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**47th YEAR OF PUBLICATION**

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THE NEW PRO-ISLAM TRENDS IN THE WEST

Had the hand of friendship, extended by Islam at its very inception towards Christianity, been reciprocated, the history of the world might have been different.

Good comes out of evil. The threat of Godless materialism with its challenge to all the age-long values which mankind has cherished as most abiding and precious has stimulated interest in the West (including America) in the faith and culture of Islam.

There is a growing realization of the fact that Islam and Christianity, which stem from the same cultural roots, should explore and seek a common destiny in the new age that is in the making.

Indeed, as far as Christian intellectuals are concerned, even within the Church circles, it is openly regretted as the greatest historical folly that the two faiths should have drifted asunder and even been at loggerheads with each other during their first impact. It is deplored that in the name of religion, Christian warriors should have flocked from all corners of Europe to fight the Muslims in the Middle East, forgetting that in doing so they were throwing overboard the whole mission of Jesus for a mere strip of territory.

The fact is that Jesus belongs as much to Muslims as to Christians. It was only the bigotry born of the fanaticism of the Medieval Church which made the people of the West turn a blind eye to the attitude of the Qur’ân towards the Founder of Christianity, whom it holds up as an ideal of godliness and high moral and spiritual virtues. Even a compliment was paid to the Christian people as being nearer to Muslims because, it was added, of the presence in their midst of priests and monks who walked in the fear of God. Historically, too, it was a Christian king of the neighbouring country of Ethiopia who gave asylum to the early Muslim fugitives from the persecutions of their Meccan opponents.

It was a tragedy that this good wave was not allowed to have its way. Had the hand of friendship extended by Islam at its very inception towards Christianity been reciprocated, the history of the world might have taken a different course altogether.

Today, however, Islam and Christendom have outgrown that medieval folly. The new impact brought about in modern scientific context is marked by greater sanity and objectivity, and if there is any real interest in getting at the core of the Qur’ânic teachings it is found more in the circles of Western Oriental scholarship than among the theologians in the world of Islam itself.

Yes, this is one of the most unique phenomena of the modern times. With Western scholarship fast shedding inherited prejudices and seized with a zest to probe into the deep moral and spiritual truths in the Qur’ân, the time is approaching when Muslim people may have to go to (the) West to learn the profound wisdom of their own religion. I was an American scholar, the great historian Hitti, who described the Qur’ânic verse La ikrha fiddin (There is no compulsion in the matter of religion) as the greatest-ever proclamation in the history of religion.

It is significant that whereas this most shining teaching of the Qur’ân has so enthralled a great Western scholar, it has been utterly lost on the Muslim Ulema, who, by and large, advocate the use of force in the matter of religion. Penalization of change of faith with capital punishment has become a regular creed with some Ulema of the old school, which is a clear violation of this great Qur’ânic declaration.

This new wave of interest in Islam, both in Europe and America, is very real, and, to our mind, this development is big with possibilities which may be far beyond what we are able to visualize at the present time. Experience at this Mission, showing a steady influx of voluntary converts to
Islam, should be some index to this new trend of the Western mind. It is not so much the conversion, however, that really matters. What is really momentous is the change of Western attitude towards Islam.

Reports from America show that perhaps an even more promising field awaits the workers in the cause of Islam in that part of the world. The recent international conference of world religions at Boston, to which the Imam of the Mosque, Woking, was also invited, should underline that fact. The Imam tells us he found a revival of interest in religion among the people of America, and they were keen to know the truth about Islam. There are quite substantial little communities and bodies of Muslims sprinkled all over the United States. Even universities have Muslim Students' Associations of their own, zealously functioning, promoting better understanding of Islam in that country. One quite active centre of propagating Islam is run by the American Negro citizens themselves, under the guidance of a leader of their own, whose letter together with quite a long list of converts to Islam appeared in the last issue of this journal.

The dawn in the West of this new era of sympathetic approach to the exploration of the spiritual values of life inherent in Islam devolves a duty on Muslims. So far, as a people, we have turned a deaf ear to the Qur'anic directive, making it incumbent on every Muslim to deliver the message of Islam to mankind at large. Perhaps our very downfall during the past centuries was the result of our dwindling loyalty to our ideology. So long as we kept the Qur'an in the forefront of our national life, we forged ahead from strength to strength. Our decadence set in when we turned our backs on that fountain-head of moral and spiritual vitality. Now that Providence has created conditions crying for a healing and a cure which religion alone can provide, it would be an act of historical betrayal on our part to sit back with folded hands and raise not a little finger to do our duty by our faith.

This Mission, for the last half-century or so, has been doing its bit in this direction. But compared to the daily growing demand for more and more knowledge about Islam, the effort it can put in single-handed is no more than just a drop in the ocean. What is needed is something like mass production of simple, readable literature on Islam. This calls for an all-out effort on the part of all Muslims. Perhaps never before in its history has there been in the West such a realization of the failure of a purely materialistic philosophy of life, and a greater groping after things of the spirit, as proclaimed by the Founders of revealed religions. The Qur'an, as the sole repository of all those revelations, alone is in a position to deliver the goods. It is time Muslims rose to this historic occasion, and did their duty to God and man by carrying this light to a bewildered and distracted humanity.

---

THE DIVINE DIVAN

52

In loving Thee my love must be
Wakeful, watchful constantly.
O Lord above, I still must love
Those who in distant lands abide.
Yet must I not forget, nor out of mercy set,
Those who dwell by my side.
Myself should be the least,
Thou, First and Foremost at love's feast,
Be't yé Lord.
Then must I love, in gracious kindliness,
My relatives and friends in constant selflessness,
Beloved Lord.
Then must I love, with heart that's rancourless,
The neighbour and the stranger and must never turn aside
To hate, though one should hate me; but, whate'er betide,
This heart must love right steadfastly
This myriad-minded multitude, Beloved Lord, in Thee.

53

A word came winging from the outer space,
Fill'd with God's Wisdom, brimming with His Grace.

My heart, entranced, did listen,
As joy with tears did glisten.
This was the word
I heard:

"Despise nothing."

54

"Despise nothing." Nothing should be despised.
It is the Lord's.
A piece of gold, howe'ersoever prized,
Or a match-stick that to the ground falls, while we chatter...
What does it matter?
It is the Lord's.
When ev'ry atom unto the Beloved belongs,
When ev'ry atom that through the wide world throngs,
When ev'ry star that fills the distances with songs.
Keeps His sweet service and is the Lord's Who made it,
Who, then, are we to say (and in our pride parade it),
"This is in vain, this worthless, useless!" Nay!
It is the Lord's Who made it.

William Bashyry Pickard.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
MEET THE MESSENGER OF GOD

II

A Man of Unwavering Resolution

"Verily, in the Messenger of God is the best of pattern for you." (The Qur'an, 33:21)

By MUHAMMAD YAKUB KIYAN

Let us now turn to another facet of the Prophet's personality which is the hallmark of all greatness and without which nothing great or of abiding value can be achieved. This was his firmness of resolution, which stood unshaken by any vicissitudes of fortune. The gathering storm of opposition assumed greater and greater proportions day by day, involving ridicule, insults, threats and tortures to himself and his comrades, but he stood like a rock in the face of wave after wave of persecution. His undying faith in the righteousness of his mission and his conviction in the ultimate triumph of truth steered his determination against all odds. Temptations which so often prove the pitfalls of great men equally fell flat on him. Scorning all opposition and spurning every temptation, he marched ahead towards the one great goal of his life, thereby blazing for mankind the only path that leads to the temple of greatness. Let us watch him in this role as a man of steel frame whom nothing could unnerve or distract in the pursuit of his life-mission.

The earliest form that opposition to his mission took was public ridicule. It is recorded that whenever he started his preaching in public, the riff-raff of society would cluster around him, and tease him in a variety of ways, pouring all sorts of fun at him. He faced all this with a smiling face, and kept up his activity unabated. Never was there a public gathering, a fair, a nuptial or funeral but the Prophet invariably reached there to deliver his message. Physical violence was the second phase of the persecution. One day, when the Prophet was preaching in a public place, a few bad characters fell upon him, winding a sheet of cloth around his neck to strangulate him. By chance Abu Bakr happened to pass that way and he rescued him from the hands of his oppressors.

On another occasion the Prophet was praying in the Ka'aba. When he went into the prostration posture, placing his forehead on the ground, some men, at the promptings of the Quraysh elders, dumped a camel's entrails, full of dirt, on his neck. Not content with this, the elders unsheathed their swords, threatening dire consequences to anyone who should dare come to remove this. The Arabs in those days were a bloodthirsty people. But they were not without a code of chivalry of their own, according to which it was considered dishonourable to raise a hand against a woman. A friend of the Prophet who was watching all this, but was helpless in the face of the drawn swords to intervene, thought of invoking a woman's help in the matter. He rushed to Fatima and told her of her father's plight. It was only when she appeared on the scene that the Prophet's torture came to an end.

But all this was only a prelude to a long travail of suffering that was yet to come. When all these petty pin-pricks failed to dampen the Prophet's spirits, and only added to his zeal to go ahead with his preachings, and the number of converts swelled day by day, the Quraysh felt seriously alarmed at the growing strength of the new faith, and decided upon applying a more drastic remedy. They launched a regular torture drive against the converts. Those who happened to belong to the slave class (slavery still being very common there) came in for specially inhuman tortures. Some of them were made to lie flat on the burning sand and under the scorching Arabian sunshine, with heavy slabs of stone placed on their chests. Some were brutally flogged, some were even put to death. None of these devoted men, however, was in the least shaken in his devotion to the new faith by these barbarities. One such slave-Muslim subjected to this method of torture was Bilal, who subsequently became a great figure in the history of Islam, being the official Mu'azzin and closest friend of the Prophet. It is related of him that when he was made to lie flat in the burning mid-day sun, with a heavy slab of stone on his chest, and pressed to recant the faith, he would respond by shouting at the top of his voice the Kalima, La ilaha illallah: "There is no god but God".

Now this steadfast devotion of the Prophet and the zeal he inspired among his followers made things all the more disquieting for the Quraysh. They did not know what to do with the man who was growing into a challenge to their whole social order. They would have fain made an attempt on his life. But that was no easy job. Under the clannish loyalties of the day, that would be launching a feud with the Banu Hashim, to which clan the Prophet belonged. So they thought of depriving him of the patronage and protection of his uncle, Abu Talib. The leading men of the Quraysh formed themselves into a deputation and in a body called on Abu Talib. This is how they addressed him:

"Your nephew offers insult to our idols. He calls us and our ancestors as misguided. You should therefore withdraw your protection from him and let us deal with him. Otherwise you must be prepared to settle scores with us at the arbitration of the sword."

This made the situation very embarrassing for Abu Talib. The whole tribe of the Quraysh had thrown a challenge to him to give up his nephew to their tender mercies or be ready for a trial of strength with them. He sent for the Prophet and apprised him of the ultimatum of the Quraysh. "Have pity on me," he pleaded with the Prophet. "Do not burden me with a responsibility too heavy for me to carry."
What a trying situation! Abu Talib’s protection had been the Prophet’s mainstay so far against his opponents. Its withdrawal would mean letting loose the worst of their fury against him. They had all along been thirsting for his blood. Abu Talib’s guardianship alone stood in their way. What was he to do now that Abu Talib also wanted to give him up? Such was the situation the Prophet found himself placed in. The loss of Abu Talib’s protection amounted to possible death and the end of his mission. A man of humbler clay would have thought twice before rejecting Abu Talib’s demand. But the Prophet was made of sterner stuff. The gravity of the situation only served to bring out the innermost mettle in him to yet greater lustre. His choice was instantly made. He knew his life was at stake, but his mission to carry God’s message to mankind was to him more than his life. No sooner did Abu Talib express his anxiety and ask the Prophet to give up his mission than, in a flash, came the Prophet’s reply:

“O Uncle! Should you place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, so that I may give up this cause, I will not do it, until God should make it triumph or I perish in the attempt.”

This firm faith in his cause and unwavering devotion to it could not but fill Abu Talib’s heart with admiration for his nephew. It put new life into his own drooping spirits. Setting aside all apprehensions, he told the Prophet that come what might, he would stand by him. And he told the Quraysh point-blank that on no account would he withdraw his protection from his nephew.

Their policy of repression having failed to create the least impression on the Prophet or his Companions, and their last attempt to overawe Abu Talib having proved futile, the Quraysh tried another device. Themselves given to sordid earthly boons, they thought of placing similar temptations before the Prophet. Wealth, women and power are said to sum up the whole of man’s earthly ambition. They did not doubt that the Prophet, who had withstood threats, would succumb to the pleasures of the flesh. Accordingly a deputation was formed, consisting of the leading men of the Quraysh, which called on the Prophet. This is how ‘Utba, the spokesman of the deputation, addressed him:

“The Prophet is a mortal like you. I have received the Divine revelation that your God is but one. So you should turn straight to Him, and ask His forgiveness. Say, do you disbelieve in Him Who created the earth in two periods and set up equals to Him? He is the Lord of creation.”

‘Utba was so deeply impressed with the majesty of these Divine words that he advised the Quraysh to let the Prophet alone. But the Quraysh did not agree to the suggestion. They would not rest content until they had seen the end of the Prophet, and done away with the growing “menace” of Islam.

---

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF MUHAMMAD JALAL-UD-DIN RUMI

By AFZAL IQBAL

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WHAT IS HAPPINESS?
Soviet Students’ unwitting homage to religion

How to achieve peace and happiness of mind? This has been the eternal quest of religion throughout the ages. Every religion, in its day, came as an answer to this one question. The Qur’an, long ago, voicing this deepest yearning of the human nature, gave the answer: ‘Listen! It is in the remembrance of God that true peace of mind lies.’

Obviously forty years of Communist indoctrination has not been able to still this eternal clamour of the human soul, as will be seen from the following account of a symposium on this topic in one of the largest institutions of higher learning in the Soviet Union, the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy. Below are given the abridged answers of the various students of the academy to this question.

Khabib Togayev (4th-year student)
“In my opinion, happiness is the achievement of an aim you set yourself. A man who lives aimlessly, who, so to say, drifts instead of marching ahead in life, cannot be happy.

“Moreover, aims, too, can be different. There are noble aims and also base aims.

“Happiness is often associated not only with noble aims, the achievement of which brings happiness not only to the person involved but also to other people. For example, to gain knowledge, to become a specialist in some definite field.”

S. Koshelkova (2nd-year student)
“It seems to me that it is right to say that happiness means to forget about oneself. And this happens only when you bring benefit to people, when you feel that they need you. That is why love brings happiness. It is said, ‘Life without love is life without spring.’ ‘When you love man, you forget about yourself . . .’

V. Lisich (4th-year student)
“Psychological and physical reactions to different phenomena in life are inherent in man. A reaction which expresses satisfaction with the ‘acceptance’ of one or another phenomenon, personality or thing — this is happiness. For example, a man dies, his relations mourn his death — this is a misfortune. The war ends, a son returns from the army — this is happiness.”

N. Trunov (post-graduate)
“As far as I am concerned the overcoming of difficulties arising in my life’s path has always brought me happiness. And there were many such instances in my life. I lost two brothers in the war, fought myself for two years, was wounded. That is why when the war ended, I somehow felt very keenly that peace is a great happiness.

“Then I graduated from school and entered the academy. After finishing I was chosen to take a post-graduate course, but I decided to work in the fields first, to accumulate experience and then to take up research. This is what I did. Now I am doing post-graduate work and am happy.

“Thinking of my life, watching other people, I arrive at the conclusion: happiness is in work. I cannot understand people who think that happiness can be found in idleness, in full tranquillity, in contemplation.

“Only a man who is remaking the world and himself, who is developing spiritually and physically, can be happy.

“We have been born into this world and are an integral part of it; we have been given hands to work and a brain to understand the world around us. If we remain idle and inert, what is the sense of our coming into the world?

“And lastly, in the most trying moments of my life there have always been friends, a collective, around me. And I would never have succeeded in surmounting the difficulties if not for my friends. Man’s happiness is possible only in close communion with other people. Solitude dooms one to misfortune.”

I. Molchan (4th-year student)
“Is it right to look for some kind of a general formula of happiness? The feeling of happiness is absolutely individual. What brings one person happiness may be a matter of indifference or even unpleasant to another person. It all depends on the personality of the man, his vocation, spiritual make-up, social origin and even age.”

