba, and one Prophet. If, in addition, they have one space of their own to determine the distance of their respective places, and follow one standard time for their common purposes, it may help this brotherhood to assume a concrete form.

International bearing of the proposed Islamic meridian... the Ka'ba as the navel of the earth!

There is also the international bearing of the proposed Islamic meridian. Apparently any place on the globe is central, the earth being round; but it is not so in the practical field. Various factors — human habitation being the main — determine the central place. Human habitation is possible only on land, which forms less than a quarter of the earth's surface, while the other three quarters are under water. There are three great land masses: (1) the Old World (Asia, Europe and Africa taken together); (2) the New World (the Americas); and (3) Australia. All these three are detached from each other by the great seas and oceans. The Old World is not only the greatest in size, with some 90 per cent of the world population, it is also the home of all religions and culture of the world. Naturally, therefore, the central place of the Old World will serve as the central place for the whole world. The Greenwich meridian passes through the extreme west of two continents and divides the entire Old World in such a proportion that the western part is only an insignificant fraction of the eastern part. So, no place on this meridian is central. But the proposed Islamic meridian passes through the three continents and divides this great land mass — east and west — almost equally; while the Islamic parallel nearly bisects all the land masses of the globe — north and south; the most thickly-populated regions of the world are within some 30° each of this parallel. The meeting place of these two lines (the Ka'ba), therefore, is the central place in view of modern means of communication. The Prophet also said: “The Ka'ba is the navel of the earth.” With its geographical factors, antiquity connected with the Prophet Abraham and traditions relating to the Prophet Adam, the Ka'ba must have a deeper significance than superficially it is supposed to have. It should in all probability serve as a sheet anchor in the tumultuous and stormy atmosphere pervading the entire world, and guide the destiny of humanity.

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The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England
AT THE THRESHOLD OF ISLAM — Miss Elizabeth M. Suffern

I was brought up as a Methodist Christian, but I never thought of religious matters seriously until I came into contact with the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust. My first visit to the Mosque, Woking, was on 24th June 1952, on the occasion of the Festival of 'Id al-Fitr, in the company of my friend, Miss Joyce E. Yasmin Scott. I watched the whole ceremony with great interest. After that, for some time at least, my visits to the Mosque became almost regular. Every Sunday I would go to Woking and attend the meetings and the religious classes held at the Mosque and would take part in discussions with friends there. During that time I read some literature on Islam, too. When I went home to Ireland on holiday, I took a copy of the translation of the Qur'an with me. At that time I had no intention of becoming a Muslim, and I left the matter at that for a few more weeks. Gradually I realized that I was neither a Christian nor a Muslim, but there was no doubt about the fact that I was inclining more and more towards Islam. It was probably on 9th November 1952 that I met Mr. S. M. Tufail in London and said to him, "Don't be surprised. Here is good news for you. I have decided to become a Muslim. When I come to the Mosque next time, I will declare my faith in Islam." So it happened on Thursday 4th December 1952. There was nothing exciting about it, but this was how I saw the light of Islam. May God keep me firm in my faith and help me and guide me to the right path throughout my life. Amen.

AN IRISH GIRL ACCEPTS ISLAM.—And then she said: "I bear witness that there is but One God and I bear witness that Muhammad is His Servant and His Messenger."

Miss Elizabeth Margaret Suffern declared her faith in Islam at the hands of Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., on 4th December 1952 at the Sir Salar Jung Memorial House attached to the Shab Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England. On the extreme left is standing a friend of Miss Suffern, Miss Joyce E. Yasmin Scott, who accepted Islam earlier on 24th June, 1952, on 'Id al-Fitr (festival of the breaking of the Fast). On the wall is hanging a photograph of the late Khuja Kamal-ad-Din (1870-1932), Founder of The Islamic Review and the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust. The late Khuja was the first Muslim missionary to Europe in this age. He started his activities in England in 1912 and to him goes the credit of showing the light of Islam to hundreds of British people.”
THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM UPON WESTERN MUSIC

By HAROLD J. GREENBERG

"I heard a poet answer
Aloud and cheerfully,
'Say on, sweet Sphinx! thy dirges
Are pleasant songs to me';
Deep love lieth under
These pictures of time;
They fade in the light of
'Their meaning sublime.'"
Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Sphinx.

"Throughout the Western musical world, there has been a magnetic attraction to the call of the East. The lure of the splendid days of Caliphs and Sultans has proven irresistible. Impelled by the ever-present mystical yearning of the countries which lie slumbering in the shadow of the Prophet, they have been able to transform and transmute the passionate heart of the Orient into Western music. . . . In the throbbing pulse beat of Islam, infinite strains of subtle harmonies and magical melodies still linger, awaiting as ever the inspired touch of the great composer to reveal them to the ears of the world"

Influence of Arabs on the history of music

Until the nineteenth century, most of the world of Islam was segregated from the West. In culture, in religion, in philosophy, the Muslim nations were regarded as unknown entities.

Of course, a great deal was known about the Islamic world during the years of the Prophet, and the subsequent impact his message had upon the surrounding countries. But after the sixteenth century, the entire Muslim domain seems to have returned to its ancient isolation, content, for the moment, to live in the memory of its historic past.

But the wealth of Islam remained untouched for centuries. Misinterpreted and misunderstood by the West, very little was known except that at one time a fabulous Muslim empire existed which threatened the existence of Christian civilization. After that, the Islamic world was known only to a few hardy voyagers and scholars who were willing to search out for themselves the mysteries of the Near and Middle East. For all intents and purposes, the influence of Islam was at a standstill.

In the nineteenth century, Sir Richard Francis Burton had attempted to break down the iron wall of isolation which surrounded Arabia. And of all Westerners to explore the peninsula, he did the most to draw the attention of Arabic culture to the rest of the world.

Eventually, in bringing Occidental civilization to the East, he spanned the bridge which was also to bring a new renaissance of Muslim culture to the West. He had at first thought of carrying Western ideas to the East; he ended by bringing Eastern ideas to the West.

Yet a thousand years before, the Arabs had left their mark upon the arts and sciences. While their influence in astronomy and mathematics is best known, it is little realized that their impact was also indelibly stamped upon the entire field of music. While this may not seem immediately apparent, we have merely to consult the pages of musical history.

Instrumentally, the *qāthār* is perhaps the most famous. As the ancestor of our modern guitar, much of its charms have been inherited from Moorish Spain.

Of equal significance are the lute, derived from the Arabic *al-'ud*, and the *rabāb*, a two-stringed instrument which is often considered to be the father of our modern violin, the *zāmr*, an oboe-like instrument, and the *nāfir*, an early trumpet.

For centuries the Arab world had regarded music as one of the highest aspirations of the human mind, inducing a state which would bring the listener nearer to God. Al-Ghazali himself wrote:

"Ecstasy means the state that comes from listening to music."

The ancient Arabs seemed to revel in the spell of music, and the art of improvisation in this field, along with poetry, brought them to heights unknown even to our own times.

In his celebrated play, *Hāsān*, the late James Elroy Flecker presents this thought through his central character, who, emerging from the market place of Baghdad, gazed across the centuries and prophetically wrote:

"By Eblis and the powers of Hell, should I not know this, and know that therein lies the secret of the strength of Islam? In poems and in tales alone shall live the eternal memory of this city when I am dust and thou art dust, when the Bedouin shall build his hut upon my garden and drive his plough beyond the ruins of my palace, and all Baghdad is broken to the ground."

"Ah, if there shall ever arise a nation whose people have forgotten poetry or whose poets have forgotten the people, though they send their ships round Taphrobe and their armies across the hills of Hindustan, though their city be greater than Babylon of old, though they mine a league into the earth or mount to the stars on wings — what of them?"

Interestingly enough, unlike the Christian world, the Islamic peoples were able to enjoy music apart from religion. This secular element was not introduced into the rest of Europe until the days of Bach, and it was only in the nineteenth century that Western music was completely free to express itself as an art apart from religion. Throughout the Muslim empires, wandering troubadours brought songs of life and love to the people, while the Occidental world could only think of music in terms of monotonous ecclesiastical chants.

Moorish traditions of melodies and rhythms in Europe and Latin America

Long before Burton uncovered the monumental *Thousand and One Nights* and presented his unexpurgated edition to the English-speaking world, there was already a distinct mark of the Moors upon Western music. A strange, nomadic race, at home in any country in the world, living as no other people, and descended from the Egyptians from whom they derive their name, possessed a unique music of their own which can only be described as Oriental.

1 The word Islam in this article is used in a very broad sense and does not necessarily mean the religion of Islam. Ed., I.R.
It was not until Liszt, and then Brahms, transcribed the music of the gypsies which they heard in Hungary, that it was realized how closely their melodies and rhythms were related to the East. In his sweeping Hungarian Rhapsodies, Liszt catches the fervor and passion, and then the melancholy and mysterious contemplative quality of these fiery wanderers. For the man who lived among the gypsies drank deeply at the fountain of their philosophy, and all his musical creations bear the strong, dramatic qualities of this race.

To Liszt we owe most of our knowledge of this rare music, and apart from this transcription of gypsy melodies, his literary works have traced their development. But his treatment of the wild, turbulent harmonies have never been surpassed.

Although it is impossible to trace the hot gypsy blood which may have pulsed in his veins, yet it is certain that in his heart lay the same urge for imaginative freedom, for unfettered expression, which indeed was the treasured heritage of his nomadic friends. The composer who shared the wide plains with his wandering countrymen, shared also the very music that flowed through their lives. Ever yearning to return to their way of life, he is far more the gitano than the magyar.

The entire Hungarian school of music contains this tradition, and today, listening to the strains of Bartók or Dohnányi, there is never absent the passionate surging elements so unique to their country.

* * *

At the other end of Europe, another blood link with Islam even more pronounced than the gypsy can be found in the country where, for eight hundred years, the Muslims held sway. From Tariq until Boabdil, Spain had been the centre of Western Islamic and world culture, and the imprint upon Spanish music is as distinct as ever. Throughout the music of Spain, the rhythms, accents, melodies and harmonies are definitely Arabic.

Most notable of all Spanish composers, Albéniz, Granados and Manuel de Falla, composing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, retain in their compositions all the fire and vitality of their Moorish predecessors. How the Spaniard will wait that he possesses sangre limpia, pure blood, but how his music wails, in a manner so reminiscent of the Moor, that he deceives himself!

Every note and cadence, each turn of phrase, and in almost every composition the inevitable cadenza, which is in reality the ancient call of the muezzin to prayer, has its inextricable bond with the time when Spain lived and thrived under the crescent, and when she was the acknowledged centre of arts and sciences in the world.

In the Spanish malagueña, this cadenza is of great interest. Coming upon unprepared ears, it is as if one were transplanted to Cairo or Damascus. Málaga had been the most important Moorish seaport in southern Spain, and its citadel had been the Alcázaba, crowned by a graceful minaret. Today, when contemplating this newly-restored fortress (and today Spain is extremely proud of these monuments), the origin of the malagueña becomes clear. The present-day Spaniard, gazing down upon the sparkling Mediterranean, still hears in his mind the distant chant of the muezzin and the voices of his ancestors in the nostalgic music.

Apart from the traditional Arab influence upon Spanish music, many of the Spanish composers have turned to Moorish themes for backgrounds. Albéniz, in music such as En La Alhambra, Leyenda, and Serenata Arabe, records his varied impressions of his country’s past as he roams over its historic monuments. Granados, in his haunting Danzas Espanoles, Moréiques, and Chansons Arábes, meditates upon Spain’s ancient glory.

Every composer harks back to these themes. Joaquín Valverde, wandering through the magnificently preserved medina of Granada, composed a characteristically bewitching vision in El Albaicín; Angel Barrios reproduces an Alhambra legend in La Danza de la Cautiva; Emilio Lehmerg, in his Malaga Suite, includes vivid tableaux of the old Moorish city. Each of them were inspired by the subtle and lingering Moorish influences which time itself can never eradicate.
From Spain, the music of Latin America inherits this mystic quality, and throughout the New World, from Mexico to the Argentine, the traditional Moorish strains are everywhere noticeable. Across the vast expanse of pampas in South America, throughout the continent, and covering all the territory as far as the Rio Grande which borders the United States, the Moorish influence remains. Blending later with negro and American Indian music (itself of an Oriental type), it retains to this day the curious, expressive magic of its ancestry.

Influence on Russian school of music

Spain and Hungary, with their blood links to the East, have their roots in Oriental tradition. Yet another country still has been more influenced by Muslims, particularly in a philosophical way. With their eternal yearning towards the south, bored with the commonplace realities of their own existence, the Russians found in Muslim culture the perfect answer to their musical aspirations.

Much of this influence is derived from the romance associated with the Muslim world. The colour, the spectacle, the drama of the East, the timeless quality associated with it, all these are part of the mystic yearning of the Russian to the lands below him.

It is impossible that Tzarist Russia may have been acquainted with *The Arabian Nights* before it reached Western European eyes, but there is probably no other literary work whose impact has been as tremendous as this. In one epic volume, all the secret longings and aspirations are expressed, and here is all the sweep and majesty lacking in their own world, and yet lying so close at hand. Sultans, caliphs, mosques and the breath of ancient civilizations come alive as one listens to this music. There is in it the brooding spell of the desert and the bustle of market places, the endless array of caravans and the panoramic spectacle of great cities.

Rimsky-Korsakov continued to find an unlimited store of Islamic treasures from which to choose. He had discovered the Muslim world while in the Russian navy, and *Scheherazade* was his first musical interpretation of its compelling and irresistible influences. In his own words, speaking of this suite, the composer wrote:

"Why does it bear the name of *Scheherazade*? Because the name and the sub-title, *After the Thousand and One Nights*, connotes in everybody’s mind the East and fairy-tale wonders."

In proud succession, he created unsurpassed compositions of Oriental splendour in *Le Cog d’Or*, *Antar*, and *Sado*, all of which evoke breathtaking visions of timeless legends. No other Russian composer has been moved to recreate in music the legendary spirit of the Muslim world.

* * *

The other Russian composers, as well, turning from the drab sobriety of life in St. Petersburg or Moscow, expressed their art in gigantic kaleidoscopes of Eastern colour. In his well-known *Nutcracker Suite*, Tchaikovsky catches the intricate, weaving Oriental rhythms, and his *Danse Arabe* especially penetrates to the very essence of this exotic mood. The strains of the music, with their subtle, changing melody and harmonic effects, have brought to life the graceful smooth lines of an Eastern dancer.

In music like *Le Saracen* and *Orientalie*, César Cui displays the extent to which the world of Islam intrigued him. Borodin, in his *Polovtsian Dances*, echo dreamy Eastern melodies with their changing rhythms and provocative harmonies. Rubinstein and Glazounov, and a host of others, also chose, at one time or another, Oriental themes for their expression. Moussorgsky, ever in quest of suitable subjects, found abundant material for his *Persian Dances*.

While on a visit to Spain, Glinka was tremendously impressed by the Moorish character of Spanish music, and his *Capriccio on the Jota Aragonesa* and *A Summer Night in Madrid* have interpreted these Moorish elements. The *Persian Songs* of Rubenstein possess a curious reminiscent atmosphere, and are among the composer’s most interesting smaller works.

On British school of music

In England, the influence of Islam is also quite notable. Among the British composers, Cyril Scott, Granville Bantock and Albert W. Ketelby are perhaps the best known.

In a series of impressionistic studies, such as *In the Mystic Land of Egypt*, *In a Monastery Garden*, and *In a Persian Market*, Ketelby has produced picturesque scenes of the Orient, and his music has long been familiar to Western ears.

Of greater scope and depth are Scott and Bantock. Deeply learned in Oriental lore and very sensitive to its mystic appeal, Scott portrays unforgettable pictures. In selections like *The Sphinx*, *A Song from the East*, *Danse Orientale*, and *Lotus Land*, the composer, in these smaller works, foreshadows his later efforts. *The Sphinx* reproduces the strong quality of Eastern incantation in a meditative melody, together with the remote, mysterious atmosphere of the quixotic monument.

In his *Egyptian Suite*, Scott covers a variety of subjects: *In the Temple of Memphis*, *By the Waters of the Nile*, *Egyptian Boat Song*, *Funeral March of the Great Rameses*, and *Songs of*
the Spirit of the Nile. Each of these evokes a distinctive Egyptian flavour, everything from mirages of distant mosques and ruined temples to the rocking of the darghabab on the Nile and the endless flow of the ancient waters.

Strangely enough, these were all composed at a time when Scott had never even visited Egypt! Yet he was able to portray the philosophy and soul of the country in picturesque and enduring settings. This is indeed quite remarkable when it is realized how great the composer's attraction to Egypt must have been to enable him to carry out such successful musical enterprises. All of these works, with their underlying romanticism, exemplify his longing for the inspirational elements which he could never find in his own country.

First a composer, then a poet, and today known also as a philosopher, Scott has attempted, like many universal scholars, to combine all the arts into one. One of his startling premises, that music influences civilizations, rather than the generally accepted thesis that music is merely a product of civilizations, has been traced by him in various literary studies. In the sense that the idea of Islam itself has been the basic reason for the influence and appeal which it has had to the Western world, Emir's daughter for the chieftain of the Ghebris, the traditional fire worshippers. He was again attracted to Persia for a one-act opera, entitled The Pearl of Iran.

Then Bantock at last discovered the perfect subject. Still steeped in the enchantment of Persia, he conceived of setting the entire Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam to music! This was a tremendous undertaking, and one which would seem almost impossible to achieve. But listening to it today, the outside world is forgotten as we follow Khayyam's immortal verses in Bantock's interpretation.

The composer, using a rather ingenious scheme, separated the work into three parts. The poet himself is portrayed by a tenor; the philosopher by a baritone; and the beloved by a contralto. With a bold sweep of melody and expression, he follows every thought of the poet-astronomer and translates them into musical images.