A. Smirnov (3rd-year student)
“This is true. Each man has his own happiness. A woman who gives birth to a child is happy and a yogi who stands on one leg is happy.

“Since this is so, it means that those who claim that a man who lives in solitude cannot be happy are wrong. There are people with rich souls, who can live in solitude, apart from other people, and be happy. Their souls are so rich that they do not feel the need for contact with other people. It is known, for example, that the famous Russian painter Vrubel occasionally spent his time in the following way: he would lock himself in a room, asking beforehand to have his favourite paintings and books brought there and the choicest food and drinks placed on the table. Then he spent days on end in solitude and no one had the right to visit him. His laughter and the way he talked to himself could be heard behind the door . . .”

S. Kalinin (4th-year student)
“But this is an exception. Moreover, it does not at all follow that precisely a man with a rich soul should strive for solitude. Perhaps the opposite is true, that he is a man with a poor soul. Perhaps he has nothing to tell other people.

“Happiness is possible only in society, such is human nature. Gorky once said: ‘If I do not stand up for myself, who will stand up for me? But if I stand up for myself only, what is the reason for my being?’ That is why millions of people in our country are working unselfishly to build a new kind of life. They know that the principle of this society, ‘To each according to his needs,’ brings happiness to each working man.”

V. Savina (4th-year student)
“I also think that solitude is the lot of an unfortunate man. In life’s trials, in the struggle against difficulties, man must rely on other people, feel a friend’s supporting hand. There’s reason in the saying, ‘The voice of one man is no voice at all’.

“Attainment of a chosen goal brings man happiness. But how can one person achieve a really great goal? This is a matter for millions of people, at times for whole generations.

“If people want to be happy they must unite and not seek isolation.”

MARCH 1959
A LIGHT IN THE DARK AGES
Ibn Sina has made a lasting and memorable contribution to human knowledge

Philosopher and physician, philologist and poet, mathematician and musician, scientist and scholar — all these careers were combined by a remarkable man of genius whom the Arabs referred to as al-shaykh al-ra’is — "the sheikh and prince of the learned".

Abu Ali al-Husayn Ibn Sina, more commonly known to the Western world by his Latinized name of Avicenna, achieved his greatest fame in the West as a renowned physician, the author of a tremendous encyclopaedia of medical knowledge called Al Qanun fi al-Tibb (the Canon of Medicine) which was used as a standard medical text in European universities as late as the seventeenth century. Yet Ibn Sina, who lived from 980-1037 C.E., was equally honoured in the Arab world as a brilliant philosopher — a man who was respectfully christened al-mu’alim al-thani — "the second teacher after Aristotle". His teachings on philosophy, particularly his commentaries on Plato and Aristotle, later exerted a tremendous influence on European philosophy during the Middle Ages, contributing to the work of such famous medieval thinkers as Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon.

In the case of men of outstanding genius like Ibn Sina, a happy coincidence of natural talent and favourable environment assists in producing pioneers to explore the wide field of human knowledge. Fortunately, Ibn Sina lived during an era which was conducive to philosophic and scientific inquiry. Translations of the Greek philosophers into Arabic had stimulated original research by great Arab thinkers, and many enlightened Muslim rulers encouraged and supported brilliant scholars at their courts. Ibn Sina himself came under the patronage of three such rulers during his lifetime.

The story of Ibn Sina’s life has been recorded in detail by one of his pupils, Abu Ubayd al-Juzjani, who jotted down the master’s recollections. According to this autobiography, Ibn Sina was born into a prominent and progressive family. His father, the Governor of Khurrgat, moved back to the ancestral home in Bukhara shortly after his son’s birth. During the boy’s youth, some Isma’ilian missionaries arrived in Bukhara from Egypt and converted the father to their beliefs. This conversion had an important effect upon Ibn Sina’s education, for the Isma’ilian movement of Islam was closely connected with the translation of Greek philosophy into
Arabic. From the Isma'ili missionarvies, therefore, young Ibn Sina learned Greek, philosophy, arithmetic and geometry. Progressing rapidly with these studies, he then turned to jurisprudence (Islamic canon law) and mystic theology.

Another learned visitor — the Aristotelian philosopher al-Natali — arrived in Bukhara a short time afterwards and became a guest of Ibn Sina's father. From al-Natali, young Ibn Sina learned logic and became well acquainted with Aristotelian teaching. He branched further out into the study of medicine, and became so proficient that he decided to adopt the practice of medicine as his profession.

While still in his teens, the young medical student achieved such a high reputation that he was summoned to treat the Samanid Sultan of Bukhara, Nuh Ibn Mansur. The latter, highly pleased with his successful cure, became Ibn Sina's first patron, allowing the young man free use of the extensive royal library. Possessed of an inexhaustible thirst for knowledge, the young scholar rapidly absorbed the immense contents of the royal library and was ready to embark upon his career of writing learned treatises at the precocious age of twenty-one.

When the affairs of the Samanid dynasty later fell into disorder, Ibn Sina travelled to Khwarazan, where the wise Ma'muni Emir supported many distinguished scholars at his royal court. But the right of this enlightened ruler was continually threatened by the powerful Turkish Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna — a potentate who was a stern champion of orthodoxy, opposed to the liberal currents of philosophic research in Islam. In the year 1017 C.E., the Sultan seized the Emir's domains and "invited" the Emir's most brilliant scholars to come to the Turkish court. Well aware that accepting such an invitation would mean an end to his intellectual independence, Ibn Sina fled to the desert with another scholar named Masibi.

For the first time in history Ibn Sina discovered that illnesses can be caused by emotions. Translation of Arabic works are the basis of sound medical practice in the West

The flight to the desert involved tremendous physical hardships and dangers for the two scholars. During one violent desert sandstorm Masibi perished, but Ibn Sina continued his wanderings. One famous story is told about a remarkable "cure" Ibn Sina effected during this long period of exile. While he was still hiding in Jurjan from the Turkish Sultan's vengeance, the members of a local tribe (who had discovered that he was a physician) begged him to examine one of their young men who had fallen sick of a mysterious ailment which none of the local doctors could diagnose. When the patient was brought before him, Ibn Sina found no trace of disease. But, noting familiar symptoms of nervous tension in the youth's behaviour, the skilled physician asked one of the tribesmen to name all the nearby towns in the vicinity. At the mention of a particular town, the patient's pulse gave a perceivable flicker; at the mention of a certain family living in this town, the tell-tale flicker again appeared. Finally, narrowing his search to individual members of the family in question, Ibn Sina discovered by means of the pulse-beat that the ailing youth was very much in love with an attractive young daughter. The boy's inability to express this love had evidently resulted in psychosomatic illness — a diagnosis which preceded the modern medical emphasis on emotionally-caused illness by almost one thousand years.

Ibn Sina's exile in the desert finally ended when the great scholar found refuge in Isfahan at the friendly court of the Buwayhid Ala'ud-Dawla Muhammad, and was able to continue his studies. In the field of medicine, he had already studied nervous disorders and was acquainted with many medical facts concerning psychological treatment. As a psychologist he foreshadowed twentieth century theory on brain localization, for he taught that the external senses — sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell — were centred in the brain. The Arabs' emphasis upon the brain, and not the heart, as the seat of reason and sense represented an immense step forward in medical science.

In other branches of medical care, Ibn Sina and his contemporaries treated various diseases with remarkable exactitude in well-appointed hospitals and clinics at the same time that European countries were practising a mixture of witchcraft and superstition. While Ibn Sina was operating on the sick with the aid of anaesthetics and narcotics, for example, Europe still believed that epileptics were "possessed by devils" which had to be driven out by blows and cuffs. In fact, it was not until Europeans began translating Arabic works into their own languages in the twelfth century that sound medical practices were established in the Western world.

The most influential medical compendium to reach Europe from the Arab world was Ibn Sina's Canon of Medicine, translated into Latin in the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona. The Canon was a mammoth undertaking, a careful classification and systematization of all the medical knowledge known to the Arabs in the eleventh century. Ibn Sina reproduced, in orderly form, the teachings of Galen and Hippocrates, added his own original observations and provided illustrative medical material. The contents of this monumental encyclopaedia of knowledge were truly comprehensive, for the Canon dealt with general medicine, diseases affecting all parts of the body, special pathology and pharmacopia; some seven hundred and sixty drugs are included in its medical catalogue.

Most impressive to the modern medical world are the Canon's amazingly accurate diagnoses of various ailments: Ibn Sina knew the difference between pleurisy (inflammation of the sac covering the lungs) and mediastinitis (inflammation of the chest cavity between the lungs); he recognized the contagious nature of tuberculosis and venereal diseases, and he traced the reasons for various mental disorders. So popular was his Canon that it displaced the writings of Hippocrates and Galen as the primary medical authority throughout Europe. In the last thirty years of the fifteenth century it passed through fifteen Latin and one Hebrew editions; it was re-issued more than twenty times during the sixteenth century, and in 1593 its Arabic text was published in Rome — one of the earliest Arabic books to see print. As Dr. William Osler commented in The Evolution of Modern Medicine, the Canon remained "a medical bible for a longer period than any other work."

High tribute to Ibn Sina has been paid by the Italian poet Dante, who placed him in the illustrious company of Hippocrates, Galen and Scaliger, the brilliant sixteenth century Italian physician. According to Dante, Ibn Sina was Galen's equal in medicine and much his superior in philosophy. Furthermore, Ibn Sina's portrait occupies a place of honour in the great hall of the School of Medicine at the University of Paris.

Although Ibn Sina's chief claim to fame in the Western world rests upon his Canon, he wrote at least fifteen other medical works and about one hundred papers on philosophy, theology, astronomy, metaphysics and philology. One of his greatest contributions in the field of science was his discovery of the law of sight — a discovery that completely upset the popular optic theory held since the time of the Greeks.
“They are wrong who believe that sight still exists when no visible object is there to meet it,” he wrote. “Sight,” he declared, “is the mirror in which the image of an object appears, as long as the object remains; and when the object disappears or is no longer strong, sight is lost.” In a more detailed definition, he said: “It is a graduated power in the hollow optic nerve which produces a picture in crystalline moisture, whereby the appearance of bodies having colour is transmitted through transparent bodies to the surface of polished bodies.”

Ibn Sina provided geometric proof of his theory in the following manner:

“When two bodies of similar sizes are placed at different distances, the more distant appears smaller than the nearer, because the apparent smallness is a product of the angle of sight at which the form is reflected to the eye.”

Ibn Sina reached his greatest heights, however, when he moved beyond the areas of specific knowledge into the philosophic realm of primary causes. Viewing the world as a whole, he saw a continuous process of evolution taking place. But unlike Darwin, Ibn Sina did not view this process as a struggle for survival of the fittest. Instead he took a highly idealistic view of evolution, regarding it as a perpetual striving by imperfect objects towards perfection. Everything in the world he regarded as imperfect — stones, plants, animals, men — but throughout the entire scale of existence he detected an inner yearning to achieve perfect beauty. This yearning he described as love, and declared that the universe is constantly moving by the power of love towards the One Supreme Being.

The views of Ibn Sina

The One Supreme Being — God — is, according to Ibn Sina, the original or primary cause for all existence. All the material universe depends ultimately upon God, he taught. For without this original cause there would be no forms of existence. Existence itself is classified by Ibn Sina in three types of souls: the vegetative, whose activity is limited to nutrition, growth and generation; the animal, which possesses vegetative faculties but adds higher faculties of sense, and the human soul, which possesses vegetative, animal and rational faculties. It is man’s power of reason, or ‘aql, which brings him closest to God — the Supreme Intellect.

Ibn Sina wrote that all human intellect is defective, for pure knowledge exists only in the mind of God. Nevertheless, because of his power of reasoning, man can conceive of universals — ideas which he has abstracted from experience through study of the world. Although man’s reason utilizes the senses to reach general ideas, Ibn Sina also believed that man was capable of direct knowledge without sense perception. Accordingly, Ibn Sina considered the ‘aql an immortal attribute of man. The ‘aql comes to man by emanation from God, he declared, and in due course it returns to its original source.

In the effort to achieve more perfect knowledge, Ibn Sina recommended that men follow the rules of logic. “The end of logic is to give a man a standard rule, whose observance will preserve him from error in reasoning,” the great philosopher wrote. He added one important limitation to the practice of logic, emphasizing that it was a useful tool, not an indispensable condition for achieving true insight. Just as a desert bedouin can master speech without learning the rules of Arabic grammar, a Divinely inspired man may intuitively perceive a universal truth without logic, Ibn Sina cautioned.

Considering the problem of the creation of man, Ibn Sina differed sharply with the prevalent opinion of his day — the explanation handed down by Plato and accepted by most Arab philosophers. According to Platonic theory, souls originally existed in the upper realm close to the Supreme Being. Then, as a result of committing some fault, these souls fell to earth and became united with material bodies in punishment for their sin. Ibn Sina drew a mental picture of God casting down tens of thousands of souls each day, and rebelled against the concept. Because he stood in no undue awe of Plato, he wrote a brilliant ode in which he skillfully mocked the Platonic version of the soul’s descent:

“Adown the higher slopes to you she sped, A dove-like soul, imbued with power and awe From every seeing eye of man close veiled Yet travelled she, and never veiled her face."

“For what did she descend the sky’s steep slope From topmost height to deepest depth unknown? If she was sent by Heaven’s Exalted Ones For purpose hidden deep from mind of man.

“If Everlasting Heaven decreed that she come down To hear what she knew not, and then return On high, with knowledge fit of secrets hid In both the worlds—that she has missed her mark!”

In the above lines, Ibn Sina rejected the Platonic belief that souls might have been sent down from Heaven to learn the secrets of the world. If this were the case, Ibn Sina believed, one cannot explain the fact that some infants die shortly after birth and that, at best, a soul can learn little in the relatively few years it may reside in one human body. The philosopher eventually concluded that souls are prepared from all eternity. Every time a body is ready to receive life, he decided, life appears in it.

On the question of a future life after death, Ibn Sina concurred in the Islamic doctrine of “Return”. In his Shifa he wrote: “The true religion which was brought to us by our Master and Prophet Muhammad . . . has explicitly described the pleasure and pain of the future life from the physical standpoint”. Thus, he believed in the future life of the physical body as well as the spiritual soul of man after death.

Although he was an admirer and student of Aristotle, Ibn Sina disagreed with the great Greek philosopher on the important relationship between God and the universe. Aristotle maintained that the world is eternal and its movements transient. God, he believed, was not the Maker of the universe but only of its movements. Ibn Sina, on the other hand, declared that the universe is both eternal and a creation of God, the Primal Cause. This thesis resulted in a simultaneous timing of cause (God) and effect (the universe), but Ibn Sina reasoned that cause does not invariably precede its effect in time — i.e., the movement of a key is the cause of the opening of a lock, although the action of cause and effect takes place simultaneously.

For a long time Ibn Sina refused to believe in miracles or superhuman actions. However, after such actions were repeatedly reported to him, he proceeded to investigate them in the spirit of a true scientist-philosopher. He explained a large number of miraculous cases in his Isharat, where he wrote with greater tolerance on the subject of superhuman phenomena: “These are experiences,” he said, “and when they are established their causes ought to be ascertained. If I enumerate all such (miraculous) actions that I have wit-
nessed or that men whom I consider reliable have witnessed, this discourse will be too long."

Ibn Sina's philosophic and religious ideas had an immeasurable impact upon the thinking of the Western world. Roger Bacon was well acquainted with the Arab philosopher's treatise on "Oriental Philosophy", now unfortunately lost to the world, and Bacon relied heavily upon Ibn Sina's exposition of Aristotle: St. Thomas Aquinas used the arguments of Ibn Sina in producing five proofs of the existence of God; and Ibn Sina's influence has been traced, through the Jewish philosopher Maimonides, to the great seventeenth century philosopher Benedict Spinoza, who believed that in God essence and existence are identical. Also, the Kantian position that knowledge is due to a synthesis of sense perception and logical intelligence was expounded previously by Ibn Sina in the eleventh century.

The great Arab philosopher belonged to that rare breed of men whose interests seem to comprehend all aspects of human knowledge. In the field of alchemy, Ibn Sina investigated popular fables and exploded the possibility of manufacturing gold or silver; in geology, he wrote a treatise on mineralogy which became a source of geological knowledge in the West; in zoology, he contributed his version of Aristotelian knowledge, *Abbreviatio Avicenne de animalibus*, which was translated from Arabic into Latin by a thirteen century Scotsman named Michael Scott. He had a keen interest in music, which he included among the four mathematical sciences (numbers, geometry, astronomy and music) and described as follows: "The science of music is that which teaches the nature of notes and explains the reason for their harmony or discord, the nature of the intervals, modes, consonances and modulations, rhythm and the method of composing melodies and songs, together with knowledge of the instruments, each of these things being supported by proof."