There is everything in it, from the muezzin's call to prayer, the early trumpet from the sultan's palace, the contemplative state of el kayf, the call to awake, the regretful moods at the transience of earthly existence, the heights of love, and the depths of despair.

M. I. Glinka was tremendously impressed by the Moorish character of Spanish music. The Persian Songs of Anton Rubinstein are among the composer's most interesting smaller works.

He continues through moods of joy and passion, serenity and storm, philosophy and scepticism, earthliness and transcendentism. He summons up visions of life stumbling through the desert of the unknown. It is as if Bantock had been able to recapture the original spirit of Omar Khayyam and was writing from his subconscious self, producing musical effects which his ordinary mind could never accomplish.

Bantock's Omar Khayyam is his work of genius, reaching across the centuries, and portraying in one art which has been so admirably expressed in another.

Other European experiments in Oriental harmony

France and her composers were equally fascinated by the ceaseless flow of Eastern moods and fancies. The Arabian Nights had first become known in this country through the translation of Galland, and many of the French composers were stimulated by the novelty and fantasy of the Oriental tales.

Debussy, already steeped in the languorous aspects of living, composed the Egyptian ballad, Khamma, and Almanzor, a musical version of the life of the great Caliph al-Mansur.
Ravel, who carried on Debussy's impressionistic work, was so entranced with *The Arabian Nights* when he first read the tales that he planned a musical version of the entire series. Unfortunately, this would have been an overwhelming undertaking, and the composer began and ended with the legend of Scheherazade.

The Oriental orchestrations of Camille Saint-Saëns are filled with the delicate imprint of a composer who transmuted his musical ideas into lofty, poetic patterns. A world traveller, he visited practically every country during his lifetime.

(Right) Cyril Scott (1916) is one of those British composers on whom the influence of the Muslim world is quite notable, and his music has long been familiar to Western ears. A composer, a poet and a philosopher, he has attempted to combine all the arts into one.

(Left) Berlioz, in France, continuing his Oriental research, composed his own version of *Cleopatra*.

During his travels in North and Eastern Africa, he composed his Fifth Piano Concerto, which is actually his musical impressions of Egypt. There is a definite Oriental atmosphere throughout, and includes a melody which he heard a boatman singing on the Nile. Saint-Saëns' delineation of the ancient serenity of Egypt beneath the ever-present azure skies are expressed in a musical form which is among the composer's greatest works.

His opera, *Samson and Delilah*, with its exotic setting, is also in the Oriental tradition, as are his *Caprice Arabe*, *Melodies Persanes*, *Souvenir d'Imamia*, and his *Suite Algérienne*. This suite was inspired by his long sojourns in Algiers, a city to which he was greatly attached and where he spent the latter years of his life. In Cairo, he composed a fantasy inspired by the romance of Egypt, which he called *Africa*, and is based upon tunes sung by the fellahin.

Jules Massenet's notable experiments in Eastern harmonies and effects reached new heights in his opera, *Thais*, which retells the legend of the fabulous courtesan of Alexandria, and in *Cleopatre*. While the action of these particular operas ante-date the actual arrival of the Prophet, it has seemed fitting to include them, along with others of this type, such as *Aida* of Verdi, inasmuch as the interest in Near Eastern culture was reawakened by the opening of this area to the West.

In *Le Corsaire* of Berlioz, *DJumileh* and *La Guila de l'Emir* of Bizet, *Fantaisies on Galistan* and *Les Djinns* of César Franck — the folk-tales and Oriental fables have reached the summit of expression.

Berlioz, continuing his Oriental research, composed his own version of *Cleopatre*. Jacques Ibert, writing in the present century, attains an unusual effect in his *Porto de Call*, which, rambling through the wide seas, pictures the latent attractions of East and West.

While Schumann, in nineteenth-century Germany, was fashioning Arabesque motifs into his music, Holland's Peter Cornelius was revolutionizing the art of music under the aegis of Liszt with his brilliant but completely misunderstood *Barber of Baghdad*. The full drama of this opera was considered so revolutionary at its first production in Weimar that it resulted in Liszt's resignation from his official post of musical director.

In the twentieth century, Richard Strauss has also turned to the East for his inspiration, and among other works, has told the strangely-moving legends of the early Persian prophet in *Tbusi Sake Zarathustra*.

**Influence on American composers**

Even in remote America, this influence has been strongly rooted. A series of films based upon Arabian and Persian legends has been forthcoming from Hollywood, and each of these in turn has been adorned with appropriate music. Notable films, such as *The Garden of Allah*, possess background music, as well as authentic native melodies, which interpret the fantasy and philosophy of the East.

In a similar way, several American composers, especially Sigmund Romberg, in his operetta *The Desert Song*, with its North African setting, invites you to seek refreshment at some remote palm-shaded oasis of the Sahara.

Lotte Lehmann, the American prima donna, in a cycle entitled *Songs from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, has woven a delightful tapestry of Persia with the threads of music.

But the list is endless. The author of this article himself is the composer of several musical compositions which are traceable to an Oriental origin, *The Court of the Lions*, with an Alhambra setting, and a *Persian Fantasy*, which attempts to portray in music the background of the eleventh century.

Naturally, these composers of the West used their own chromatic scale in their rendition of Islamic themes. It is perhaps impossible to reproduce exactly the quarter and third-tones of the East with Western harmonies. Yet they all have been able to capture, even with a new method, the Oriental concept. So great was the attraction of this section of the world that even elements of Eastern themes in the Western half-tone scale have resulted in memorable and remarkable effects. It is Oriental music presented by the West, but it is unmistakable.

**The Eastern imprint**

In every teaching curriculum throughout the Western world there is invariably at least several selections which bear the Eastern imprint. Students everywhere are familiar with the motifs of Scheherazade, which intrigue them far more than the symphonies of Beethoven.

In every important orchestral organization, these compositions possess a prominent place. Yet it has not generally been appreciated how great this influence really is. Now that the *Thousand and One Nights* have become an integral part of Occidental culture, it is only too often taken for granted.

Music, in being the most expressive of all the arts, and the international language of the emotions, has done more than can be imagined in bringing together the worlds of East and West. In *Scheherazade*, for example, we find not only the echo of a romantic past, but the never-ending search for unity and expression. Western composers, in discovering the Orient, have in truth discovered themselves.
Throughout the Western musical world, there has been a magnetic attraction to the call of the East. The lure of the splendid days of Caliphs and Sultans has proven irresistible. Impelled by the ever-present mystical yearning of the countries which lie slumbering in the shadow of the Prophet, they have been able to transform and transmute the passionate heart of the Orient into Western music.

In the throbbing pulse beat of Islam, infinite strains of subtle harmonies and magical melodies still linger, awaiting as ever the inspired touch of the great composer to reveal them to the ears of the world.

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PAKISTAN-EVENING — HELSINKI, FINLAND

The Muslims held a Pakistan evening in Helsinki, Finland, on 16th January 1953 which was attended by two hundred Muslims. The President of the congregation, Mr. Zakur Tabir, gave a talk about Pakistan. Later, two films about Pakistan were shown. Our picture shows a part of the gathering.
JALAL AL-DIN RUMI

By A. J. ARBERRY

In memory of the seventh centenary which fell on 20th February 1953 (Jumad al-Thaniya 5, 1372 A.R.)

"Rumi's poetical output was truly stupendous. The six books which make up the Mathnawi, that "Koran in the Persian language", would by themselves have been sufficient to prove the fertility and nobility of his genius. In that vast epic he elaborates his whole mystical system, man's quest for union with God, building upon the tradition of his Sufi predecessors, and in particular Sana'i and Farid al-Din 'Atar; the lofty doctrine is illustrated with a wealth of fascinating and often entertaining anecdotes."

On 5th Jumada II, 672 A.H. (17th December 1273 C.E.) died "the greatest mystical poet of Persia"; so Jalal al-Din Rumi was described by his greatest editor and interpreter, the late Professor R. A. Nicholson (Rumi, Poet and Mystic, p. 17), and he would not hesitate to add, in private conversation, that he considered him to be the supreme mystical poet of the world. Nicholson did not survive to celebrate the seventh centenary (Muslim reckoning) of the death of his favourite author, and it has fallen to me, his pupil, to attempt to pay that tribute to Rumi's triumphant genius which he would have penned so gladly, and so much more eloquently.

Rumi was born at Balkh (Khorasan) in 604 A.H.—1207 C.E. on the eve of the Mongol migrations. He was only twelve years old when his father, Bahá al-Din Walad, himself a noted mystic, fled before the oncoming terror with his family westwards. Passing through Baghdad, Mecca and Damascus, he finally settled in Turkey — first at Zaranda, and later at Konia. Jalal al-Din Rumi married at Zaranda, and his son Sultan Walad was born there. At Konia he studied Sufism under Burhan al-Din Muhazziq of Tirmidh, a pupil of his father's; he succeeded him as Shaykh on Burhan al-Din's death in 638 A.H.—1240 C.E., and thereafter began to organize the confraternity known as the Mevlevis.

In 642 A.H.—1244 C.E., Rumi came under the influence of Shams al-Din Tabrizi, a wandering dervish newly arrived in Konia. Though their association lasted only three or four years, it affected Rumi profoundly; it was in Shams al-Din's name that he composed his large collection of mystical odes, known to this day as Divan-i Shams-i Tabriz. His later friends and disciples included Salah al-Din Zarub (d. ca. 659 A.H.—1261 C.E.), Husam al-Din (to whom he dedicated his famous Mathnawi), and Mu'in al-Din, the well-known Seljuk Parvana (Governor) of Rum. His devout and deeply religious life came to its close in 672 A.H.—1273 C.E.

Rumi's poetical output was truly stupendous. The six books which make up the Mathnawi, that "Koran in the Persian language", would by themselves have been sufficient to prove the fertility and nobility of his genius. In that vast epic he elaborates his whole mystical system, man's quest for union with God, building upon the tradition of his Sufi predecessors, and in particular Sana'i and Farid al-Din 'Atar; the lofty doctrine is illustrated with a wealth of fascinating and often entertaining anecdotes. The entire work is available to students of Persian in Nicholson's masterly edition, and to the general public in his authoritative translation.

But the bulk even of the Mathnawi is dwarfed by the massive Divan, which comprises some 2,500 odes, many of considerable length. Rumi's lyrical collection is more than five times as large as Hafiz's; and whereas Hafiz is certainly the finer artist, he never approaches the mystical fervour and imaginative richness of his forerunner. We are told by Rumi's biographer that these odes were composed extempore, while the poet in a state of trance slowly rotated about a column in the Mevlevi monastery at Konia.

Finally, Rumi also composed a very large number of Ruhails (quatrains), probably as many as 1,000; these little poems are among the finest of their kind in Persian literature, and prove Rumi's artistry even more than his larger and more famous compositions. Like his Divan, they still await an editor of the calibre of Nicholson.

Rumi's influence on all succeeding generations of Sufis has been profound. None has failed to acknowledge his mastery; and among the many tributes paid to his greatness few have exceeded in sincerity and eloquence those penned by the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Though translation, even the most skilful, cannot ever be more than a pale reflection of the beauty of the original, especially when the original is the Persian of Rumi, the reader may gain some idea of Rumi's style and thought from the following brief selections.

THE PROGRESS OF MAN
First he appeared in the realm invisible;
Thence came into the world of plants and lived
The plant-life many a year, nor called to mind
What he had been; then took the onward way
To animal existence, and once more

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Remembers naught of that life vegetive,
Save when he feels himself moved with desire
Towards it in the season of sweet flowers,
As babes that seek the breast and know not why.
Again the wise Creator whom thou knowest
Uplifted him from animality
To Man's estate; and so from realm to realm
Advancing, he became intelligent,
Cunning and keen of wit, as he is now.
No memory of his past abides with him,
And from his present soul he shall be changed.
Though he is fallen asleep, God will not leave him
In this forgetfulness. Awakened, he
Will laugh to think what troublous dreams he had,
And wonder how his happy state of being
He could forget and not perceive that all
Those pains and sorrows were the effect of sleep
And guile and vain illusion. So this world
Seems lasting, though 'tis but the sleeper's dream;
Who, when the appointed Day shall dawn, escapes
From dark imaginings that haunted him,
And turns with laughter on his phantom griefs
When he beholds his everlasting home.


THE WINE OF LOVE

He comes, a Moon whose like the sky ne'er saw, awake or dreaming.
Crowned with eternal flame no flood can lay.
Lo, from the flagon of Thy love, O Lord, my soul is swimming,
And ruined all my body's house of clay.
When first the Giver of the grape my lonely heart befriended,
Wise fired my bosom and my veins filled up;
But when His image all my eye possessed, a voice descended:
"Well done, O sovereign Wine and peerless Cup!"

Love's mighty arm from roof to base each dark abode is hewing
Where chinks reluctant catch a golden ray.
My heart, when Love's sea of a sudden burst into its viewing,
Leaped headlong in, with "Find me now who may!"

As, the sun moving, clouds behind him run,
All hearts attend thee, O Tabriz's Sun!


BIRTH AND REBIRTH

Happy was I
In the pearl's heart to lie;
Till, lashed by life's hurricane,
Like a tossed wave I ran.

The secret of the sea
I uttered thunderously;
Like a spent cloud on the shore
I slept, and stirred no more.


THE HEART

The heart is a secret garden,
Its trees unseen;
A hundred hues it blossoms
Unchanged, serene.

The heart is a boundless ocean
Illimitable;
Its waves break unnumbered
In every soul.


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The Rubaiyat of Jalal al-Din Rumi. Select translations by A. J.
Nowruz Jamshidi, March the 21st, is the Iranian New Year. This festival, one of the oldest in the world, dates back several thousand years.

In the time of Darius the Great, Nowruz was celebrated with tremendous splendour in the magnificent palace of Persepolis, whose stately columns survived the calamities which attended the invasion of Macedonian Alexander. It is said that Alexander's mistress was responsible for the act of vandalism whereby the palace of Persepolis was burnt down.

On New Year's Day, in the time of Darius, a vast military parade defied before the Shahinshah, who witnessed the proceedings from his throne in the Central Hall, surrounded by his ministers and members of his household, and flanked by the twelve Satraps who governed the administrative units of the vast Iranian Empire, which rivalled Roman imperialism in the East. The vast square in front of the palace of Persepolis was capable of containing several hundred thousand soldiers. The participants in this parade were the soldiers of the twelve different regiments from the twelve Satrapies, and their varied uniforms, arms, and their distinctive national physical characteristics gave an added interest to this brilliant spectacle. Some idea of their appearance can be obtained from the bas-relief sculpture on the low walls on either side of the wide flight of steps which led up to the Central Hall. These steps rose gradually in order to permit the cavalry to ride their horses right up to the entrance of the hall itself.

Festival of the dead

Originally, Nowruz was associated with the Festival of the Dead; the ancient Persians believed that the spirits of the dead returned to their former homes and remained there for ten days. Nowruz was the sixth of these days. The Festival of the Dead is now held on the last Wednesday of the Old Year. On that day the people go to the cemeteries with flowers, fruit and sweetmeats, which are distributed amongst all persons present. As night falls, the people return home and light seven bonfires, which they leap over, crying out, "Oh, fire, give me your brightness and take away in return my sallow complexion!". Then they wander through the streets, caveshopping at the doors, and they attribute a special significance to the words they overhear.

On the morning of Nowruz the High Priest opened the ceremonies by paying his respects to the Shah; he would carry a golden cup filled with nectar in one hand and some fresh green shoots in the other. His retinue would follow laden with other gifts—a bejewelled ring, a gift of gold coins, a sword, a bow and arrow, a pen and inkpot, a hawk, and one of them leading a magnificent caparisoned horse. The priest delivered a short address to the Shahinshah, in which he expressed the wish that the good spirits of the New Year might bring him knowledge and insight and a long life, and the hope that he might enjoy happiness while always remaining good-tempered and dispassionate. He told him to drain Jashm'd's cup to the last drop, and to uphold the noble traditions of his ancestors by always being noble-minded, benevolent, just and truthful; to hold his head high, like the fresh young barley shoots. He said:

"May thy horsemen always be victorious, thy sword shine brightly and be wielded effectively against thine enemy; may thy hawk hunt successfully and mayst thou have good luck in the chase! May the path of thy duty be as straight as an arrow; mayst thou conquer new countries and continue long to sit upon thy throne! Mayst thou win such material wealth that even gold will be contemptible in thy sight; but may the masters of art and learning always be dear to thee! May thy house prosper and thy person be blessed with long life!"

After delivering this speech, the High Priest would take a sip from the golden cup and then hand it to the Shah; simultaneously he would offer the fresh barley shoots, which the king would take in his other hand. Then the priest would place the gift of gold at the foot of the throne.

The greatest of Iranian festivals

The people believed that the first things they saw on New Year's Day would become their possessions throughout the year. Nowruz remains to this day the greatest of Iranian festivals. And its date coincides with the first day of spring. The preparations for Nowruz include spring cleaning, the making of sweetmeats, and the wearing of new clothes. These customs were performed in former times with the intention of pleasing the spirits of the dead, who on their return to Heaven would ask their God to grant health and happiness to each household for the rest of the year. Among the ceremonies observed today is the laying out on the table of seven types of food, the names of which all begin with "s" in the Iranian language: they are sib (apple), sir (garlic), serkeh (vinegar), senjed (jujube), sabze (wheat-shoots), somagh (sumak), and samana (a sweet dish made from wheaat); and the table is decorated with hyacinths (sombol). Milk, cheese and fish are also served and extra lamps and candles are lit—a survival of the ancient belief that light was symbolical of purity and holiness. It is considered lucky if the whole family can be present around the table, and everything possible is done to ensure this. The end of the old year and the beginning of the new is announced by the firing of a gun. The members of the family then congratulate each other and wish each other a happy new year. When the younger members pay their respects to the older members of the family, they usually receive a New Year's present.