Last, but not least, Ibn Sina held strong views on the subject of the education of children. Twentieth century parents might be interested to know that the great philosopher believed in the dictum of "Spare the rod and spoil the child", for in his *Risalat al-Siyasah* Ibn Sina spoke of "seeking the aid of the hand" as a valuable adjunct to the teacher's art. Furthermore, he advised parents to make their first punishment of a child short and painful, so that the child would retain an unpleasant impression of the experience; otherwise, he warned, the child would pay no attention to a trivial punishment and would repeat his misdeed.

Ibn Sina believed that education of the young should commence as soon as a child was weaned, so that unworthy characteristics would have no chance to take root in the soul. Formal education should begin with training in religion, good morals and correct behavior in society. After formal education was completed, Ibn Sin recommended that teachers guide their students towards compatible trades or professions "if there is no occupation which the boy himself desires and which may be suitable to him." With much common sense, the philosopher stated that the teacher must carefully consider each student's individual disposition, inclination and intellect before recommending a particular occupation.

To this day, Ibn Sina's tomb at Hamadan is surrounded with pious veneration by men and women who honour the memory of the great philosopher and physician. But a more lasting testament to Ibn Sina's greatness is the huge contribution he made to mankind's total fund of knowledge.
HALI: THE PIONEER OF MODERN URDU LITERATURE

By ZAFAR MANSOOR

The modern Urdu literature owes a handsome tribute to the valuable literary contributions made by Hali, Akbar and Iqbal, who, in the words of Mehdmi-Efadi, an eminent scholar, “made Urdu capable of looking into the eyes of other literary languages of the world”. Maulana Hali stands out as the first Urdu poet who made a happy departure from the poetic tradition of his time by abandoning the beaten track of outmoded and trite thoughts, and finding out a new avenue which opened up manifold vistas of lively imagination in the realm of Urdu literature.

Hali’s personality was a blend of many qualities. He was a true and God-fearing Muslim, a reformer, a patriot, a biographer, an active member of the Aligarh Movement, and, above all, a great poet. Before Hali, Urdu poetry, to use his own words, was “filthier than gutter in foulness”. It centred round the same stereotyped, tedious and humdrum tales of “Gul-o-Bulbul”, and the same puerile bewailings of “separation”, and the cold frigidity of the flint-hearted beloved, with “dawn rival” playing the same hackneyed role of a wicked villain, who used to be almost always in the good books of the imaginary sweetheart.

A good part of the Urdu poetry was full of dull ostentation and rhetorical flourish, and the use of flowery diction and far-fetched similes was so profuse that poetry had become a mere jugglery of a fine art. In actual fact, the Urdu poetry had completely lost into the riddles of preposterous hyperboles and the labyrinth of pedantic pomposity. Ghazal used to be regarded as an acme of poetical form and expression, and consequently a considerable portion of the work of poets like Nasikh, Ameer, Rind, Juraat and their myriads of pupils is no better than sheer idle pandering to a gross taste and base ribaldry.

What is more curious is the fact that the Urdu poets and writers, notably those of the first half of the nineteenth century, were not only strangely apathetic to the various social and political forces working at the time, but were also utterly imperious to all the socio-political movements which culminated either in the mutiny or spread in its aftermath. That is one reason why almost all their literary creations are completely barren of social awareness and do not contain the slightest allusion to any of the then current problems which should have otherwise influenced them and left some impression on their work. In the midst of such a state of general insensitiveness and nonchalant attitudes, appeared the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as a beacon light upon the gloomy shadows that had engulfed the unfortunate Muslims of India. It was he who first realized the sad plight of the Muslims and set upon himself the noble responsibility of awakening them from their sweet slumber, and infused fresh blood into the veins of moribund Islamic glory and instilled new impulses into the decadent Urdu literature. So inspiring was his personality that within an amazingly short time he had not only got round his contemporaries (among whom Hali was most remarkable) to the desirability of making literature didactic and as an interpreter of life, but had also had produced works of such everlasting value, as for example Aab-e-Hayat, Nairang-e-Khayal, Muqaddama-e-She’o-Shai’i, Yadgar-e-Ghalib and Musaddas-e-Hali. In fact, the progressive tendency, such as is in evidence in modern Urdu literature, is an historical continuation of Sir Syed’s Reformerist Movement.

The Mushair’ra (poetic symposium) held in 1874 would too go down in the annals of Urdu poetry as a memorable event which marked the beginning of its renaissance. Among the many Englishmen who rendered yeoman service to the cause of Urdu, the name of Colonel Holroyd, the then Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, would be remembered forever. He, with the co-operation of Maulana Muhammad Hussain Azad, who then lived at Lahore, laid down the foundation of a new type of Mushaira under which a particular topic for verse (Nazm) would be given instead of stipulating a Misra-tarah. This innovation was intended to encourage the writing of “Nazm”, of which there was a conspicuous dearth in the Urdu poetry. The topic for the first Mushaira (1874) was chosen Burka-Rut (The Rainy Season), and Hali’s well-known composition on the same topic is the first link of these series.

In the subsequent three Mushair’ras, Hali read his famous verses on Nisbat-e-Umeed (The Joy of Hope), Hubb-e-Watan (Patriotism) and Munazara-e-Rehm-o-Insaaf Symposium on Mercy and Justice), respectively. A short while afterwards, he went over to Delhi because of his ill-health, and there he wrote other verses, of which the Musaddas Mud-o-Jazaz-e-Islam (Ebb and Tide of Islam) is the outstanding composition.

At this period of his literary career a striking change of intellectual outlook came about in Hali, resulting in the manifestation of a new trend in his poetry. At first he began writing mainly exotic, amorous Ghazals in the usual tradition of other Urdu poets. But after the eventful Mushair’ra held in 1874, and more particularly with the realization of the decline of the Muslims wrought by the eventual downfall of the Moghal Empire in 1857, and with the keen perception of their pathetic indecision to take to the progressive line of thought in keeping with the demands of the altered conditions, Hali, inspired by Sir Syed, was quick enough to feel the futility of Ghazals that serve no purpose other than dissipate and dull the minds of the readers. Moreover, his association with the Punjab Government Book Depot, Lahore, during which he made a free translation of an English story under the title of Jawan Mard Say Khubti, had also left on him a profound impression of the Western ideas and the English poetry. Under the impact of these influences Hali made a novel deviation from the commonplace norm and rut of the Urdu poetry and switched over to writing simple, forceful and instructive verses on social themes. He was the first Urdu poet who began writing verses with a new vision and a modern touch and treatment.

There is an extraordinary element of sincerity of purpose and suavity of expression in his verses. His simple yet realistic verse on Burka-Rut, for instance, brings us so near to life. After reading a Ghazal of Nasikh and this verse of his, it seems as if a prisoner was taking a deep sigh of relief, released from the close stuffy atmosphere of the prison! It is like the pleasant contrast of feeling which one may experience reading Wordsworth’s sonnet, “The world is
too much with us,” after going through Pope’s “Essay on Man”.

Hubb-e-Watan is Hali’s equally refreshing verse which brings to light his conception of patriotism. In Urdu poetry, the sentiments of patriotism came into the picture in the late seventies of the nineteenth century, so that poets such as Hali, Ismail, Meeruthi, Chakbast, Sarwar, Jahanabadi, Akbar and Iqbal have all written something or the other on it. But Hali’s idea of patriotism is lofty and distinctive individual. He opines that the “part” (Juz) should be reformed first and the “whole” (Kal) later. For if a part of the machine should go wrong then the whole machine is apt to stop working. In his opinion, therefore, that part of the machine going wrong must first be set right, and this “part”, according to him, are the Muslims. The reformation of an individual Muslim to him is the reformation of the whole nation. And the qualities he considers most necessary for carrying out the reformation consist in the creation of a strong sense of sympathy and sacrifice with the spirit of service as the supreme moral duty of individuals. Accordingly he exhorts the Muslims:

Baithey bay fikr kiya ho hum wato,
Utho aur atha-watan kay dost bano,
Mard ho to kisi kay kam auo.
Warana khar pio chalay jao,
Jagnay walo ghaylon ko jagao,
Taernay walo doobton ko taero.

(Why sit idle, compatriots?
Rise up and be friends to your countrymen.
Be of some help to others if you call yourselves men.
Or else eat, drink and be doomed.
Let those awake, stir up the slumbering ones.
Let those afloat, save the drowning ones.)

Mud-o-Jazar-e-Islam (1879), popularly known as Musaddas-e-Hali, is his masterpiece, and is an unrivalled work to this day. It deals with a nation’s splendid past and its deplorable present. At great length and in a touching manner, the resplendent picture of Islam’s past glories, virtues, achievements and culture have been drawn in it, followed in sharp contrast by a portrayal of the then Muslim’s inertia and wretchedness and the utter degradation to which they had fallen. The Musaddas has aptly been called a heart-rending elegy of the wrecked and woe-befallen Muslim nation. Its study presents not only a glimpse into a succinct yet impressive history of Islam, but it also brings home unsavoury realities that had cropped up in the day-to-day lives of the Muslims. Hali wrote this verse at the instance of Sir Syed, who regarded it and the Aligarh Movement as his two proud achievements.

Hali was a staunch supporter and a great admirer of Sir Syed. In addition to his biography, Hayat-e-Jawed, he has also written several verses to promote the educational programme (Aligarh Movement) initiated by Sir Syed, of which Madrist-ul-Uloom Musalmun (1880) is remarkable. In 1883, Hali wrote on Ta’asub-wa-Insaaf, in which the evils of prejudice and the advantages of broad-mindedness have been reassuringly described. Between 1883 and 1886, he wrote Manvi Kalmat-ul-Huq, Munazarat-e-Waeez-o-Shair, Turkibund Taleem-e-Musliman, Qasida-e-Jashn e-Jubilee, Shikwa-e-Hind and Phoor aur Ekay ka Munazara (A discourse on Unity and Disunity). In 1887, he wrote Munaja-e-Bewa (Prayer of the Widow), which is supposed to be the next best work of Hali, and has been translated into Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, English and ten other languages. In fact, in our society a widow is a person whose very idea brings before the mind the sad picture of grief and melancholy. Hali in his peculiar unassuming manner depicts a true account of a widow’s innermost emotions. At one place in this verse the widow gives vent to her feelings:

Ek khushi nay ghum yeh dikhaey,
Ek harisi nay gul yeh khilaey,
Ro nahi sakht hon yahan tuk,
Aur rowon to rowon kahan tuk,
Din bhayanak aur rat daroni,
Yun guldri yeh sari jawani.

(A short-lived joy ended in such an enduring sorrow,
A brief period of happiness lapsed into these sufferings,
So miserable I am that even crying cannot console me,
And even if I should cry how long could I do?
For me the days have been dreary and nights desolate,
Thus I passed the days of my entire youth.)

In the end, the widow, while praying to God to grant her patience to bear up with her lot, comforts herself by saying:

Dukh say yahan kay ghabrana kia,
Sukh par yan kay itrina kia,
Ani jani cheez hain khoshian,
Chalti phirti chaen hai arman.

(Why to be worried at the life’s sorrows,
Why to take pride on the worldly comforts?
There is neither time to enjoy nor to fret here,
These are but transient phases in life,
Joys are but fleeting trifles.
Desires are only moving shadows.)

Over-indulgence of children always turns them into a bundle of bad habits. Hali in his Masnavi Huqqooq-e-Auld (On Rights of Children) has accordingly composed an interesting dialogue between a father and his pampered and spoiled son. Between 1887 and 1905 he wrote several other verses, but his swan song, Chup ki Dad (On Praise of Endurance), is worthy of special mention. The verse deals with the sorry lot of womenfolk, extolling their high qualities of endurance and perseverance and their silent sufferings. The poet, who evidently had an enlightened outlook, upholds the rights of women, supports their emancipation, advocates fair and equal treatment to them, and condemns the oppression perpetrated by the society. He also denounces the society’s reluctance to give women a proper status and its stubbornness
in depriving them of the benefits of education. He urges upon
the society to recognize the true significance of women, whom
he describes as being:

Ay maun, belmo baiyo dunia ki zeenat tum say hai,
Mulkon ki busti ho tumhin, quomo i izat tum say hai.

(Mothers, sisters and daughters, you are the beauty of
the world.
Bustling populations of the countries and the prestige
of nations are due to you.)

Hali had also attempted Rabayat and Ghazals. In these
poetical forms, too, his manner of expression is different
from other poets. He avoided superfluitics and exaggerations,
and instead expressed his ideas, whether in Ghazals or
Najnis, in a simple and clear-cut way. Essentially, the chief
attributes of his urbane style are clarity of thought and vivid-
ness of expression, with corrective and reformist urges breath-
ing all through. His Ghazals are likewise simple and
attractive: there is in them neither the fantastic sauciness of
Juraat, nor the wishful thinking of Momin, nor the delicate
euphemisms of Dagh, nor the subtle imagination of Ghalib.
Here are some of his couplets picked at random, which have
the full relish and felicity of the so-called Taghuzzul:

Taazir-e-jarme ishaq hai bay surfa mohtasib,
Bartha hai aur zaq-e-gunah yan saza kay bad.

In prose, as in verse, the same simplicity of expression
didactic aspects are the characteristics of Hali. He was a
realist rather than a vague, dreaming idealist. Unlike other
men of letters in the Urdu literature, he wrote and created
only what was inherently beneficial to the development of
the language and substantially contributive to life. So that he
figures out as the first biographer and as the first ever who
dealt with the literary criticism in the Urdu literature. To
his credit in the prose are admirable biographies of Saadi,
Sir Syed and Ghalib, known as Hayat-e-Saadi, Hayat-e-
Jawed and Yadgar-e-Ghalib respectively, and also an erudite
treatise on literary criticism, Maqadama-e-Shar-e-Shairi. In
the latter, he has made an analytical study of the true worth
and substance of poetry, emphasizing its relation to the life.
The essentials of poetry and the principles of literary criticism
which Hali enunciated in his above-mentioned book have
since greatly influenced the tone and tenor of the Urdu
literature.

THE MU‘TAZILAH AND THE TRANSLATION
OF GREEK WORKS INTO ARABIC

By HUSEIN ROFE

Early Islam produced four important movements of a
political and dogmatic character which were qualified by the
orthodox as heretical: these were the Shi‘ah, which
exaggerated the saintly qualities of the Prophet Muhammad’s
descendants: the Khawarij, who opposed the claims of elec-
tion to those of genealogy; the Murji‘ah, who maintained that
the sinful and the negligent did not forfeit their adherence to
the community: and the Mu’tazilah, who rejected irrational
dogma and tradition.

In primitive Arab society, where might was right, and
weaklings perished in the struggle against a Spartan environ-
ment, nobility of birth was insufficient to secure hereditary
political privilege: the Divine right of kings was a doctrine of
more fertile areas such as the Persian Empire. On the
Prophet’s death, the vested interests of the powerful Arabian
clans contested the prestige of the early believers, and the
descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima
were later to become a source of embarrassment to the political
authority. Friction arose between her husband, the
Caliph ‘Ali, and Mu‘awiya, son of the former chief of the
Quarash, the Prophet’s tribe. In the ensuing struggle, the
Khawarij deserted the former. Those who refused to identify
themselves with either party formed the nucleus of what was
later to develop into the Mu’tazilah, the “seers,” those
who did not wish to be identified with either faction.