Afterwards, they pay visits to relatives and neighbours. These festivities go on for several days. On the thirteenth day after Nowruz the family go off to the countryside and bid the old year a final farewell. This ceremony comes to an end with the throwing of wheat and lentil shoots into a brook. These shoots have been grown especially for the occasion, one for each member of the family, and before they are thrown into the water a knot is made in each shoot and the thrower makes a wish for the new year. Other ceremonies are held in Iran to mark the beginning of summer, autumn and winter.

The present-day ceremony evokes the greatness of Iran's past, which has aroused the admiration of scholars and statesmen of all nations and of all generations. If their spirit of understanding of the past history of Iran is applied to present-day problems, a feeling of mutual comprehension and respect may help to solve questions which lie deeper than the practical aspects of economics and modern commercialism.
The political disturbances of November 1952

In Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon and Jordan, some drastic political changes took place last year. In November 1952 it appeared that Iraq was also undergoing a similar change. But the new Iraqi government has preserved the status quo in this part of the Muslim world. It has prevented Iraq from falling in line with its neighbours. But it is significant that recent elections were boycotted by the Opposition parties. Only a handful of Opposition deputies were elected, standing as independent.

The street demonstrations which took place in Baghdad in November 1952 resulted in clashes between the demonstrators and the police, causing several deaths, many wounded, and mass arrests. They came as a surprise to nobody. In fact, the only surprising thing about the recent events in Iraq was the long-delayed outburst of public opinion. The demonstrations were the result of a feeling of frustration on the part of the Baghdad intelligentsia at the refusal of the Government to hold free elections.

On the first day of the demonstrations, the police were chased off the streets by a crowd of demonstrators, many of whom were students. The caretaker government then in power was headed by the independent senator, Mr. Mustafa al-Umary, who was forced to resign. During the demonstrations the offices of the English newspaper The Iraq Times was sacked. The demonstrators also attacked the United States Information Office. To restore order troops were brought in; a military government was set up under the Army Chief of Staff, a Kurd, General Nur al-Din Mahmoud. The military then proceeded to arrest the leaders of the Opposition parties and suppressed their journals.

Political tensions in Iraq

The latest Iraqi Parliament was dominated by General Nouri Sa'id's Dastour (Constitutionalist) Party, which was undemocratically elected and had the backing of the feudal tribal Sheikhs. The Opposition parties — the National Democrats (Socialists), the Istiqad (Independent Extreme Right-Wing Nationalists), the Popular Front (a party of well-known personalities), who had 35 deputies in the Iraq Parliament, as against about 100 supporters of the Government, had boycotted the Parliament from 1950 onwards.

In their memorandum submitted to the Regent before the last elections, the National Democrats had demanded that the elections should be carried out on a basis of universal suffrage. They contended that there should be no interference by the palace or violation of the Constitution, and demanded the evacuation of foreign (i.e., British) troops.

On 3rd November 1952 the meeting of the Opposition leaders with the Regent was broken up when a violent altercation broke out between the Regent and the Popular Front leader and ex-Premier, Marshal Taha al-Hashimi. Marshal al-Hashimi and Mr. Kamil Chaderji walked out in protest and the Opposition declared that they would boycott the elections.

General Nouri Sa'id's party published a detailed election manifesto promising internal economic reforms and his desire to abrogate the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930, but the Opposition pointed out that although he had been Premier about a dozen times, he had never seriously attempted to implement his promises, although he had had plenty of time to carry them out over a period of twenty years.

The electoral campaign was further complicated by the personal opposition to General Nouri Sa'id of Mr. Saleh Jabr, who signed the abortive Treaty of Portsmouth in 1948 which led to anti-British riots similar to those which took place recently. Mr. Saleh Jabr is considered in Iraqi circles to be Britain's future nominee.

Economic causes of the street demonstrations in Iraq

The last demonstrations had also economic causes. The cost of feeding a family per day is about 350 fils, or 7/- more than the daily wage of an unskilled worker, and this sum will only provide for a minimum diet of bread, dates, vegetables, rice, tea and sugar.

Only very recently 300-400 peasants in the district of Amara near the Iranian frontier occupied Government State land which had been allocated to a local Sheikh, Matlaq Salman, and evicted him. They claimed that they had been given valueless land and that the best land had been given to the Sheikhs. They were driven out after a clash with the police.

It will take some time for the effects of the Iraq Development Plan to be felt, and the resulting increase in the proletariat may well lead to the increase in the illegal Communist Party, which is at present very active, together with the "Partisans of Peace" and adherents of the illegal Shabab, or People's Party, whose leader, Mr. "Aziz Sharif, is in hiding. The Western Press has no doubt exaggerated the strength of the Communist Party, and its contention that the recent disturbances were instigated by the Iranian Tudeh Party are probably without foundation. For if this had been the case, why did the disturbances not break out earlier while the new oil agreement was being signed? The fact remains that the authorities, by arresting the leaders of the left wing parties such as Mr. Kamil Chaderji, the National Democrat leader, did prepare the way for Communism. Repression and dictatorship breed a distorted form of Communism which can only be counteracted by a genuine form of Socialism which in this case must be a product of Iraq.

Iraqi political parties

The National Democrat leaders have blamed the British for the political crisis, implying that British political and economic interests are responsible for retarding political and economic reforms in Iraq. They have also stated that corruption and unconstitutional political interference increased after the British reoccupation of Iraq in 1941. They have asked for a political amnesty, the setting up of trade unions and the abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930. These reforms would have been accepted without a murmur in any Western country, but the British Press usually brands the Iraqi democrats as extremists, taking particular exception to the Iraqis' desire for neutrality in their relations with the two big blocs. If the British
Liberals and Socialists had adopted a more friendly attitude towards the Iraqi people (the late Mr. Ernest Bevin while Foreign Minister was immensely popular with the small group of Iraqi politicians such as Mr. Salem Jabr and General Nuri Sa'id), the British might be popular in Iraq today, providing they had exported their democratic principles and health schemes and withdrawn their troops and revised their economic agreements (before the Iranian crisis).

The Istiqlal Party, which formerly backed Mr. Rashid 'Ali al-Gailani, is a right wing organization whose programme is much more nationalistic than socialist. Its leaders, Messrs Muhammad Mahdi Kubba, Fa'ik Sa'imri, the Editor of al-Istiqlal, and Sadiq Shanshal, favour the nationalization of the oil-extracting industry. (The Democrats demand the right to sell 50 per cent of the oil, which they point out fetches a much higher price at Banias, the Syrian port, than at the Iraqi frontier.) The Istiqlal leaders are Arab Nationalists, who together with all the Opposition parties support the Iranians in their oil dispute with Britain.

A third Opposition party is the Popular Front, whose leader, a retired Marshal, Mr. Taht al-Hashimi, was once in alliance with General Nuri Sa'id. Marshal al-Hashimi, however, did not co-operate with the British in 1941.

The fourth Opposition party, the Umma, or People’s Socialist Party, is led by Mr. Saleh Jabr, who signed the abortive 1948 Treaty of Portsmouth and was forced to go into hiding as a result of hostile mass demonstrations. His opposition to General Nuri Sa’id is more personal than ideological.

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General Nuri Sa'id's Dastour Party is supported by the tribal Sheiks and prominent officials and big business men. In their election address, the Dastourians promised far-reaching reforms and female suffrage, as well as the negotiated abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. The General is a veteran arbiophile and one of the creators of the Arab League. The General is blamed by the Opposition for being too pro-British, and the British are being blamed for supporting General Nuri Sa'id!

Iraq and Britain

The situation in Iraq is being compared with that which exists in Iran, but apart from the general opposition to Western imperialism there are great differences. In this connection it should not be overlooked that Iraq is not in a position to play off Britain and America against Russia or the United States against Britain. She has no common frontier with the Soviet Union, and she already has British troops, or rather airmen, on her soil. The extent of British influence is sometimes exaggerated, although British business men and engineers as a whole have a reputation second to none. But they must not treat Iraq as a too lucrative source of profits. It has considerable potential resources, but if the benefits from increased industrialization and irrigation are not fully enjoyed by the agricultural and urban population as a whole, then the prospects of social peace are very poor, for the agricultural workers with an income of £12-£30 per annum have nothing to lose save their lives. The ruling clique of Iraq made the mistake of not allowing at least a powerful minority of Opposition politicians to be elected by direct suffrage. The Western Powers should use their considerable influence to press for a peaceable transition towards real democracy in Iraq based on an equal distribution of the land amongst the fellaheen. Only in this way can a better relationship between Britain, America and Iraq be expected to come about.

After the riots the British were as usual blamed for everything. And this can hardly be over-emphasized that this state of affairs will continue as long as the British Foreign Office supports a small clique of unpopular Iraqi politicians and refuses to abolish the outdated Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. It should instead press for economic reforms in Iraq and the institution of a genuine parliamentary democracy which would give the Iraqi people who are able enough, a fair chance, to have something to defend. Western efforts to jockey the Middle East into a Defence Scheme are, in view of the appallingly low standard of living prevailing there, providing useful material for Russian agitators. Iraq's real problems are internal, and will be solved by Iraqis alone.

There is a rising feeling in support of neutrality towards the two big blocs. This accounts for the pronounced anti-American nature of the riots. The Opposition felt that the British and American governments were opposing Iraqi democracy in support of a ruling clique and that the root of the disorders could not be eradicated by the present Middle East formula of military dictatorship.

The World Press and the Iraqi crisis of November 1952

When the disturbances of November last took place, the American and British Press adopted an alarmist tendency and imputed the riots to the influence of the Communists and Iranians in Iraq, but soon after it became clear, as was evident from The Manchester Guardian, The London Times and The New York Times, that at the root of these demonstrations lay the real economic and political causes. A certain Mr. E. Sablier, who is the Middle East expert of the leading French daily, Le Monde, raked up the old stories of a conflict between the Sunnis and Shi'abs and the conflict between the Arabs and the Kurds. He went so far as to claim (quite wrongly) that General Nuri Sa'id is a Kurd! As to the conflict between the Sunnis and Shi'abs, it is well known that the Iraqis do not generally base their political allegiance on their interpretation of Islam.

In reality, more and more members of the Shi'a community such as Dr. Fadhil Jamali, Mr. Dhia Ja'far, the ex-Minister of Communications, and Mr. Saleh Jabra, have already held high ministerial offices. Besides the Destour Party, the Umma Party and the left wing National Democrats are not exclusively made up of the Sunni Muslims. Also, the extension of the recent troubles in Najaf and Kerbala show that the populations of these holy Shi'a towns supported the political and economic aims of the Iraqi Opposition, which had nothing whatsoever to do with religion.

Iraq, with its potential resources, has every chance of becoming an important power only if these resources are used for the benefit of all and not for enriching the rich. Only in such circumstances can a friendly understanding be reached with the West.

THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN EGYPT

By Abd al-'AZIZ SALEM

Why the acquisition of land was at a premium with Egyptians

Egypt has long felt the necessity of a drastic reform of its agrarian structure. Possession of agricultural land had grown to be the most reliable and tempting capital investment, so that prices of agricultural land exceed the extraordinary figure of £1,500 per acre (feddan) in some cases, while rents reached £60 a year per acre. On the other hand, wages were too low to give a decent living to the farm labourer. Under these conditions, the country made rather slow progress in activities other than agriculture that require capital investment. Also, while the few big landowners lived luxuriously on the income of their land, the greater proportion of the population remained in misery.

Increase in population did not keep pace with increase in acreage under cultivation

These conditions worsened through a rapid rate of increase in population and the limited area of land that can be brought under cultivation. At the opening of the present century, Egypt had a population of about 11,000,000, living on a cultivated area of 3,097,000 acres, in the possession of 967,295 landowners. During the past fifty years, the population has risen to over 20,000,000, while the cultivated area has increased by 5,962,660 acres only, held by 2,760,661 landowners. The increase in the number of landowners is almost entirely in the category of small landowners of five acres or less and mainly in the category of owners of a fraction of an acre, while the number of big landowners and the area possessed by them remained almost stationary. This obviously points towards the necessity of fixing both a maximum and a minimum for the acreage that can belong to one man, in order to ensure a better distribution of the limited cultivated area amongst an ever-increasing population, of which 75 per cent are engaged in agriculture, and of impeding the fragmentation of small farms into uneconomic units.

Some details of the Agrarian Reform Law

The new law on Agrarian Reform\(^2\) has fixed 200 acres as the maximum property of one man. The area in excess of this maximum will be taken by the Government during the five
coming years against nominal stocks payable in thirty years at an interest of 3 per cent.

The price of requisitioned areas will be seventy times the Government land tax. This will affect 2,115 big landowners, or only 8 in 10,000 of the total number of present landowners; but the land in their possession amounts to 1,208,490 acres, or 10 per cent of the total cultivated area. The land to be taken from these landowners is calculated to be about 600,000 acres, and is to be sold in lots of 2 to 5 acres to small cultivators who possess less than 5 acres, at a price 15 per cent above that paid by the Government, and is to be paid back in thirty yearly instalments at an interest of 3 per cent. As to the minimum farm acreage, no future sub-division of areas of 5 acres or less is permissible.

To ensure the proper management of the new farms, the law on agrarian reform enforces the formation of co-operative societies amongst the new landowners. These societies will receive guidance and supervision from the Ministry of Social Affairs. The law has also provided for minimum wages for farm labourers and enacts regulations to ensure security of land tenures and to fix a maximum rental sevenfold the local Government tax.

1 As shown in the table below, the area of cultivated land has increased very slowly during the past 150 years, and very inadequately in relation to the increase in population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population in millions</th>
<th>Cultivated area of land in millions of feddans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that in the year 1800 the ration between feddans and persons was 1:1.25, whereas now it has become 1:360.

The soil of Egypt is suitable for agriculture provided the necessary water can be made available. Extension of the cultivated area has always been and still is dependent upon improvement and enlargement of the irrigation arrangements. It is thought that the area of cultivated land may be doubled when the presently proposed irrigation schemes are realized (the Upper Nile Scheme and other schemes in Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia).

There is also the possibility of cultivating extensive areas of desert land by the use of water from artesian wells.

The Decree of Land Reform promulgated on 9th September 1952 lays down: (1) that no individual society or company may possess more than 200 acres of land, nor may any person or organization purchase any land if he is already in possession of 200 acres. Such purchases are declared null and void. The State is to have the right to purchase, for a fixed rate, agricultural land at present possessed in areas above this maximum. The State will then divide the land which it owns and the land brought on behalf of fellahin who own no land, or to landowners with less than 200 acres, preference being given to local inhabitants, fathers of families and the beneficiaries of a wakf (charitable trust), if the land is owned by a wakf. The price which the Government will pay will be the average of the years 1957-9 for land, and will be paid in Treasury Bonds repayable in 30 years at 3 per cent interest. Those who purchase agricultural land from the Government will pay an annual amount over 30 years and they may not sell the land until the purchase has been completed. Loans will be available to the first purchaser in order that he may buy sufficient equipment to work the land, and the repayment of this loan must not be such as to make things difficult for the purchaser. The State will be responsible for setting up co-operative societies in each village, including the small proprietors, their object being to organize the necessary agricultural work.

(2) That it is forbidden to let any portion of land of two acres or less, and it is forbidden to let any portion of land if the owner's land would thus be reduced to less than two acres. This applies to all modes of land transfer. The division of agricultural land by inheritance is forbidden whenever the division creates properties of less than two acres, and in case of dispute between the heirs, the eldest sons are to have preference over the younger sons and daughters, and farmers over non-farmers.

(3) That after the beginning of the next agricultural year leases may not be for less than five years, and the tenant may not be expelled provided that he fulfils the terms of the lease and provided the courts have not given a decision against him. All leases must be in triplicate, one each for the landlord and the tenant, the third being deposited with the competent official authority. Any lease is invalid until it has been certified by a competent court. Any other leases are without legal validity and penalties are provided for infringement. Before the beginning of the agricultural year a committee will be formed representing the landowners and tenants and including a member of the local judicial body. This will fix the rent per acre. If the rent is paid partly in kind, the landlord may not receive more than a third after the deduction of costs. The same committee, with the addition of representatives of the agricultural workers, will fix the daily wage of the workers as well as conditions and hours of work. These committees will be elected and a special committee will be formed to take immediate cognizance without judicial cost of any disputes arising from the present decree.

(4) That in every locality to which it applies, a committee will be formed to be presided over by a judge, and including representatives of the beneficiaries of this decree. The committee will allot the land to be divided. Special regulations are to be issued in this connection. A penalty of five years' imprisonment will be imposed on anyone who refused to apply this law or who interfered with its execution in any way whatever. The penalty will be immediate, without the possibility of delay or of appeal.

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ISLAM IN ENGLAND

WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lecture at Cardiff International Club

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, went to Cardiff on Wednesday 7th January 1953 to deliver a lecture under the auspices of the Cardiff International Club. The Lord Mayor of Cardiff is the President of this club. Mr. Hasan Ansari was Chairman for the occasion. The meeting started at 7.45 p.m. and consisted of three talks by representatives of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Each representative spoke for about twenty minutes, followed by questions and answers for about three-quarters of an hour. The proceedings were very interesting as they brought home to the minds of the audience may similarities and dissimilarities of the three great religions of the world. After his lecture, the Imam went to the R.A.F. camp at Locking to meet some friends there, and returned to London on Friday morning. He conducted the Friday services at the High Commissioner's Office for Pakistan, and in the afternoon attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pakistan Society, of which he is the Vice-Chairman. On Saturday 31st January 1953 he again undertook a long journey, to Newport, in Wales, to attend a meeting of the Muslim Council of Great Britain, of which the Imam is the Honorary Treasurer. While returning he broke his journey at Bristol to meet some friends from Pakistan and Iraq.