The victory of Mu‘awiya led to the establishment of
the Ommayad Caliphate of Damascus, where traditional pre-
Islamic Arabian values found a place of honour. Among
such ideas was a fatalistic attitude to life: the doctrine of
predestination became an official Ommayad dogma. The
principal focus of politico-religious reaction came from Iraq,
where the inhabitants of Kufah favoured Shi‘ah claims. In
Basrah, however, there developed a party which approved
neither of the Ommayads nor of the followers of ‘Ali. This
was led by a Persian, Wasil Ibn ‘Ata (a pupil of the pious
theological scholar Hasan al-Basri), whose activity, under
the late Ommayads, led to the acceptance of the idea that
Muslims characterized by mortal sins were in an intermediate
position between faith and unbelief. Their eternal faith was
a matter for Divine justice or clemency. The evolution of
such a doctrine was apparently influenced by the desire of
this party to justify its non-intervention in a political struggle,
since they considered neither faction entirely blameless.
It was a natural consequence of this attitude that the growing
Mu’tazilah movement came to be identified rather with the
Abbasid claims. When the new dynasty came to power, the
dogmas of Wasil formed the basis of its orthodox theology
for more than a century. This was developed more fully by
Abu Hudhail al-‘Allaf, who died a century after Wasil. It
was an age in which Hellenistic learning found a place of
honour at the Abbasid court, and reason and philosophy
were assiduously cultivated in the Muslim Empire. The

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Caliph Ma'mun went as far as to elevate the theories of the Mu'tazilah to the level of a State dogma, in the year 827 C.E., and an inquisition persecuted those unwilling to subscribe to its tenets.

The Mu'tazilah conception of God

The basis of Mu'tazilah philosophy was uncompromising Tawhid — a rejection of any attempt to associate any partners with God. The movement was particularly hostile to the anti-Islamic dualistic doctrines of the Manichæan, which had found a receptive soil in Persia, where Zoroastrianism had taught that the powers of good and evil, Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, were engaged in a constant struggle for supremacy. In an age in which the arts flourished, philosophers of every ilk attacked orthodox belief with skilful dialectics. The Mu'tazilah, while remaining ultra-orthodox in their faith, made a similar use of rational arguments (based on Qur'anic texts) to ward off these intellectual attacks. They rejected the prevalent belief that the Qur'an was uncreated and eternal, since this doctrine appeared to them to involve lèse-Majesté: Divine Unity and Self-sufficiency could not be reconciled with the co-existence of an equally eternal scripture. Although the Qur'an itself implied that it was an uncreated revelation, the Mu'tazilah considered that revelation was always to be judged in the light of reason, and rejected whatever teaching appeared illogical. This was in fact an ungodly attitude, since it meant that the limited human mind arrogated to itself the right to assess the validity of revelation and the spiritual experience of realms beyond the reach of human logic. While vehemently rejecting an anthropomorphic concept of Divinity, the Mu'tazilah nevertheless "created God in their own image", by teaching that God must act in a rational and logical manner. To them the doctrine of predestination was irrational, and therefore unacceptable: How could God condemn the sinner for an act which He had previously decreed? The Mu'tazilah taught human dignity, responsibility and free-will, and thus emphasized the necessity for constant admonishment of the community: Al-Amr bi-al-ma'ruf wa-al-mahy'an al munkar (exhortation to right living and condemnation of evil). It was from emphasis on this injunction that a Government official, the muhtasib, was later regularly appointed in the Muslim world to see that the community observed the need for righteousness in everyday business and social transactions. This particular office became a regular institution from about 900 C.E., probably under direct influence of the Mu'tazilah doctrines.

These teachings also disparaged trust in the efficacy of prophetic intercession (where the sanctity of Tawhid was thought to be assailed again). There was scant respect for the Hadith, or the Traditions of the Prophet's acts and sayings. Since these had been handed down through a chain of individuals, it was sufficient for one of these to have told a lie for the whole chain to be invalidated. Of the four orthodox schools of madhhab, it was that of the Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal which showed greatest respect for conformity with the Hadith; hence it is hardly surprising that the Imam was in disgrace, even if danger of execution while the Mu'tazilah doctrines enjoyed official patronage. Espoused by Ma'mun and his son Wathiq, they were however declared anathema by the following Caliph, al-Mutawakkil, an equally ardent partisan of the contrary teachings. Traditions were once again in favour, whereas the Mu'tazilah had only accepted them when the entire community sponsored their veracity. To have rejected this minimum of good grace would not even have left sufficient grounds for acceptance of the Qur'an itself. They appeared to show more respect for the mission of prophets than for what was reported of their teachers; for the entire freedom from sin of the prophets was another Mu'tazilah dogma. Again, they rationalised that expediency would demand that God should decree such sinlessness, so that humanity might not doubt the prophetic credentials. God was thus supposed to conform to human concepts of expediency. The arrogance that led these scholars to believe that their human minds could scrutinize Divine mysteries caused them to maintain blasphemous attitudes in the defence of the faith. Eventually the inconsistencies in their system became apparent to one of their leading representatives, al-Ash'ari, who forsook them at the age of 40, and reformulated orthodox dogma on a logical basis which dealt a death-blow to the Mu'tazilah doctrines by using speculative dogmatics (their own weapon) against them. The movement still retained adherents for a few centuries, though it ceased to play a major role in communal life. Its partisans were frequently put to the sword as heretics, and were ruthlessly persecuted by Mahmud of Ghazna. From the time of the Moghul invasion, the Mu'tazilah has survived only as the theological basis of the Zaidi Shi'a of the Yemen. Its doctrinal views had in fact largely coloured all Shi'a theology, on which it has left an influence up to the present.

Mu'tazilah activity had produced some very important consequences, however, for the Muslim community. It was apparently their influence which had led al-Ma'mun to encourage the translation of Greek scientific and philosophical works into Arabic. This step had tremendous consequences not only for the Eastern Caliphate but, through the Ommayads of Spain, contributed to lead European civilization out of the Dark Ages, since the medieval Christian nations rediscovered the lost heritage of Greece through the Andalusian Muslim universities. Searching questions on the nature of God, relations between Creator and creature, and the relation of the Qur'anic revelation to human secular science had forced the pious theologians to marshal their defences, systematize their doctrines and develop more critical and scientific attitudes to their beliefs.

FOR FURTHER READING
Alfred Guillaume: Islam.
Brocklmann: History of the Islamic Peoples.
de Lacy O'Leary: Arabic Thought and its Place in History.
Thor Andréæ: Die Person Mohammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde.

MARCH 1959
THE EMOTIONAL CONTENT OF ISLAM

By M. ABDUL ‘ALI

“But Satan caused them to deflect therefrom and expel them from the (happy) state in which they were. We said: Fall down, one of you a foe unto the other.”
—The Qur’ān, 2:39.

With this man began his life on earth!

Man is regarded by psychologists as a “complex being”. As a “complex being” he is regarded as capable of functioning as a moral, economic or political being also. How this “being” acts and reacts, and by what motive forces certain behaviours are produced in a set of circumstances, is the main concern of the psychologists. The scientists, on the other hand, enumerate the material laws which his body is subject to. He describes the phenomenon of life, after life comes into being, with its interplay of physical and chemical forces. The balancing of these forces (under a set of temperature and pressure) is called life, which sets in motion a personality or individual existence, called Man. And when that equilibrium of forces is disturbed, and thrown out of balance, then it is death.

So, the distinguishing feature between life and death is integration and disintegration. You seek a balance with the forces around and within you and maintain that balance, then you have achieved life; you fail to strike the balance, you perish in disharmony. In other words, life or death is not the function of the body, but the body is just a mode of its manifestation.

Self-adjustment to external and internal forces

The important thing, therefore, for man is to balance himself with the forces within him and with his external world. The latter is a comparatively easy affair, as that would mean devising a working formula of adjustment or equilibrium. But the former is a difficult task, and can admit of no expediency. To go to a court of equity, the jurists say, you must go with clean hands, otherwise you get no relief. Likewise, to be at peace with yourself, or to balance the forces within you, you must have a clean heart; else you do not ascend or move forward, but either function in a vacuum or split yourself between opposite forces and eventually lose your identity. The ways and means adopted to balance your inward forces are as many as the forces themselves. The Vedantists seek their balance by conquering them, the atheists by pandering to them, the rationalists by regularizing them. But all these methods, in fact, do not balance them; they merely satisfy them or suppress them to one extreme or the other, under the pretext of law or morality. They remain all the time dormantly unsatisfied, and could be provoked any moment the pretext or the artificial barrier is removed. In the language of the psychologists, they descend to the realm of the sub-conscious, either under a sense of fear or reward. The important ingredient in balancing these forces (the Sufist called them Nafs, the rationalists term them instincts, but we shall plainly call them desires) is not the intellect, but the emotion; for men live and understand each other essentially by their emotions and not by their intellect.

Ouspensky, the great psychologist, observed:

“Men understand one another so imperfectly because they live always by different emotions. And when they feel similar emotions simultaneously, then and only do they understand one another.”

The minimum of intellect is only necessary to understand the forces, and not to resolve or harmonise them.

Should an attempt be made to resolve these forces through intellect, the result would be anarchic, for vested interests would inevitably come into play. The intellect speaks through different languages, with varying emphasis, according to its needs, but a common emotion can express itself in one and only one form, because normally a man acts as he feels but seldom talks as he feels.

Emotion as the driving force

The spirit of all religions concentrates at imparting this common feeling or emotion to mankind, so that under its impact men and women should be moved to nobler deeds. The modern counterpart of this religious essence is now evidenced in political creeds, which are also raised to the religious level in their emotional content. The urge to martyrdom of a crusader of a Ghazi is equally evidenced, perhaps inadequately, in a modern Salima or genuine political agitator; only the national flag has replaced the cross or the standard. On the battlefields, or in the midst of political demonstrations, men and women are moved to the same state of frenzy or ecstasies. All those who participate in them share the same emotion, which enables them to be happily led to goals or gallows. That happens in a mass. Individually people charged with the same emotion are capable of any sacrifice or heroic deed, in pursuance of what they regard as a noble cause. All great tragedies have as their consuming flame the great emotion of love — whether the love of a child, mother, woman or one’s country. In higher planes of thought it might be the love of the Divine Mother or the Divine Father. If Ramakrishna Praharesa could symbolise his own wife as the Divine mother, Sri Aurobindo needed a French lady for his early manifestations. Jesus Christ was filled with the love of the Divine Father before he could be raised to the Cross, while Imam Hussain was consumed and saturated with the Divine love even while his head was being severed from his body. Without this great emotional content, this consuming fire of Divine love, the unerring universal spirit, and without the feeling of oneness with the One, no great deed or thought can be conceived or executed.

The role of God-consciousness

So if one should feel at peace with himself, he should at least catch a bit of the universal spirit, and develop God-consciousness in him. The development of God-consciousness, like any other faculty, is not static, not rigidly constitutional, but it is a movement from within, emanating from the very depths of the being and consciousness, and encompassing all external objects. In its final form it is like an ignited spark, which consumes the existence beyond Time and Space. Of course, the quality of emotions felt by the great martyrs and the God-possessed cannot be shared by the generality of men, nor most of us can claim, with any mental honesty, even a glimpse of that unawareness which inspired those great souls.
Emotion as a most debasing force

As opposed to these great emotions that inspire noble deeds, man is also capable of negative emotions that destroy and degrade human personality. Even the commitment of criminal offences, whether great felonies or simple misbehaviour, flow from certain emotions, the mensrea, which so possess the conduct of one's life that without these acts the emotional being is restless, and dissatisfied. The consequences of such crimes in the way of punishment only act as deterrents, which may temporarily curb the activities of the potential offenders, but they do not improve their emotional content.

Need for Qur’anic guidance

So the subject of our inquiry is to find out the best and practical way to improve the emotional content of man, so that it can only generate noble thoughts and deeds. Human intellect cannot give an adequate solution, because like any sense organ, it can satisfy one's personal needs or at best the group or national interests. It is incapable of perceiving the good of other groups and nations, nor can it conceive it in the interest of all. It is only when we follow the Divine inspiration, or the Qur’anic guidance, that we can think of a workable formula.

“Lo! Ours it is (to give) the guidance. And Lo! unto Us belong the latter portion and the former” (The Qur’an, 92 : 12-13).

I say Qur’anic guidance, because it embodies all the Divine inspirations man received since Adam came into existence. It embodies the guidance revealed to Adam, Jacob, Moses, Jesus, and the sum total of all was received by Muhammad.

“We make no distinctions between any of the Prophets” (The Qur’an, 3 : 84).

It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss fully how the Qur’an satisfies the “emotional being” in man, and what recipe it gives to balance the forces both within and without. It would suffice for our purpose if we can give in brief the emotions emphasized by the Qur’an, and the order of their quality. We have shown above that man only lives by emotions, and his conduct in life bears a direct relationship with the emotion he lives. Take away his emotional content (even with an independent will and intellect) and he is just an animal: give him the right quality of emotion and he can raise himself to a sublime stature.

To say that the Qur’an seeks to establish an equitable social order, and gives equal rights and liberties to men and women, and enforces equality, fraternity and justice, is to invite comparison, and can be proved to be relatively or partially true. That was one of the subsidiary issues before Muhammad and had to be tackled in the background of Arabia and according to contemporary needs and conditions.

The basic thing the Qur’an has achieved was the mental revolution in the mind of man, and with it the creation of God-consciousness, His awareness. When that was achieved, the social, economic and other changes were its inevitable outcome. How the varying quality of emotions inspired the hardened and matter-of-fact Arab of the desert is the question we can profitably ask in the twentieth century, and seek its answer.

Negative emotions easiest to flare up

It is very easy to arouse negative emotions in the hearts of men, particularly hatred and jealousy, and base their lives on them. But such emotions, though they have temporary advantages, would inevitably lead to bitterness and war. They can fill the hearts of men with the modern sense of “Nationalism”, “Fascism” or any “ism”, manifesting itself in cheap competition and personal or group aggrandizement. But such emotions can never contribute to the creative process of evolution. On the other hand love is difficult to generate; more difficult is it to generate selfless love — that is losing one without expectation of any reward. That is possible only when you become one with the rest, when His awareness grows on you, and when you catch the spirit of the Universal. The Qur’an elevates you from the status of the mere animal-man and raises you to very sublime heights only through varying the quality of your emotion, and not through your prayer and fasting (which may serve only as aids to your emotion). Even it disregards prayer, when those routine habits detract you from the main purpose.

The emotions the Qur’an awakens

The Qur’an describes that the main purpose is to inculcate righteousness, or piety. “The most honourable of you in the sight of God is the most pious of you,” it says.

And what is righteousness and piety? It answers:

“ It is not righteousness
That ye turn your faces
Towards East or West.”

But righteousness is, to use the words of the Qur’an:

“ To spend of your substance out of love for Him
For your kindred
For the needy
For the wayfarer
And for the ransom of the Slaves.”

What is the varying emotional content that it seeks to fill in you to sustain your conduct and activities? Not the cult of “Supermen”, as Nietzsche prescribed, nor the doctrine of Deutsh land uben alles as his chief modern disciple advocated; not even the feelings of “Wolf and the lion” which Michevelli tried to inspire. But a simple basic emotion was first aroused:

“Be good to parents and to kindred” (2 : 83).

Then it tenders in you the care and love of the weak and the uncared for, the highly-strung beings:

“. . . And to orphans and the needy, and establish worship and pay the poor due” (2 : 83).

The love and care of the orphan and the needy is to love one without any benefactor, or anybody in the world. It is to love without any return. In the next stage your heart is aroused for the poor and hungry, a better and higher form of “selfless love”. Give the poor the dues and feed the hungry, is the constant reminder of the Qur’an:

“Nay, but ye (for your part) honour not the orphan, and urge not on the feeding of the poor” (89 : 91).

“Saying: We feed you for the sake of God only.
We wish for no rewards and thanks from you” (76 : 91).

It further adds:

“Hast thou observed him who believeth religion?
That is he who repelleth the orphan and urgeth not the feeding of the needy” (107 : 2-3).

Then, in the next stage of development, you are told to consider everybody as the Son of Adam, with no superiority or distinction for one over the other. The dignity and unity of man is to be felt and honoured.

“The Arab is not superior to the non-Arab; the
non-Arab is not superior to the Arab; ye are all sons of Adam and Adam was made of Earth," was the final message of Muhammad at Mecca.

In the last stage, when you have saturated your "Being" with the basic emotions, mentioned earlier, viz., love of parent, love of orphans, love of the needy, and love for all the "sons of Adam," then the love of God must transcend everything else. He is nearer to you than your own arteries, He is providence, He is all-mercy, all-knowledge and all-powerful.

The Qur'ān says:

"He is the fount of fear. He is the fount of mercy, God cometh in between the man and his own heart" (8 : 24).

And:

"Whither soever ye turn, there is the presence of God. For God is all-pervading" (2 : 115).

And:

"Vision comprehendeth Him not, He is the subtle, whose hand is the dominion over all things! Unto Him Ye will be brought back" (6 : 104).

These different emotions have to be felt and lived, and it is only when one has felt and lived them with intensity that you make your life balanced and purposeful, and achieve "God-consciousness." The attainment of God-consciousness, or "cosmic consciousness," as Dr. Bucke, the great psychiatrist, terms it, and which is regarded by him as a "super-addition of a function as distinct from any possessed by the average man", is also the aim of Sufis and Vedantists through their pantheistic imagery. Whether it is the "Quietism" of Hastings or the "pantheism" of Ibn al-Arabi or his school of thought, the aim is, in the words of Ghazzali, "to purify your heart (qalb) before you can have flashes of the high... The heart (qalb) is like a mirror, which can reflect the cosmic mind sooner the veil is lifted from it" — the veil of impurities due to bad feeling and bad emotions.

The pitfalls of the mystic path

But the generality of Sufis, the Bhagaties, abuse this cult, and under the influence of vulgar mysticism they are only moved to a state of Samadhis without translating that feeling into noble deeds. They even disregard social obligations and responsibilities. That, according to the Qur'ān, is selfishness. When you have begun to love God, you cannot cease to love the "son of Adam", the orphan and the needy. You cannot reach God, or achieve His nearness, unless your early "loves" are fully saturated and maintained. And the Divine love can only manifest itself through your work and conduct, in harmony with the will of God. That is becoming one with Him.

Those of us who prefer to call ourselves "religious" or pious are mostly concerned about ourselves, or about our own salvation. We are essentially subjective. But when we begin to love God in the sense described above, we cease to love ourselves and do not feel concerned about our own salvation or damnation; we only live to fulfill the Divine purpose, according to our lights and according to our capacity.

Heaven and hell

The sense of damnation or the craving for salvation arise only under the fear complex because we wish to escape "Hell fire" and thus seek a place in "Heaven". But do Heaven or Hell signify anything beyond places of our own purifications, our own purgatories? Not purgatories of Dante's Divine Comedy, but our own, through which every one of us must pass before we are fit enough to stand the Divine presence, saturated with Divine love; the stages in Hell and the planes in Heaven are only states in our process of perfection; call it evolution of the soul. That process of evolution can begin even in this world, under the very limitations of the flesh, if we can only rise above it, by sublimating our emotions and thus ridding ourselves of our coarseness — coarseness of feelings, coarseness of desires, coarseness of egotistic philanderings. "It cannot be conceived that God could even think of hurting us for our weaknesses and faults and omissions. The quality of vengeance is foreign to Him. We shall merely be corrected in our own rights, only to be purified and sublimated, while the degree of purification will determine our nearness to Him. And purification can only be of feelings, of emotions, of our devotional content."

The Divine illumination

As Bernard Shaw says in so many words, "You desire to see God but have you ever thought that you can stand His presence, with your divided feelings and mixed emotions?" But the modern religious man will almost certainly profess a kind of "Universalism", which in fact is the quintessence of Islam, or for that matter of any religion. The modern man feels that whosoever men have called upon God and have found fellowship and comfort and a sense of God within them, that inner light was the True God that answered them. The True God is generous, and not jealous. As H. G. Wells put it: "He is the very antithesis of that bickering monopolist... and when a human heart cries out — to what name it matters not — for a larger spirit and a stronger help than the visible things of life can give, straightway the nameless Helper is with it and the God of Man answers to the call... we pray to one single understanding person." That is the Rab al-A'laimeen, the Rahman Rahim, of that Being we know nothing; to us it is no more than the limit of understanding, the "unknown beyond".

One should, however, endeavour to fathom this "Unknown", and reach the "limit of understanding" in their search for spiritual illumination, in which he must distinguish from "Psychic Experience", and be persuaded to be deluded by these experiences. Faith cannot be complete and enduring if it is not secured by the definite knowledge of the True God — a glimpse, a flash of understanding, a moment of inward peace. In the true moment of religion we are intensely human; our state and the manner we use ourselves are afterthoughts. We think of God as a "synthetic reality", which has neither body nor material parts, nor is it a very "exalted anthropomorphic personality", away somewhere in "Heaven", sitting "upon a throne". According to the Qur'ān, He is "nearer you than your arteries", meaning it is "within you". It is in inward irradiation of the mind. Everything is there as it was before; only now it is ablaze. It is of the quality of thought and will and love — not that bounded human love that admits of exclusiveness, jealousy and sense of possession, but a larger and deeper exaltation, more enduring and infinitely more sublime.

"The finding of God is the beginning of service," Wells once wrote. "It is not an escape from life and action; it is the release of life and action from the prison of the mortal self."
WHAT IS ISLAM?

THE following is a very brief account of Islam and some of its teachings. For further details, please write to the IMAM of the Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England.

ISLAM: THE RELIGION OF PEACE.—The word "Islam" literally means: (1) peace; (2) submission. The word in its religious sense signifies complete submission to the Will of God.

OBJECT OF THE RELIGION.—Islam provides its followers with a perfect code, whereby they may work out what is noble and good in man, and thus maintain peace between man and man.

THE PROPHET OF ISLAM.—Muhammad, popularly known as the Prophet of Islam, was, however, the last of the Prophets. Muslims, i.e., the followers of Islam, accept all such prophets of the world, including Abraham, Moses and Jesus, as revealed by the Will of God for the guidance of humanity.

THE QUR’AN.—The Gospel of the Muslims is the Qur’an. Muslims believe in the Divine origin of every other sacred book. Inasmuch as all such previous revelations have become corrupted through human interpolation, the Qur’an, the last Book of God, came as a recapitulation of the former Gospels.

ARTICLES OF FAITH IN ISLAM.—These are seven in number: Belief in (1) God; (2) Angels; (3) Books from God; (4) Messengers from God; (5) the Hereafter; (6) the Prematurement of good and evil; (7) Resurrection after death.

The life after death, according to Islamic teaching, is not a new life, but only a continuance of this life, bringing its hidden realities into light. It is a life of unlimited progress; those who qualify themselves in this life for the progress will enter into Paradise, which is another name for the said progressive life after death, and those who get their faculties stunted by their misdeeds in this life will be the denizens of the Hell—a life incapable of appreciating heavenly bliss, and of torment—in order to get themselves purged of all impurities and thus to become fit for the life in the Heaven.

The sixth article of Faith has been confused by some with what is popularly known as Fatalism. A Muslim believes in Fatalism nor Predestination; he believes in Prematurement. Everything created by God is for good in the given use and under the given circumstances. Its abuse is evil and suffering.

PILLARS OF ISLAM.—These are five in number: (1) Declaration of faith in the Oneness of God, and in the Divine Messenger-ship of Muhammad; (2) Prayer; (3) Fasting; (4) Alms-giving; (5) Pilgrimage of the Holy Shrine at Mecca.

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.—The Muslims worship One God—the Almighty, the All-Knowing, the All-Just, the Cherisher of All the worlds, the Friend, the Helper. There is none like Him. He has no partner. He is neither begotten nor has He begotten any son or daughter. He is indivisible in Person. He is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Glorious, the Magnificent, the Beautiful, the Eternal, the Infinite, the First and the Last.

FAITH AND ACTION.—Faith without action is a dead letter. Faith by itself is insufficient, unless translated into action. A Muslim believes in his own personal accountability for his actions in this life and the Hereafter. Each must bear his own burden and none can expiate for another’s sin.

ETHICS OF ISLAM.—"Imbue yourself with Divine Attributes," says the noble Prophet. God is the prototype of man, and His Attributes form the basis of Muslim ethics. Righteousness in Islam consists in leading a life in complete harmony with the Divine Attributes. To act otherwise is sin.

CAPABILITIES OF MAN IN ISLAM.—The Muslim believes in the inherent sinlessness of man’s nature, which, made of the goodliest fibres, is capable of unlimited progress, setting him above the angels, and leading him to the border of Divinity.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.—Man and woman come from the same essence, possess the same soul, and they have been equipped with equal capability for intellectual, spiritual and moral attainments. Islam places man and woman under the like obligations the one to the other.

EQUALITY OF MANKIND AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF ISLAM.—Islam is the religion of the Unity of God and the equality of mankind. Lineage, riches and family honours are accidental things: virtue and the service of humanity are matters of real merit. Distinctions of colour, race and creed are unknown in the ranks of Islam. All mankind is of one family, and Islam has succeeded in welding the black and the white into one fraternal whole.

PERSONAL JUDGMENT.—Islam encourages the exercise of personal judgment and respects difference of opinion which, according to the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, is a blessing of God.

KNOWLEDGE.—The pursuit of knowledge is a duty in Islam, and it is the acquisition of knowledge that makes men superior to angels.

SANCTITY OF LABOUR.—Every labour which enables man to live honestly is respected. Idleness is deemed a sin.

CHARITY.—All the faculties of man have been given to him as a trust from God for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. It is man’s duty to live for others, and his charities must be applied without any distinction of persons. Charity in Islam brings man nearer to God. Charity and the giving of alms have been made obligatory, and every person who possesses property above a certain limit has to pay a tax, levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor.

MARCH 1959
The Mustansiriya, built in 1232 C.E., cost 700,000 dinars to build. It is one of the great colleges for which Baghdad was famous.

IRAQ — THE CRADLE

The outstanding monument of the 8th century C.E. The fortress-palace of Ukhaidhi, 30 miles south-west of Kerbala.
A bridge at Vakho bears witness to the appreciation of the importance of communications in the past.

The great mosque of Samarra, known as the Friday Mosque, is one of the oldest in Iraq.
THE LAND OF THE TWO RIVERS

Iraq is rich in natural resources and happens to fall in a strategic region. It is, therefore, destined to play an important role in the present-day international conflicts.

The name “Iraq” is of ancient origin. During the Middle Ages, the term al-Iraq al-Arabi was used to denote the southern delta region of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The mountainous region to the east and north-east was known as al-Iraq al-Ajami.

The name was revived in 1921 when, in recognition of the Arab nationalist sentiment, the country was given a national status of its own, with a king of its own, at the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, which had ruled it for centuries past. Before the adoption of this name, the country was known to the Europeans as Mesopotamia, which means “The Land of the Two Rivers” — a name given it in ancient times by the Greeks who ruled it.

But Iraq’s real glory lies in its most ancient past, as being the cradle of the first civilization built up by man on earth. The plain of the Tigris and the Euphrates has been the scene of the rise and fall of many a civilization which lies buried in its sands, unearthed in recent times by archaeologists.

Unlike its Arab neighbours, Iraq has a long history of high civilization and political power, an antiquity as great as, or greater than, that of its principal rival in the Arab world, Egypt. The Tigris and the Euphrates allowed the early development of a complex irrigated agriculture. With an increased food supply came population growth and the rise of the earliest cities. New forms of social and political organizations succeeded the simpler patterns of the wandering bands of food gatherers and hunters and the small villages of dry farmers who inhabited the area in the earlier, Neolithic age. With the development of vocational specialization and the creation of leisure for a wealthy elite there were originated, or at least perfected, the basic ideas and techniques that marked man’s emergence from his prehistoric past: the wheel, the plough, metallurgy, massive architecture, writing, mathematics, complex government, and written codes of law. Here, by the rivers, were developed the high civilizations of Sumer and of Babylon.

Similar developments were occurring almost simultaneously on the Nile and somewhat later on other great river systems of the Eurasian continent. Historically, however, what is important is the long continuity of civilized life on the Mesopotamian valley-plain. The magnificently engineered irrigation system constructed in ancient times functioned until the Mongol onslaught in the thirteenth century. On the eve of that disaster the country was still pouring out the agricultural wealth on which the power of the Sumerian and Babylonian kings had been founded, and its cities were among the greatest of the Mediterranean world.

Earliest history

The historical record in Iraq goes back almost three thousand years before Christ to Sumerian kings, who were contemporary with the Pharaohs of the first Egyptian Dynasty. Sumerian civilization was already far advanced, and archaeological research gives glimpses of the incredibly long vistas of unrecorded history that lie still further back in time. It is not known what kind of culture the Sumerians brought with them when they first entered the area, or, indeed, with any certainty where they came from; but it is clear that they were preceded by numerous other peoples who contributed to the social and political complexity that marked the region by the time the earliest Sumerian records were written.

In the oldest historic period small city-states faced each other across various artificial boundaries. Each possessed its own laws, customs and government, but recognizably shared in the larger Mesopotamian culture, which was remarkably advanced. Knowledge of reading and writing was no doubt the prerogative of the privileged few, but these few cultivated the science of the day and were concerned with its practical application. A major application of engineering skill were the irrigation and water-control systems created and maintained probably as early as 4000 B.C. So important were these irrigation works to general survival and prosperity that even in war-time contesting States took pains to avoid their destruction.

Sumer

When recorded history begins, the people of what is now Iraq were already known as Sumerians.

With the Sumerian federations of city-states appear the first examples in history of government reaching beyond the local level. The records show a whole succession of dynasties, and although there is no extant account of actual political events in the early period, the reigns of some of the kings
mentioned in chronicles have been dated by archaeological discoveries.

**Akkad**

The succession of Sumerian dynasties probably ended about 2800 B.C. with the conquest of the Sumerian federation by the Akkadians under Sargon, the first impressive historic figure to emerge out of the confused record. The Akkadians were a Semitic people from the west and north-west who had entered Iraq in numbers sufficient to give their name to the territory surrounding what is now Baghdad. Having consolidated their position in northern Iraq and southern Anatolia, they moved under Sargon to conquer the southern cities of Sumer. They treated the religions of the conquered places with respect, collecting their gods into a kind of pantheon protected by a new and larger political order.

In the last days of the failing Sumerian power, about 2000 B.C., there swiftly rose to prominence a new State centring at Babylon, where western Semitic people (perhaps from Syria and Palestine) defied Sumer by asserting the power of Marduk, an Akkadian god. Babylonian authority was first asserted over southern Mesopotamia by the great Hammurabi (c. 1800-1760 B.C.), and the final submergence of the Sumerians under Hammurabi's son was symbolized by the destruction of the walls of Ur.

**Babylonian Empire**

Babylon was both the centre of the political empire and a religious metropolis. It did not lose its latter status, which added to its lustre as a centre of wealth and power, until the time of Alexander the Great. Culturally, Babylon refined the basic Sumerian patterns. Hammurabi, sixth of his line of Amoritic rulers, is remembered not only as a conqueror but as a great law-giver, and long after his time even the imperious Assyrian rulers of the region were always anxious to come to the city, more a kind of ancient Rome, in order to establish the legality and legitimacy of their rule. The code of laws collected by Hammurabi dealt with problems of living which are still pressing in the twentieth century: land tenure, rent, the position of women, marriage, divorce, inheritance, conditions and pay of labour, the functions of money and types of exchange, contracts, control of public order, and so on.

**Assyrian Empire**

A new kingdom based on Assur in the north was expanding at this time and became the forerunner of the subsequent Assyrian Empire, which was notable not only for its military innovations and ruthless proficiency in war but also for its contributions in the sphere of administration, architecture, sculpture and literature.

The first Assyrian sovereign of importance was Shalmanese I, who elaborated the concept of a “Greater Assyria”.

The next ruler of note, Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.), created and elaborated an important political idea: the maintenance under the control of a permanent bureaucracy of a permanent military force or standing army, which could consolidate conquests and subject defeated people to permanent occupation. Although this ruler raised the Assyrian Empire to its pinnacle of power — even Egypt was required to recognize Assyrian supremacy — the system he inaugurated eventually produced results opposite to those intended: enervation of the Assyrians themselves and increasing restiveness on the part of subject peoples, who were driven to hatred and desperation by the severity of Assyrian methods, the cruellest known to the ancient world. Revolt followed revolt; Egypt and Syria were lost; eventually, in 606 B.C., Scythians destroyed Nineveh, and Assyrian power became an historic memory. Iraq's present-day Nestorian Christian minority calls itself Assyrian and claims ethnic descent from the dominant peoples of this ancient empire.

**The rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire**

Babylon rose again as the centre of a neo-Babylonian empire and produced, in the second ruler of a new dynasty, Nebuchadnezzar, one of the most illustrious monarchs of the ancient world. Babylon was rebuilt with a great inner royal city, a sweeping main avenue, and new walls surrounding a much larger city than before — the whole presided over by the temple of Bel. Favoured by its geographical position, the city became a centre of trade where money was plentiful, pleasures numerous, the arts advanced, and life, for the times and the elect, magnificent. This glory, too, passed: Babylon fell to Cyrus, the ruler of the Achaemenian Persians, in 539 B.C.