At St. Dunstan's College, Catford, S.E.6

Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., gave a talk on "Islam and For What it Stands" under the auspices of the Christian Union, St. Dunstan's College, Catford, S.E.6, on Tuesday 20th January 1953, at 4.15 p.m. Rev. Anthony Leigh Toller, Chaplain of the College, presided over the meeting. Mr. Tufail gave an account of the life of the Prophet Muhammad and his message to the world. At the end of the talk, a few general questions about Islam were put to the speaker. One of them was: "What is the culture of Islam?" In reply the speaker said: "Islam has laid
culture of Islam?" In reply the speaker said: "Islam has laid down a few broad principles for the development of Muslim society, within which the culture of Islam may grow and flourish. It may differ in outward expression from country to country and from age to age, but as long as the fundamentals remain the same, that development will not be contrary to the spirit of Islam. Islamic culture in the United Kingdom, if Islamic ideology prevails among the British people, will be different in expression as compared to the Islamic culture in Iran, Turkey or Egypt."

Historical Society, Nottingham University, Nottingham

Through the kind efforts of Mr. Roger Parkin, a student of Nottingham University, a lecture on "The Evolution of Pakistan" by Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., was arranged under the auspices of the Historical Society, Nottingham University, Nottingham, on Thursday 29th January 1953. The meeting started at 4.30 p.m. Mr. Colin C. Davison, the President of the Society, introduced the speaker to the audience. Mr. Tufail spoke on the subject for half an hour, giving the necessary information about the birth and growth of the movement of Pakistan. The whole scheme in the beginning, Mr. Tufail explained, was regarded as "absurd" and "fantastic", "impossible as well as undesirable", that would explode at the touch of reality, but in spite of all that Pakistan came into existence and has come to stay. As usual the meeting came to an end after questions and answers.

Toc H, Woking

Mr. S. M. Tufail gave another talk on Pakistan on Monday 9th February 1953, in a meeting of Toc H, Woking, at 8.15 p.m. The speaker discussed the subject from the cultural, ideological and materialistic points of view and briefly mentioned the problems with which Pakistan was faced today and their effects on the future of international affairs.

Sunday gatherings at the Mosque, Woking

Regular meetings are held at the Mosque, Woking, on Sundays at 3.30 p.m., where generally Dr. S. M. Abdullah, Imam of the Mosque, gives a talk which is followed by friendly discussions. On two such occasions (18th January and 1st February 1953), Miss Joyce E. Yasmin Scott conducted an interesting programme entitled "Queries". All persons present were asked to write down questions about religious, social or cultural problems and hand them over to her, and in return she would put these questions to the audience for general discussion. This sometimes stimulated very heated discussion in which almost every member of the small gathering took part.

A small class for religious instruction is also held at the Mosque every Sunday at about 5 p.m., which is generally taken by Mr. S. M. Tufail.

African Chiefs of Nyasaland and other visitors to the Mosque

On Sunday 1st February 1953, two African chiefs of Nyasaland, Chief of Somba and Chief of Maganga, came to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, and joined with friends at the Mosque for lunch. The following were also visitors to the Shah Jehan Mosque on various occasions during the last three months.

Muhammad Aman Hohobm, Imam of the Berlin Mosque (Germany); Mr. M. A. Fauq, N.W. Railway Headquarters, Lahore (Pakistan); Mr. T. Y. Mohy-ud-Din and Mr. Tayeb Zak-ud-Din, merchants from Bombay (India); Mr. Husain Husam-ud-Din, merchant from Bombay; Major-General and Begum M. Haya-ud-Din, G.O.C., Dacca (Pakistan); Begum M. G. Jalili, Pakistan Embassy, Washington; Bakh Ali Malik, businessman from Karachi (Pakistan); Miss Yi and Mr. Ba Eln, Burmese Muslims; Mr. Ashraf Ali, Trinidad; Mr. Karam Ilahi Zafar, from Spain en route to Pakistan; Mr. Zahur Ahmed Bahwa, Imam, London Mosque, S.W.18; Mr. S. A. H. Bukhari, N.W. Railway, Lahore (Pakistan); Mr. Syed Muhammad, Superintendent, Traffic Police, Karachi (Pakistan); Lt-Col. S. A. Kermani, Lahore Canton (W. Pakistan); R.S.M. Muhammad, Malay Regiment, Penang; C.S.M. Muhammad Nore bin Alur,

Chief of Maganga of Nyasaland (last row, fifth from left) and Chief of Somba of Nyasaland (last row, third from right), came to the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on 1st February 1953. They are seen standing here with other friends at the steps of the Mosque.
Malay Regiment, Perak; Major Farouk Sabri Abdul-Wadid, Iraq; The Hon. Mr. Muhammad ‘Ali, Finance Minister, Pakistan; Mr. Javid Akhtar, son of Finance Minister, Pakistan; Dr. M. Yaqub Khan, Lahore (Pakistan); Brig. H. E. and Begum Hussain, Counsellor to the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London; S/Lt. S. O. Ahmed, R.F.N., Karachi (Pakistan); Mr. and Mrs. Khalid C. A. Feuer, Germany; Mr. and Mrs. Mochtar, Holland; Miss Hilja Werner, West Byfleet; Mr. M. Asghar ‘Ali, Pakistan; Muhammad Javed Bhutta, Principal, Nishan Medical College, Multan (Pakistan); Mr. Abdul Jabbar al-Ashami, Iraq; Mr. Hafeez Ahmad, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, Karachi; Acting Inkosi, Gomani, Nyasaland; B. W. Matthews, Phiri, Nyasaland; Miss Janet M. West, St. Katherine’s College, Tottenham, London, N.17; Miss Naomi T. Davis, St. Katherine’s College, Tottenham, London, N.17.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

**ARABIA REBORN,** by Dr. George Kheirallah. The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, U.S.A., 1952.

The author, who was born in Alexandria and educated at the American University in Beirut, completed his education in the United States, where he is a fellow of the American College of Surgeons. He is the author of several books on medicine and Islam and on the Prophet Muhammad. His quarterly, *The Arab World,* now defunct, performed a very useful service for Islam and the Arabs in the United States during the post-war period, for Dr. Kheirallah has always been a staunch champion of Islam and the Arab cause there.

His latest book, *Arabia Reborn,* is a very readable account of the rise to power of King ’Abd al-’Aziz Ibn Sa’ud. It is "the story of a modern miracle that has changed and is changing the face of history." Starting with a short evaluation of pre-Islamic history in the Arab world, Dr. Kheirallah describes the miracle of Muhammad and the rise to ascendency of his followers. He deals exhaustively with the rise to power of Ibn Sa’ud and the programme of economic development undertaken in Sa’udi Arabia of today.

The book has some excellent drawings by Charles O. Nae, the one of the Ka’ba and another of the Sheik of Bahrain being especially noteworthy. Some magnificent photographs of the family of Ibn Sa’ud, his sons and ministers, as well as some of Sa’udi Badawin, all add to a publication produced in large bold type which is easy to read for the layman.

* * *


Miss Hollingworth is a writer who fills her book with information, political and economic, and although she writes from a typical but well-informed imperialist angle, she is well worth reading.

Clearly she feels sympathy for the Palestine Arabs, whose high cultural standards she praises. She considers that the advent

**World Spiritual Council**

The eighth Congress of the World Spiritual Council will be held in Tunis in May 1953. One of the main items of the programme will be the establishment of better relations between Islam and Christianity. Those interested may contact the Secretary, World Spiritual Council, 92 rue de Locht, Bruxelles, Belgium.

**Congress of Muslims in the United Kingdom, 1953**

The second Congress of Muslims in the United Kingdom will be held by the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust in about the middle of June 1953. Details of the programme will be provided by the Secretary of the Congress at the beginning of June. Suggestions and proposals for the Congress may be sent to the Secretary, Congress of Muslims in the United Kingdom, the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England.

of Israel destroyed Britain’s most promising work in the Middle East and that Zionism led to confusion in the Middle East. She gives a very good account of the Iraqi opposition to the abortive Treaty of Portsmouth by Ernest Bevin and Dr. Fadhel Jamali. From her narrative it becomes evident that the British Foreign Office, in foisting this treaty on the unwilling Iraqis, was not doing its job properly when it disregarded Iraqi public opinion. The authors cites many examples of Western prejudice, particularly in dealing with the Egyptians. Thus it is very surprising that her residence in the Middle East has not modified her insularity. The maps are excellent and greatly help the reader, who cannot but be greatly interested in all that Miss Hollingworth has to say; for there is no descriptive padding in her book.

* * *


The author, who has apparently moderate socialist leanings, describes in this book a visit he paid to the Middle East subsidized by the Lebanese progressive big-business man, Mr. Emile Bustany.

The title of this book is arresting. His remarks about the need for land reform and democracy in the Middle East are to the point. Mr. Williams-Thompson thinks that the British Foreign Office should not put all its eggs in General Nuri Sa'id's basket in Iraq. He cites the example of General Rasmarr in Iran, whose assassination left a void which ruined Anglo-Iranian relations. The author shows great admiration for Colonel Shishakely of Syria. His remarks that dictatorship can introduce democracy in that country and in the Middle East will not be readily accepted by many students of political life in the Middle East.