**Meeting of East and West**

Cyrus's son, Cambyses, extended the empire from the Mediterranean, including Asia Minor, to the Oxus River, thus creating the last and greatest ancient Mesopotamian empire, renowned for its toleration under the religion of Zoroaster.

Meantime, the Greeks were evolving their own vigorous culture on the northern frontiers of the Persian Empire. There ensued a long struggle between the Greeks and the Persians. Alexander the Great, having conquered Greece, continued until he finally brought the great Eastern empire, in which the Persian imperial idea had already been weakened by Greek influence, under Greek control. Alexander's ambition was to create a new empire combining Greek ideals with the political methods of the older political centre. He died in Babylon in 323 B.C. The imperial political unity he had sought to create crumbled in the hands of his successors, but the Greek and Asian cultural synthesis he initiated continued to evolve.

**Greeks, Persians, Romans**

Alexander's empire was divided among his principal followers. Seleucus, one of his generals, ruled Iraq and Persia from a new capital on the Tigris, Seleucia, just south of the subsequent site of Baghdad. The new ruler and his successors continued the spread of Greek civilization, but by 200 B.C. their power reached no further than the confines of Iraq and Syria. The Seleucid Greeks were beset by newly-risen States to the north, by the Parthian Persians, by then in control of all Persia, and increasingly by a rapidly rising new power in the West: Rome. Not the Romans, however, but the Parthians conquered Iraq in 138 B.C. They were to meet the Romans in a struggle that lasted nearly eight hundred years, until the coming of the Arabs. In this contest the Romans supplanted the Greeks as the major protagonists of Western influence.

**The Sassanians**

In the course of the Persian-Roman conflict the Parthian Persians were pushed aside in 226 C.E. by a new Persian dynasty, the Sassanian, which developed a sounder political organization than had the Parthians, and, by their hostility to Judaism and Christianity, gained the strong support of the powerful Zoroastrian priests.
The age of Islam

The Arab conquest of Iraq in the year 637 C.E. brought not merely a new set of rulers but a language, religion and certain of the patterns of life which have characterized the country ever since.

There had previously been small colonies of Arabs north of the Arabian peninsula, at Hira on the Euphrates, Nabataea in Transjordan, and notably at Palmyra (Tadmor) under the famed Queen Zenobia. Palmyra was a centre of wealth, but Arabs in general at that time were despised as backward barbarians. For several centuries Arabia had been in a state of decline brought on when the shift of Roman power to Constantinople diverted the trade between the Mediterranean and the East, which had once passed through the peninsula, to the line of the Persian Gulf and the Tigris-Euphrates valley and to the Central Asian caravan routes farther north. The once dominant cities languished and the country fell into a confusion of civil strife and tribal warfare.

Conquest of Iraq by the Muslims

The detachment of Iraq from the declining Persian power was undertaken as the first major Muslim Arab conquest outside the peninsula during the brief reign of Abu Bakr, the first Caliph (632-634 C.E.). It began almost by accident when an expedition sent by the Caliph to put down disturbances at Bahrain, offshore in the Persian Gulf, turned northward after accomplishing its mission and, unknown to Abu Bakr, invaded the delta of the Euphrates. The many Arabs, mostly Christian, living under Persian rule in Lower Iraq, at first supported their Persian masters against the Muslim invaders, but gradually transferred their allegiance. Persian power was completely submerged once the Arabs decided to occupy the country thoroughly and to subdue the area west of the Euphrates. Final subjugation of Iraq was accomplished under the second Caliph, Omar, in a decisive battle at al-Qadisiyah, in 637 C.E.

The religion and, rather more slowly, the language of the conquerors were accepted by the majority of the population. The civilization of Iraq entered into a new phase with the advent of Islam, but its essential continuity was not broken, and far from accepting the cultural elements brought by the victors, it assimilated them so thoroughly that the Arab golden age that followed centred in Iraq, not Arabia. In this fusion it was the Arabs rather than the old population of Mesopotamia that were culturally absorbed.

Conquest and division

The Muslim empire achieved its greatest political limits under the Ummayads in Damascus. From southern France, where it existed only fleetingly, its power extended to include the Iberian peninsula; the whole of North Africa, including Egypt; Mediterranean islands; the Arabian peninsula; the Fertile Crescent; some of Asia Minor; Persia, with its boundaries pushed to the Oxus; Afghanistan; and, temporarily, some parts of India.

In 750 C.E. the Abbasides triumphed and the centre of the empire was transferred from Damascus to Iraq. The move symbolized the new, more Persian foundation of the empire, and it inaugurated in Iraq an era of prosperity and magnificence that contrasted sharply with life under the Ummayads. The new location not only brought the Abbasides into close proximity with the Persians but also with the Turks, who some eight centuries later were to supplant them.

The Abbassides

In the Abbaside capital at Baghdad there was kindled a blaze of philosophical, scientific and literary glory remembered throughout the Arab world, and by Iraqis in particular, as the pinnacle of the Islamic past. The greatest Caliphs of the period combined outstanding administrative and intellectual capacities with unrelenting cruelty. The Abbaside cultural renaissance spanned roughly the reigns of the first seven rulers of the dynasty (750-842 C.E.). Of the seven, three achieved lasting fame: Mansur (754-775), Harun al-Rashid (786-809), and Mamun (813-833). These sovereigns had in common great administrative and political ability, both of which were vital in keeping under control the functional strife that was unremitting despite the excellence of the new order.

Baghdad as capital

Mansur, grandfather of Harun al-Rashid, had moved the capital to Baghdad in 762 C.E. The city, old and relatively prosperous, possessed the advantages of an adequate water supply, river communications, a generally equable climate, and freedom from malaria. Within thirty years it had become the second largest city in the Mediterranean world.

The high points of the Muslim renaissance in Iraq occurred during the reign of Harun, marked by its material splendour, and that of his son Mamun, which saw the greatest intellectual advances. In Mamun's time some of the greatest Islamic poetry was written and impressive advances were made in mathematics and the sciences. Historical and religious scholarship prospered and there began the editing and further creation of the fund of Arabic stories. Mamun encouraged and assisted all of these activities, and the liberality of his religious view strikingly contrasts with the binding orthodoxy that afterwards so often restricted intellectual development in Islam.

Centuries of decline

The Abbaside Caliphate did not end abruptly: it went into a long decline under the stresses of ethnic and religious division.

The Mongols had in the first half of the thirteenth century reached the lower frontiers of what is now European Russia. In 1256, under Hulagu, grandson of Chinghis Khan, they sacked the city of Baghdad. The material and artistic production of centuries was swept away. The commercial life of the city, so long a centre of trade with the East, was crippled. Iraq itself was laid waste and — a tragedy from which the country has not yet recovered — the canal system, upon which the prosperity of the land depended, fell into ruin. With the passage of time the Mongol overlords began to yield to the Islamic culture of their subjects, but their rule remained alien to the end. Another wave of Mongols under Tamerlane conquered Iraq and occupied Baghdad in 1393. Tamerlane was no more successful than his predecessors in stabilizing the vast Mongol empire, and new local regimes and additional Mongol groups rose and fell in quick succession.

The Ottoman period

In the meantime a more formidable Middle Eastern power had come into being — the Ottoman Turks, who had supplanted the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor. A scant two hundred years after the Mongol Hulagu captured Baghdad they had become the major political power in the area between Constantinople and Persia. With the Mongol conquest the Abbassides had fled to Cairo, where they continued to exercise the spiritual authority of the Caliphate. In 1517 the ascendant Ottomans captured that city and the last
Abbasside Caliph consigned his office to the conquerors. The Turkish ruler was now both Sultan and Caliph, and he aspired to assert temporal power over the home territory of his Abbasside predecessors. This ambition was realized in 1534 when Baghdad was captured by Suleiman the Magnificent. Thereafter, except for an interlude of Persian control in the seventeenth century, Iraq remained under Turkish rule until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I.

The new phase
With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq entered

THE NEW SET-UP IN PAKISTAN
“More friendly towards friends; less unfriendly towards those unfriendly.”
—says Foreign Minister Manzoor Qadir

“India will have to take Pakistan more seriously than in the past.”

By H. C. TAUSSIG
—says a journalist

The Karachi correspondent of the Eastern World, of London, Mr. H. C. Taussig, who was given an exclusive interview by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Manzoor Qadir, gives the following impressions of the new régime in Pakistan.

Events in Pakistan have created greater controversy, and given greater shocks to many people, than similar recent changes elsewhere. For it is, so far, the first Commonwealth country to shed openly all paraphernalia of parliamentary democracy: a member of the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts and of the “free world” and, above all, neighbour of a vast and sensitive India, with whom it has been on traditionally unfriendly terms since Partition. While the West, always so much concerned about democracy, has been shocked more by the fall of its trusted friend, ex-President Mirza, than by the loss of parliamentary democracy which Mirza himself brought about, the most vociferous criticism has naturally come from India, where the new military régime in Pakistan is viewed with alarm. It is worth observing, however, that India’s Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, in his statement in the Lok Sabha (House of the People) on 20th November 1958, admitted that “parliamentary institutions in Pakistan had been deprived of much content because of the failure to hold elections since independence came eleven years ago. Nevertheless, there was the form of such institutions.” It is safe to presume that a man of Mr. Nehru’s perception and logic cannot be satisfied with the mere “form” of democratic institutions like, for example, the one existing in South Africa.

The fact is that democracy simply did not exist in Pakistan even before the present régime. The real international importance of the new Karachi set-up, and the factor which faces India for the first time, is the certainty that she will have to take Pakistan more seriously than in the past, when that country’s politicians fanned anti-Indian feelings of the masses to cover up their own shortcomings and their failure to do anything real for the people. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Nehru, in that same statement, expressed grave concern about the continued American aid to Pakistan which, in the hands of military rulers, “becomes of added significance.” But Mr. Nehru ended by wishing well to the people of Pakistan, expressing the desire of developing good neighbourly relations with them.

Looked upon in the context of the poisoned atmosphere between the two countries, his criticism of Pakistan was lukewarm and hesitating. He seems to have opened the door for future discussions with, it appears, a lingering hope that they might be easier with an authoritarian régime based on popular support. He reserved his real criticism for the U.S.A., which by pouring arms into Pakistan, only perpetuates an armament race which is detrimental to the economies of both India and Pakistan and has no beneficial impact on rational solutions. To start an armed conflict with India would be suicidal for Pakistan and catastrophic for India. To build up Pakistan as a “military bulwark against Communist aggression in Asia” is a fantastic pipedream.

My own observations in Pakistan have convinced me that the measures taken by the present rulers are enjoying widespread public support, not only by the masses of the people, who feel that for the first time since Partition something is being done in the interest of their welfare, but also by salaried workers and the intelligentsia, which derives much satisfaction from the clean sweep which has freed their country from outrageous corruption. Even those who genuinely wish for the introduction of democratic institutions agree with the necessity of temporary rule by the Army — which is much respected for its correctness on the British pattern — to create the conditions for unhindered elections and democratic government. In any case, people here agree that the “bloodless revolution” of the military caretaker government is “good for the people”.

The questions arise as to whether the present régime, once it has tasted power, will try to perpetuate itself and who, in a dictatorship, is to decide “what is good for the people”. Finally, can a military junta be expected to refrain from sabre-rattling or even from entering into military adventures, particularly if they can rely on generous American support?

In my talks with Mr. Manzoor Qadir, Foreign Minister in the Presidential Cabinet, I raised some of these points. This 45-year-old Cambridge-educated man of unquestionable integrity is one of Pakistan’s foremost lawyers and a new-
comer to politics. He insisted that those who have taken upon
themselves the responsibility of government are quite clear
in their intentions: they will do what they consider to be
in the interest of the people. But he agreed that a machinery
had to be devised to find out whether the people actually
considered the measures taken by the Government in their
interest to be beneficial.

"But that is not the final, or the ideal thing," Mr. Qadir
said. "It is only an interim arrangement. The final thing that
we are working up to is that the people themselves decide
what is good for them, so that it will become government
by the people. Previously it was supposed to be government
by the people. It was not really. And it certainly was not
for the people. We have shifted the emphasis. We say: till
the people can judge for themselves where the benefit lies,
that is to say, until suitable machinery has been devised for
enabling them to judge their own benefits, like electing their
own representatives and their representatives getting together
to find out by consultation with each other, by discussion
and voting, where their benefit really lies — until such time
as such machinery is devised and for want of anything better
we will take it upon ourselves to do the best for them.
So far, I am glad to say, most of the things we have done
have been considered by the people as being in their interest."

Surely, I said, the blame for the collapse of the former
regime could not entirely be put at the feet of corrupt
politicians who, with an educated population, could not have
remained quite as unchecked. Did he consider the people
mature enough to participate in democratic government,
were they ripe for it? "No," Mr. Qadir answered, "it is our
task, first of all, to make them fit for it. We are going to do
that as our first priority." He explained that, while his
Government was already going ahead with the task of recon-
struction and refugee settlement, it was planning to announce
a scheme within a very short time which would aim at a con-
centrated effort in civic education. "We hope it will not take
very long," he continued, "at least to put across the idea as
to what consideration should weigh with the people when
they want to choose their representatives. We want to educate
them in ethical values as well as in civic norms."

The Minister denied that this might take years. He
thought it would take much less, but refused to predict the
period for which the régime might stay in power. "Unless
there are checks and balances upon the sovereign power
being exercised," he said, "the people who are under the
responsibility of exercising it themselves, and their power to
exercise it, might get blunted. Therefore, we have to guard
ourselves against it dragging out in such a way that any kind
of desire to perpetuate ourselves beyond what is absolutely
necessary can creep in. At the same time we have to guard
ourselves against any suspicion of that sort. So, if you put
on a time schedule which is years ahead, suspicion
immediately grows in the minds of the people, who will think
that you want to stay. But if you put it on too soon, and are
not able to achieve your aim within the given period, then,
as soon as you go beyond the given time schedule, they will
begin to think that you are going back on your word. The
nation may need spoon-feeding for a time. But if those who
are spoon-feeding the nation begin to spoon-feed themselves,
a greater damage can be done."

After describing the shortcomings of the previous Con-
stitution, Mr. Qadir revealed for the first time the intentions
of the new régime in that field. "You can create the best
institutions in the world — on paper. But you need men to
run them, they don't run by themselves. We hope to straighten
out things in such a way that a misuse of sovereign power
can never again take place in this country. First, we shall
devote a working kind of Constitution for the moment, giving
shape and form to what is, in fact, in existence now. Under this system, after educating the people to bring their representatives in so that they might decide what kind of final Constitution they want, we shall sit down and make it, and get on with the job as quickly as we can.”

Turning to foreign policy, the Minister had comparatively little to say. It is obvious that the new régime is, first of all, trying to put its house in order, and that questions of foreign affairs are still under discussion. However, there seems to be a tendency towards softening the harsh relations with India, and that serious efforts will be made to achieve a peaceful solution of the main problems.

With the United Kingdom there have apparently been some “misunderstandings”, which are still based on certain historical resentments dating from the time of Partition, but Mr. Qadir thinks they are no more than that, and hopes to straighten them out. He is confident about the friendship with Britain which, he jocularly remarked, were symbolised by the BOAC. “After all,” he said, “the BOAC has kept on flying between our countries all the time.”

It is evident that the new régime of President General Ayub Khan will find it convenient to continue with Pakistan’s close connections with the United States and the various defence pacts, like SEATO, and that this connection is of particular benefit to the Army. But also in this respect, a slight reorientation may eventually be expected. There is no doubt that Pakistan may be on the look-out for more friends, and a somewhat wider circle of relations might well be established. This trend is best summed up in Mr. Qadir’s final words: “I am not interested in irritating anyone. I shall make it my business to be friendly to those who are our friends, and not to remain as unfriendly as in the past one has been with some of those who were not looked upon as friends.”

TURKEY AND ISLAM TODAY

By A. L. TIBAWI

When Turkey signed with Iraq the mutual defence and co-operation pact, some observers, while noting the strategic aim of the agreement, read into it a new Muslim orientation, balancing the Western orientation, in the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic. The accession on the one hand of Pakistan and Persia, and on the other of Great Britain, to the pact may lend colour to this interpretation. In our own time, Turkey has always been in the “middle”, between the Muslim East she sought to desert, and the Christian West she strove to emulate.

Her geographical position, history, tradition and culture link her with the East, and her international security and material national interests bind her with the West as well as with the East. For some time since the proclamation of the Republic, however, Turkey seemed completely to turn her back on the East. This policy has recently been revised. The revision started in home affairs and seems now to be extended to foreign affairs. If we accept the maxim that home and foreign policy should go hand in hand, each reflecting the other, then we can better understand both the internal Islamic revival in Turkey and the external Turkish alliance with Islamic States.

It is of course too early to accept or reject the validity of the explanation of recent Eastern trends in Turkish foreign policy as arising from deep cultural or religious motives. Indeed, Turks in authority are likely to deny any cultural or religious significance to their membership, together with three other Muslim States, of the Baghdad Pact. It is therefore safer not to speculate on this aspect of the subject, and to concentrate rather on an appraisal of the internal policy of secular Turkey in regard to a vigorous Islamic revival which has been growing since the death of Ataturk and more particularly since the end of the war.

Within the first week of a recent visit to Turkey I was assured by a qualified headmaster of a State school in Istanbul and then by an educated business man of the same city, both in their early fifties, that Islam is the official religion of the Turkish Republic. I listened in silence first to the one and later to the other making a surprisingly similar explanation of his contentment. Their ignorance of the nature and outcome of three decades of secularism which disestablished Islam as the State religion in Turkey seemed to me most revealing, and its implications deserving of close study.

An obvious conclusion that may be legitimately drawn from these two cases, which seem to be by no means unique, is that secularism is simply official but not national in intention, scope and validity. It is true that Islam is not officially recognized, but it is embraced, cherished and practised on a national scale so widely and so intensely that even the official attitude to it has recently been revised. What is the nature, extent and significance of this change of attitude on the part of an avowedly secular State to religion? How did it come to pass?

The change which will be described presently may be ascribed to the general relaxation of Government vigilance, or to an increased measure of democracy that has been noticeable in Turkey within the last ten years or so. It seems to have been made deliberately in response to strong popular demand from various quarters, ranging from the followers of the suppressed mystic orders, on the one hand, to certain deputies who sat, or still sit, in the Grand National Assembly, on the other. The influence of the mystic orders, though publicly acknowledged to be strong and even getting stronger, is of course not officially admitted as a factor in formulating policy; and such deputies as favoured or still favour a revisionist attitude to religion are rather small in number, so that Government action cannot be explained as an outcome of their pressure alone. The truth of the matter is that the Turkish Government found it expedient to yield to public sentiment expressed constitutionally by deputies and individually or collectively by a majority of the Turkish people.

The fact of a fanatically secular State yielding so soon to religious demands is most significant. It indicates that religion is becoming a factor in State policy. Let us consider as an illustration the question of religious education. Religious instruction in Turkish State schools was abolished and the traditional religious schools were closed down as early as 1924. Teaching of Arabic in secondary schools, the mainstay and foundation of religious education, was stopped in 1929, and the use of a Latin form of alphabet to replace the Arabic letters in writing Turkish was enforced the year

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1 An enlarged version of this article was published with copious footnotes in The Quarterly Review, No. 609, pp. 325-337, under the title of "Islam and Secularism in Turkey Today."
before. These measures were calculated by their promoters not only to make Turkey a lay State in which religion is the private concern of the citizen, but also to safeguard against reaction by severing the connection with the Arabic sources of Islam.

Re-introduction of religious teaching in State schools

But as befell other similar revolutionary measures in history, the force of Turkish secularism mellowed in the course of time, and the experience gained by those in authority tended to soften their enthusiasm for its new measures. Moreover, large numbers of Turks in authority and in private life never believed very deeply in the secular extremes of their rulers. A healthy reconsideration of the problem was therefore not completely unexpected. This is partly the explanation of the smoothness and orderliness that characterises the recent readmission of religion to State schools.

Before proceeding to higher or specialized education the child passes through three stages: the primary school (five years), the intermediate school (three years) and the secondary school (another three years). Religious instruction was introduced by the Republican Party in the fourth and fifth years of the primary school (one lesson a week) as an optional subject early in 1949. Since they came to power the Democratic Party went a step further by admitting religion as an integral part of the curriculum in the school year 1950-51. A director of education of an important province made an interesting apology for this official step. In a State educational system where there are no independent religious schools, he said in answer to my questions the authorities are under an obligation to give to the children such religious instruction as is agreeable to the wishes of their parents. Precisely, but is this the first step in the complete restoration of religion in education? How will the Government react to further popular demand for the extension of the teaching upward and downward to embrace the entire school life below university level? There is reason to suspect that the restoration of religious instruction is only the beginning, and that the general popular trend towards religious observance and enlightenment may sooner or later make itself felt, and the Government may find it expedient to make further concessions. If Turkey is a democracy its rulers are bound to listen to the voice of the people.

The important fact is that when the Turkish Government decided to introduce religious instruction, it sought guidance from the foremost Arab centre of learning studies by sending a committee to Cairo. This eastward glance, coming as it does from Turkey, which only a quarter of a century ago turned its back on Islam and the Near East, is pregnant with meaning. Is it going to be transformed into a smile of recognition? Can it be the prelude to a reunion? It is very difficult and risky to forecast the future, but let us consider some of the signs of the times.

The syllabus that was adopted by the Ministry of Education is in the form of two text-books, the one for pupils in their fourth year of school and the other for pupils in their fifth year of school. The contents of these two books are on the whole no different from a series of four used in the Egyptian State primary schools. The Qur'an and the Hadith are well represented and cleverly used for a course which, within a definite religious frame and background, covers a certain amount of civics, ethics and religious history. Thus the two books contain among other subjects lessons on the love of parents, teachers, fatherland, nation, Muhammad's love of children and the place of morality in Islam.

The first book starts with the well-known Qur'anic formula "In the name of the Merciful and Compassionate God", and the second lesson is entitled "Ben Musulmanim", i.e., I am a Muslim. Later on there is a lesson devoted to the two formulae of the profession of the Islamic faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet". Nearly a third of the book is devoted to the life of Muhammad, treated more or less on traditional lines.

The second book also opens with the same formula, followed by a short Turkish poem from Suleyman Celebi's story of Muhammad's birth. Again with a good deal of the Qur'an and Hadith, the traditional subjects of belief in God, the angels, the (revealed) books, the prophets and messengers of God, the day of judgment, paradise and hell, are adequately covered. This is followed by another portion of early Muslim history built around the life of the Prophet. Finally, the "Five Pillars of Islam" are taken in some detail, especially the preparation for and actual performance of the various daily and occasional prayers. The book is concluded with six short chapters of the Qur'an in Arabic (written of course in Latin characters) followed by Turkish translations. On the last page is printed the call to prayer given in Arabic followed by the Turkish translation.

Return to Arabic Azam (Call to Prayer)

The call to prayer was another matter, not so far-reaching in importance as religious education, on which the Turkish Republic made another concession to public opinion. Among the measures enforced to "nationalise", or more accurately "Turkify" Islam, was the stipulation that the call to prayer must be recited by the muezzin in Turkish, not in Arabic. Soon after they came to power in 1950 the Republican Party made it permissible for the call to prayer to be made either in Arabic or Turkish. At present the muezzins invariably use the Arabic.

According to a Turkish youth, a university student, the Tijaniya order, suppressed and unrecognized officially like other orders, took a prominent part in the agitation which led

Angora goat famous for its wool
to this concession. There is evidence that despite the official ban, the orders are secretly active in Asia Minor and even in Istanbul. Their hold on the peasantry is said to be as strong as ever. If we remember that the Democratic Party, which is now in power with an overwhelming majority,

one of the oldest traditions of Muslim education, a tradition which frowned upon the receipt of material reward for teaching the Word of God. In a material world, however, necessitous teachers of Qur’ân reading, in common with others who impart knowledge of less sacred nature, must earn their means of living. My enquiries revealed that such teachers who do not charge fees from their disciples are either well-off themselves, or have modest incomes from private businesses or casual work, or, in a number of cases, are in the pay of pious patrons.

The only restrictions imposed on Qur’ân teachers in mosques as distinct from private houses is that they should be licensed. But this is not in reality a restriction, it is rather a guarantee that only those with suitable qualifications are allowed to undertake the task. Almost all those who are now learning to read the Qur’ân in Arabic, whether privately or under official auspices, are young, an evidence of the religious appeal which is said to be strongest among the youth. If the activities of the promoters of religious revival are concerted, this is an indication of the soundness of the foundation being laid.

**Mosques full of worshippers**

The mosques are full of worshippers on Fridays, and the worshippers are a cross-section of Turkish society: old and young, rich and poor, male and female. It is a notable fact that although communal prayer on Friday is not an

depends for this power on the predominant peasant vote, we may well understand at least the political expediency of yielding to popular demand concerning the question of the call to prayer.

Nor is this all. Apart from the broadcasting of Qur’ânic texts in Arabic by the State radio, the Qur’ân as a whole is now being taught in mosques under official auspices. I have seen a notice prominently displayed outside the village mosque in Anadoluhisar to this effect under the abbreviation T.C., which stands for Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (Turkish Republic). This is quite different from the voluntary teaching of the Qur’ân, which will be discussed later. It is part of a State service which through special schools aims at producing trained Ulama.

**Qur’ânic teachings in mosques revived**

Perhaps the most significant of the voluntary activities in religious awakening is the instruction given gratuitously in mosques and private houses to children and adults alike in learning to read the Qur’ân in Arabic according to the received traditional rules. This gratuitous teaching revives

obligation on women, large numbers of them pray regularly behind the Imam in mosques in the enclosures customarily reserved for them.

**Islamism highlighted in the press**

Interest in Islam as a faith, as a ritual, and as a way of life, are being fed and enriched by a voluminous literary and
journalistic output. Books, pamphlets and periodicals with the word "Islam" and the name "Muhammad" prominently displayed in their titles, tables of contents and texts, are quite numerous, as can easily be seen from visits to the bookshops and perusal of the catalogues of printing houses.

The press is naturally taking part in this popular movement of re-education for material gain if not for religious reasons. Apart from including a corner giving the Hijri month and year and the times of the call for the five daily prayers, a number of the dailies, especially Milliyet and Yeni Sabah, publish features on religious subjects. The independent paper Yen is has recently serialized a translation and commentary on the Qur'an accompanied by the Arabic text, given on two full pages as a gift to its readers, and this fact was advertised on the top right-hand corner of the first page of the paper.

Higher studies in Islam

On the academic level, Islamic subjects are studied at the two universities on the one hand, and by a private traditionalist group on the other. After its revival, the Faculty of Theology is now maintained in Ankara, but in Istanbul there is the Islam Tektikleri Enstitüsü. At the Faculty, which is well attended, religion is studied "scientifically" and some of the studies are published in a review. At the Institute, which is still in its formative period, specific Islamic subjects are studied and some of the results are published in a quarterly and occasional monographs. The traditionalists are responsible for a great many publications, but chiefly for *Islam-Türk Ansiklopedisi*, which was first issued with contributions by Ismail Hakkı Izmirli, former Dean of the Faculty of Theology, and others, as a rival and a corrective of the *Europæaideia of Islam*.

Another significant swing back to Islam in Turkish academic life is a change of attitude to national history. The national revolution and Atatürk himself stressed very much the history of the Turkish people before Islam, and fostered academic studies of the subject and its systematic teaching in State schools. After Atatürk's death this strongly national view of history was revised. Writing in 1953, a Turkish historian said: "During the last five years, it has been well understood that the most important period of Turkish history was the one which took place in Islam, and that Turkish history together with Islamic history constitutes an organic whole." Here again the return to the Islamic roots of Turkish society is bound to aid the general religious revival.

Translating the Qur'an into Turkish

The cumulative effect of these various activities is a virtual Muslim re-education. But any such re-education, voluntary or controlled, must necessarily have the Qur'an as its basis. In its attempt to "nationalize" religion the Turkish Republic early in its life wanted the Qur'an to be translated into Turkish. Atatürk himself asked the famous poet, Mehmet Akif, to undertake the task, but though he translated and published selections from the Qur'an, Akif refused, owing presumably not to lack of ability but to the strong force of tradition, which insists that the Qur'an is the literal word of God revealed to Muhammad in Arabic, and is untranslatable into any other tongue. It is an irony of fate that Akif's son-in-law, Omer Riza Dogru, has produced one of the current translations. The multi of Istanbul himself repeated to me the view which he firmly holds that it is beyond the power of any mortal to translate the Qur'an into any tongue. What we do is to attempt an approximation of its meanings (ma'ani), the sole justification being the fact that many Turks are now unable to read it in Arabic. The most recent translation of the Qur'an into Turkish was displayed in all bookshop windows in the summer of 1955, and one bookseller in Istanbul filled the whole of his display window with copies and opened the gilded first page of one copy to face a large lamp, with the symbolic allusion to the Qur'an as light.

Secularism as a State: deep Islamism as a people

Enough has been said to illustrate the extent and depth of the religious revival with a view to an understanding of the
forces which made it both expedient and imperative for the Turkish Government to adopt a revisionist policy towards religion. This policy is shared alike by the Democratic Party now in power and by their predecessors, the Republican Party. It is a curious fact that in a secular State Muslim festivals are still public holidays, and that religion (din) and even rite (mezheb) are still shown on official identity cards. The unconscious assumption by a headmaster of a State school and by an educated business man to which I referred earlier have such practice and the force of centuries of tradition as their justification. But they are two among millions. As regards faith and practice, these millions remained practically untouched by the past three decades of secularism. To them there is no question of revision; some practices laid dormant for some time and are now being revived. It is the rulers who are now beginning to draw conclusions from this prevailing mood among the people. On the whole popular demands are moderate and the official response is calculated.

There are extremes, however. On the one hand we find the very numerous followers of the mystic orders whose aim is restoration and not simply revision; on the other the indifferent and the atheist as well as the avowed Communist. The latter groups are naturally not interested in religion as a force in the life of the people, and if they could, would debar it from exercising any influence on State policy. But all trustworthy accounts agree that they are a small minority and are not likely to exercise any appreciable influence. The followers of the orders are, however, a force to reckon with both as regards numbers and as regards their capacity to go to extremities. But by their control or patronage of at least some of the religious revival the Turkish Government is safeguarding against extremists.

WHAT THEY THINK OF US . . .

RELATIONS BETWEEN LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT IN IRAQ, THE LEBANON, JORDAN AND EGYPT

By YUSIF A. SAYIGH

Many observers have tended to emphasize—even to exaggerate—the shortage of industrial entrepreneurship in the Arab East to the point of almost neglecting the serious implications of the scarcity of first-class, well-trained managerial talent. But even those persons who cannot be accused of such neglect have often failed to attach enough importance to the problem of the shortage of adequately trained personnel at the sub-managerial and foreman level—the "sergeant-major" level—in manpower. The obvious problem that seems to have caught the attention of educators and planners has been the low level of technical knowledge. The reply has been a rush to technical training at the engineer level. But the top technician, as much as the top administrator or manager, suffers from this thinness in sub-managerial or sub-technical ranks, the members of which alone can adequately form a link between the higher members of the entrepreneurial organization—managers and engineers—and labour. Thus communication downwards as well as upwards is faulty and most inadequate, even in large establishments with well-qualified management.

Although the seriousness of this problem is steadily gaining recognition, the supply of sub-managerial personnel is still quite seriously short by and large, particularly in Jordan, Syria and Iraq—in that order. The problem is of specially far-reaching significance because there is little that can be done about it in a short period of time. The services of a foreign manager can be hired far more easily than those of a dozen foremen. This is not only because an economy's requirements in managers will almost certainly be far smaller quantitatively than its requirements in supervisors and foremen, but because such personnel have to be indigenous, since on them will devolve the responsibility of interpreting managerial and technical instructions to the labour force.

Partly because of the personalized, rather than the institutionalized, type of relationship existing between management and labour, partly because of sociological factors which we shall discuss later, and partly because of the inadequacy of supply of sub-managerial personnel, the line hierarchy between management and labour is thin. Hence the predominantly direct relationship between management and labour to the point of interference by the former in the details of the conduct of work. In turn, this "familiarity" weakens the professional and hierarchical awe that management would otherwise inspire.

The third major aspect is that both management and labour carry their relative social positions and importance largely intact from the social into the economic realm. With the middle class definitely emerging but still not a predominant force except in the Lebanon, and Egypt under the revolutionary régime, and less so in Jordan, Syria and Iraq, positions of management power can still be largely associated with positions of social power; economic relations and attitudes are not nearly fully liberated from social relations and attitudes.