Kuwait is dealt with in some detail, but it is a disappointment that Mr. Bustany's own country, the Lebanon, is not fully written up; for in view of the latest developments there, a full critical account is greatly needed.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
WHAT OUR READERS SAY . . .

(These letters published in these columns are, as a rule, meant to be informative and thought-provoking in the interests of Islam. Nevertheless, the Editor does not take responsibility for their contents.)

AVICENNA: SCIENTIST AND PHILOSOPHER
Institute of Oriental Studies,
16 Brooklands Avenue,
Cambridge.
13th December 1952.

Dear Sir,

I have just received a copy of your journal Forum, December 1952 (Parliament Mansions, Abbey Orchard Street, London, S.W.1), in which Mr. S. M. Tufail reviews1 a book edited by myself, Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher. I note that you very reasonably disclaim responsibility for “individual opinions expressed”, but I feel entitled to refer to you over three (apparently quite deliberate) misquotations from my book, which are used to serve polemical ends by the reviewer.2 You will agree that this is not the best way “to promote a spirit of fellowship among mankind through religion”.

The quotations are as follows, and I quote the original for comparison:

(1) “Islam has so often shown a marked hostility to both intellectual and mystical activity.” Original: “Islam, which has so often shown a marked hostility to both intellectual and mystical activity (though it has produced great minds and great mystics) . . .”

(2) “The Prophet’s picture of Paradise at any rate, in its literal aspect, must surely have been nauseating in the extreme.” Original: “In such circumstances (i.e., Avicenna’s periodical disgust with the physical side of existence) the Prophet’s picture of Paradise at any rate in its literal aspect, must surely have been nauseating in the extreme.”

(3) “Islam is a fragmentary faith.” Original: “Islam is, in many ways, a fragmentary faith; by this I mean that, from our point of view . . . I must stress that the indigenous standpoint is quite different — it has never . . .”

Detailed comment is perhaps superfluous, but I would point out that (1) expresses an opinion held by many eminent Muslims past and present, (2) is Avicenna’s view and not my own, while (3) is an attempt to initiate Christians into the Islamic view of things. I wonder if I am not doing you a better service than Mr. Tufail?

Finally I would suggest that a reviewer who omits to discuss altogether the two most valuable (and certainly the most highly technical) essays in the book, those by Dr. Teicher and Dr. Foster respectively, is probably in no position to detect “irrelevant details”.

Yours truly,

G. M. WICKENS
(University Lecturer in Arabic at Cambridge).

FIRDUSI AND HIS SHAH NAMEH
University of Dacca,
East Bengal,
Pakistan.

Dear Sir,

Your esteemed journal is certainly the best of its kind in the world. There are always extremely valuable and learned articles. In the September 1952 issue, the article on “Firdusi” by Mr. Dikran Speir has been written in a splendid manner. What strikes me as very surprising is that the learned writer has not paid any attention to the accuracy of events narrated.1

I venture to point out a few instances. The theory that the Shah Nameh has no words of Arabic origin has long been disproved. As a matter of fact it has been established that at least 60 per cent of the words used in this great epic are of Arabic origin. The writer is therefore not correct in saying that in the 60,000 verses of Shah Nameh “not even sixty words” could be found.

Ayaz has been mentioned by the writer as Prime Minister and Hasan Maimandi as the Treasurer. Ayaz was at best a personal attendant of Sultan Mahmud, and Hasan Maimandi a Vizir. The writer has narrated that Ayaz took 60,000 silver pieces instead of gold ones to Firdusi when the latter was in a public bath. Firdusi, according to the writer, gave 20,000 to Ayaz, 20,000 to the keeper of the bath, and the remaining 20,000 to the local wine dealer for a drink. The whole story has been proved by latest research to be a myth. The fact that Firdusi rewarded Ayaz shows that the latter could not have been Prime Minister. The quotation from the Satire that “Thy gift, I gave to a mendicant slave,” is another proof that Ayaz could not be the Prime Minister.

The story that Hasan Maimandi, the Treasurer, out of envy and jealousy, perpetrated all sorts of cruelties on Firdusi, is nothing but the figment of a fertile brain. This story as a matter of fact did not get such wide currency as other legends about Firdusi. I wonder if the writer came across another famous story about Mahmud’s allegedly repenting for what he had done to Firdusi. It is said that when out on an Indian expedition, Mahmud was anxiously awaiting a reply to his ultimatum sent to the Indian ruler. Hasan Maimandi, who had always a weakness for Firdusi, enquired why Mahmud was so worried. Mahmud said, “I am anxious for the reply and the uncertainty is causing the anxiety.” Hasan Maimandi then recited Firdusi’s line:

“...and if in their remembrance they send an unfavourable reply, well — there shall be myself, the mace and the adversary Afrasiyab.”

Mahmud was so pleased with his verse, so appropriate to the occasion, that he enquired who could be the author of these lines. Hasan Maimandi then mentioned Firdusi and pleaded for the latter. And the result was a deep repentance on the part of Mahmud who then tried to do all he could to compensate for his follies.

1 An article on this subject by ’Abdul Moudud has already appeared in The Islamic Review for February 1953. We have received in this connection letters from Mr. Muhammad Sadiq ibn Allah Bukhsh (Nawabshah, Sind, W. Pakistan), and from a few other friends, which we cannot print for lack of space.—Ed., I.R.

MARCH 1953

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The late Hafiz Mahmud Sherani of the Punjab has made very valuable research about Firdusi. He has very soundly established that Firdusi was not prompted into writing the Shab Nameb at the behest of Mahmud. He was actually inspired by Dajiq, who had done some work of this nature before. Firdusi has mentioned how Dajiq came to him (in a dream) and requested that he (Firdusi) should take up the work left unfinished by him (Dajiq). When Firdusi got into the court of Mahmud he had already written nearly half of his Shab Nameb. The story of the "Satire" has also been proved by research to be a fabrication. Obviously Firdusi could not indulge in such vile, scurrilous, foul and obscene language.

Yours faithfully,

KHALIDA FAHMI,
Student B.A. (Honours),
Islamic History and Culture.

* * *

LIFE OF THE SAINT OF AJMER

Sayyid Mohalla,
Quilhowalla Manzil,
Ajmer, India.
11th February 1953.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

I am thinking of writing the life of the late Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Chisti, the great Muslim Saint of Ajmer. I wish that the work could have been accomplished by someone more competent than myself, but as conditions are at present, I have taken it upon myself to do my best in this direction. May God bless me in my efforts! The lovers of the Saint of Ajmer, who would like to help me in this task, are requested to write to me or personally contact me at the above address.

...I have gone through many editorial notes in The Comrade now defunct, but once founded and edited by the late Maulan Muhammad Ali, eulogizing the activities of the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din in connection with the propagation of Islam.

Yours in Islam,

S. MU'IN-UD-DIN HASAN.

* * *

PEN PALS

A number of readers of The Islamic Review wish to have pen pals of either sex from different countries. Their names, addresses and interests are printed below.

Mr. M. ASHRAF, Islamic Intermediate College, Serajganj, Pabna, East Pakistan. (Interests: Collecting stamps, photographs and cards.)

Miss NAZRAH KHAN, 85 Robh Street, Boorda, Georgetown, British Guiana. Age 15. (Interests: Correspondence, stamp collecting, etc.)

Mr. MUHAMMAD SALEEM, c/o Lale Muhammad & Co., General Merchant, Bazaar, Mamiyo, Burma. Age 18. (Interests: Correspondence, stamp collecting, photography, Islam and the Muslim world.)

Mr. IBRAHIM KARMALI SHIV, c/o P.O. Box 512, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, East Africa. (Interests: Correspondence.)

Mr. N. A. ABBASSAIH, 41 Etienne Pelleau Street, Port Louis, Mauritius. (Interests: Excursion, reading books in French and English, correspondence.)

Mr. H. B. ZACKARIA, 224 New Moor Street, Colombo 12, Ceylon. Age 21. (Interests: Stamp collecting, magazines, first-aid, photography and Islamic literature.)

Mr. JOHN STAFFORD, 4 Marlborough Buildings, Bath, Somerset, England. Age 19. (Interests: Correspondence, having pen pals in Muslim countries.)

Mr. A. M. ALKAFF, 10 Illir, No. 40, Palembang, Sumatra, Indonesia. (Interests: Collecting stamps, maps, view cards and correspondence.)

Mr. OSMAN BAYA, P.O. Box 51, Pietersburg, Transvaal, S. Afr. Age 21. (Interests: Correspondence with friends in Muslim countries.)

Mr. WILLIAM LOGAN, Attorney at Law, Plaza Building, Patterson, California, U.S.A., would like very much to correspond with some students of Islam who would like to discuss objectively questions of agreements and disagreements between Islam and Christianity.

Mr. SAID TALIB, St. Thomas's School, Kuching, Sarawak. Age 22. (Interests: Islamic teachings, correspondence.)
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