The phenomenon we are describing, coupled with certain economic forces to be discussed below in another section, manifests itself in an acceptance of authority by labour which

1 Courtesy. The Middle East Forum.
goes beyond the limits customary in more developed communities with a system of free enterprise. Thus labour accepts unduly long hours, slow advancement and promotion, the undertaking of personal service outside the labourer's duties proper, as well as the employer's failure to provide labourers with some training and the benefits of specialization, and his failure to install adequate safety measures and generally to provide proper conditions of work in factories. In short, labour's acceptance of authority due to the privileged social position of management leads to general acquiescence on the part of labour.

Here one might suggest the presence of a paradox in the situation: on the one hand a personalization relationship between management and labour; on the other the failure of management to do more for labour. The explanation will come out more clearly when we turn to discuss the determinants of relations in the next section. However, it ought to be pointed out here that it is perhaps the abundance of the supply of labour services that explains the apparent inconsistency in the behaviour of both management and labour.

A further manifestation of the non-annualization of labour relations must be singled out here independently of its importance, although it belongs more properly to the third major aspect just discussed. This is the rarity of written contracts between employers and employees. Some form of verbal contract is more often drawn up between the two parties, but this is usually a form that binds the employee and leaves the employer free to act as he sees fit. It is only in large establishments that written contracts are encountered.

**Determining clauses**

The search for determining causes that make management-labour relations what they are carries the observer deep into economic phenomena, but also far from the economic into the social, cultural and political fields.

The first pervasive and almost obvious determinant is the poverty and low income level of the segment of population which supplies industry with the labour it requires and, in Egypt, the Lebanon and Jordan, the presence of large reservoirs of manpower in the rural areas which, with only a slight economic pull in the urban centres, over-supply the industrial sector with unskilled labour. The pressure of labour supply on both natural and man-made resources and on economic opportunity weakens the bargaining power of workers and, conversely, strengthens the hand of management. The incomes of labourers and potential labourers in unskilled occupations are, on the whole, so low that they provide little, if any, over and above consumption requirements at a minimum level of subsistence, especially in countries with very dense populations. Social security services are nominal, even where provided by management under the law, a fact which further adds to the helplessness of the workers on realizing that they have little to fall back upon if they challenge the employer's authority, or leave or refuse employment because of unattractive terms. What aggravates matters further is the high degree of under-employment in the agricultural sectors of Egypt, Jordan and the Lebanon: this narrows the range of alternatives almost to nothingness in extreme cases.

The case of Iraq and Syria is quite different from that of Egypt, Jordan and the Lebanon as far as the population-land ratio is concerned, since in both Iraq and Syria large land resources remain untapped and can be brought under the plough with relatively little expense and effort. However, in Iraq other non-economic factors come into the picture and weaken the position of labourers, which otherwise — on the grounds of employment opportunities and low population pressure on resources — would be strong. Syrian industrial labour, on the other hand, is benefiting from the economic realities of the situation, especially since the Government has take a very protective attitude.

The second determinant is the low level of technical skills generally required, and the ease with which workers qualify for jobs, deriving mostly from the relative simplicity of the industrial organization and processes involved in most existing industries. Hence the presence of a large reservoir of unskilled labour with men competing for a limited number and range of job opportunities. This competition readies and adversely influences the position of semi-skilled and even of skilled workers. Thus, these last two groups, and especially the semi-skilled, feel little protection in the fact that they have some skills. The frontier between the unskilled and the semi-skilled, and between the last and the skilled, is quite narrow and movement across it is quite easy.

The very skilled are naturally in the strongest bargaining position, but the absolute strength of their position is a function of the extent to which employers appreciate and feel a need for their skills. The fact is that they do not always show such appreciation, particularly in the case of foremen and supervisors.

Fortifying the determinants already mentioned is low productivity, making for low wages, which in turn make for the poverty and physical and educational privations that keep productivity low. This sequence, probably appearing in a circle, disarms labourers in their — largely hidden — struggle with management for higher pay and better working conditions. Legislation fixing minimum wages and specifying conditions, which each of the countries surveyed except Jordan possesses, fails to be rigorously obeyed where it disagrees pointedly with economic realities. The avowed determination of governments to see laws implemented meticulously only forces most employers to be inventive in evading the laws or in compensating themselves deviously at the expense of labour.

**Organizational flux**

One of the main reasons for misunderstanding in the larger establishments is the weakness, already mentioned, of the intermediary link between management and labour, namely foremen and supervisory personnel. This category of personnel is perhaps the least satisfied in any country, since its members have one eye on a status they covet — that of management — and the other on a status they are supposed to keep — that of labour. In the countries under survey the foreman and supervisor class is generally of a low level of training, yet it shuns manual work even for purposes of demonstration to labourers further down in the manpower pyramid. Workers receive much less guidance from this class than is rightly expected by labour and management, and management allows the classless authority that it rightly expects, with the result that communication between management and labour and in the reverse direction is quite poor. The poverty of communication adds to the area of friction, misunderstanding, and non-co-operation existing for other reasons.

Moreover, in a social system characterized by blood ties and a form of "political feudalism", rigorous factory discipline is difficult to impose, unless it is administered with a heavy hand or on the strength of the social position of the manager or employer.

To the social system as a determinant of management-
labour relations must be added the factor of the novelty of large, complex-process establishments and the near-absence of a precedent or tradition of orderly, well-defined industrial relations to draw upon. The combination of both factors produces a situation in which discipline becomes difficult to impose without effort and in which authority has to be continuously reaffirmed, rather than one in which authority derives from the prestige of a smoothly operating managerial organization.

The state of flux in social systems shaken by the onset of industrialization and the substitution of new human relations for a long-established pattern of relations and loyalties, and the novelty of the processes, institutions, and economic and organizational relationships in the "new order" have not yet allowed Arab societies enough time for appropriate adjustment. The labour force is still going through the transitional period with all its expected confusions, maladjustments, discontents and perplexities.

What one sees as a result is often perplexing, paradoxical, and difficult to defend, if not to explain. Thus, in spite of poverty, workers do not readily respond to the attraction of greater income prospects outside their accustomed milieu. On the other hand, even if they move towards the areas of better economic opportunity, they display a surprisingly low degree of job-commitment for people who badly need every penny earned. And, in spite of growing familiarisation with a money economy and the widening range of spending possibilities, labourers (especially those only slightly removed from village origins) are often slow to respond to rising wages with greater effort. Labour legislation, well-meaning though it may be, has a large element of artificiality in the circumstances, because the forces that determine attitudes are perhaps so strong as to defy the effective operation of law — which goes far to explain on the one hand the power that management has over labourers, so long as they remain on the job, and on the other hand the relative helplessness of management as soon as labourers decide to leave in defiance of what one might consider the normal processes of supply and demand.

Another paradox can be seen in the amount of the psychology of the working classes, both through the penetrating effect of religious tradition with its injunctions for hard work, and through the compulsion of sheer economic need.

Trade Unions

A further point of great importance in connection with the nature of management-labour relations is that labour organization and trade unionism are still at a preliminary stage of development in these countries. Thus, even in Egypt, with a large industrial labour force and a union membership of over a quarter-million in some 900 unions, the movement is definitely weak — in fact much weaker than the figures indicate. The other countries under survey here show even slower progress. Syria has some 250 unions with nearly 28,000 members, of whom about 15 per cent are in industry — or less than 3 per cent, of the industrial labour force. Iraq has 12 unions with some 7,000 members; the Lebanon, 42 unions with 5,000 members; and Jordan, 23 unions with 4,000 members. Industrial labour unions are mixed with transport (and in some cases hotel and restaurant) unions in the figures just quoted for Iraq, the Lebanon and Jordan; it is therefore very difficult to gauge the relative power of the labour movement in industry. The only generalization that can safely be made is that unionization has not got very far at all outside Egypt, and that its power is even smaller than its numerical strength might suggest.

Labour legislation

Repeated reference has been made to labour laws and regulations and the degree of their effectiveness in protecting the labour force. Labour laws and regulations exist in each of the countries surveyed, though they vary in comprehensiveness. At the one extreme there is Egypt, with legislation covering most aspects of labour relations, such as recruitment and contracts, minimum wages, maximum hours of work, leave provisions, family allowances, special amenities, unionization, employers' liability to labourers on the occasion of illness, disability and death, apprenticeship, women's and children's employment, severance, strikes and disputes and the settlement of disputes.

At the other extreme is Jordan, which has no labour code, but only a few ad hoc provisions. The Lebanon, Syria and Iraq fall between the two extremes, with the Lebanon the least provided with legislation because it is least agreeable to Government interference in the operation of the economic system.

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the description of the major aspects and determinants of management-labour relations in the countries surveyed, but four seem more important than the rest.

1. The first of these relates to the role of Government in management-labour relations. The Governments of all the countries surveyed here, except Jordan, have a fully-fledged labour code and can be said to take a paternal attitude towards labour, although they have not freed themselves to an equal degree from the power of employers, which is used in an effort to dilute the effects of this paternal attitude.

2. Governments cannot for long and without serious consequences ignore economic realities. Thus, a policy tending to be very liberal in the setting of wages, in the offer of special amenities and fringe benefits, and generally in increasing the liability of employers towards labourers, cannot be implemented for long without pressure in a country where there is over-population at the prevailing level of technology and capital, and where labour productivity is low. Egypt is a case in point.

Conversely, a country showing little paternalism but where economic potential is great and is being exploited, and where there is under-population, cannot for long suppress the development and the growing strength of the labour movement without recourse to harshness. Where in spite of the inherent strong bargaining position of labour, as in Iraq and Syria, the Government becomes increasingly protective of labour (as in Syria), the danger will be great that the entrepreneurial class may become hesitant and may begin to discount its expectations of future returns increasingly heavily in view of the growing share of wages and other labour benefits out of an income that is not growing fast. On the other hand, a lax attitude towards the labour code and a policy in which the element of control predominated over that of paternalism (as in Iraq) might antagonize labour seriously by creating the feeling among workers that they were being deprived of the advantages of their strong bargaining position in the context of the country's economic situation.

The attitude of the Government in the Lebanon is more or less consistent with its theory and practice of general economic freedom. On the one hand there is a labour code covering several important aspects of management-labour
relations; on the other, management and labour are largely left alone to find their formula of peaceful co-existence, the Government intervening only when strife looms large.

The position in Jordan contains apparently contradictory elements which, however, make sense when viewed against the economic background of the country.

(3) The third conclusion concerns the distinct character of management-labour relations in very large establishments in virtually all the countries under survey. Here relations are more business-like and better organized than in smaller establishments.

(4) The last conclusion to be drawn is one relating to the state of confidence and of mutual understanding between management and labour. Failure to comprehend a situation of great change, both socio-political and economic, and to identify the relationship between cause and effect in it, has on the whole been made for less understanding between management and labour and in many cases has led to mutual suspicion. On the one hand management refuses to admit — or only grudgingly admits — the right of labour to organize and bargain collectively and to capitalize on its inherently strong position. The situation is reminiscent of the early stages of the struggle of the labour movement for justice and recognition in England, the United States and elsewhere in the West. But the historical parallel does not help labour to accept the situation; times have changed and labour in the Arab world has its eye on labour conditions in the more advanced countries today, not as they were 75 or 100 years ago.

On the other hand, sensing its growing power, labour is posing questions and demands not always justified by its productivity or by the hard facts of economic reality. In the same process of looking across at terms of employment and conditions of work in developed countries, labour overlooks the significant differences in productivity and in the general level of performance of the economies compared. In discovering its strength labour minimizes the necessity of restraint in the face of compelling economic facts. One might add that the discovery of strength and the manifestation of the quality of restraint are not likely to be reconciled for many years to come.

**ISLAM AND PRODUCTIVE CREDIT**

By SAYED YAQUB SHAH

What the Qur’ān prohibits is Riba, but that term has not been defined therein or in any authentic book of Traditions. There is a weak saying to the effect that a loan which earns profit is Riba, but weak sayings are usually considered unreliable. Moreover, according to this saying, any amount over and above the principal sum loaned, paid voluntarily by the borrower at the time of repayment, would not be permissible, while the Prophet Muhammad has himself made such payments. I have for these reasons ignored this tradition. The Qur’ān prescribes the penalties of hell-fire and war with God and His prophet for Riba. These penalties appear rather severe in the case of interest on productive loans, which, after all, are more useful than injurious — another reason for ignoring the saying alluded to above.

**Productive credit not in vogue in the Prophet’s day**

As the Qur’ān and the Traditions do not define the term, how should it be interpreted? The Qur’ān says: “Lo! We have made it a Qur’ān in Arabic that haply ye may understand.” Obviously, we should find out what the Arabs of those days understood by Riba. Unfortunately our literature gives us little guidance on the subject beyond citing a few instances of what was called Riba in those days. According to Imam Malik, a person used to grant a loan to another person for a fixed period and when that period expired, the lender asked the borrower that he should either return the loan or increase the amount. Tabari, Mujahid, Khazin, Behaqi and Sayuti all agree that that was the then prevalent form of Riba in pre-Islamic Arabia. It will be noted that under this arrangement Riba was demanded when the borrower had already failed to meet his obligation, which placed him in a very weak position and opened the door to extortion and oppression. To the same category belongs the example cited by Qatada, who says that when a sale was made, the purchaser was allowed a definite period for the payment of the price, and if payment was not made on the due date, extension was granted and the price increased. According to Jassas, when a loan was taken it was settled that after a specified time the loan would be returned and so much paid in addition. Razi says a loan was granted for a specified period and Riba recovered thereon monthly. When that period expired, the borrower was asked to return the principal, and if he could not do so, he was allowed further extension and the Riba increased. It seems that the instances cited by Jassas and Razi were either rare or confined to a particular part of the country, and not known generally; otherwise the other writers would also have alluded to them. These instances do not indicate the existence of productive or commercial credit. The only example which may be said to have some remote relationship to commercial credit is that given by Qatada — a case of deferred payment — in which also the rate of interest is not fixed until the purchaser has failed to make payment of the price on the due date. Islam, which places great emphasis on fair dealings, could not tolerate such an iniquitous form of credit. I have made much fruitless effort to ascertain whether there is any evidence to show that the Arabs used to finance their trade with interest-bearing loans. I have been told that no specific mention has been made of such loans in Islamic books, but they show that (i) agriculturists and date growers used to take loans, (ii) there were large settlements of prosperous Jews who were well known for lending money, and (iii) the Meccans were mostly traders who must have borrowed money for their trade. Taking these items serially, the loans to agriculturists of those days cannot be called productive; these were distress loans, as can be seen from the conditions of the peasants, even in these days, in most of the under-developed countries. “Like the consumption loan, then, the agricultural loan becomes a basis of extortion and oppression.”

“It is scarcely denied by competent modern critics that, at some period at any rate, during the Middle Ages there was such an absence of opportunities for productive investment as relative to justify this strong prejudice against interest; the only difference of opinion is as to how late that period reaches.” Under such circumstances, when money was borrowed, it was usually to meet some sudden stress of misfortune or for an unproductive expenditure. “Lending at interest took rise in the medieval centuries largely as a matter
of accommodating princes who needed and could not raise enough money for war and other public purposes. Contrary to current ideas, lending was not originally developed as a way of financing commerce. The Venetians, Dutch, Hanseatic, British and other merchants up to the seventeenth century financed their operations with partner's capital contributions.\(^\text{17}\) Commercial credit had disappeared from the larger part of Europe during the Middle Ages, yet the Jewish moneylenders in those countries could flourish. The Jews of Arabia not only tilled the soil and reared palm-groves but were also skilled armourers and jewellers.\(^\text{18}\) Their presence in Arabia should not necessarily imply the existence of interest-bearing loans for commercial purposes, especially as the caravan trade of the Arabs did not stand in need of such credit. The sleeping partnership was much in favour, especially the partnership for the half which supposes 50 per cent partnership in the profits by the sleeping partner.\(^\text{19}\) If the Hanseatic League could finance its trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with partner's capital, why should we presume that the Arabs required the assistance of Jewish money-lenders for their simpler trade in the sixth century?

**Trade conditions in Arab society**

As stated above, the caravan trade of the Arabs did not require interest-bearing capital for its successful operation. Turning now to the financiers, we find that Usman Ibn Affan and Abbas Ibn Mutallab, well-known Meccans and distinguished companions of the Prophet, used to lend money, but their clients were date growers, and it was this kind of Riba which the Prophet proscribed.\(^\text{20}\) At the time of plucking, the cultivator would submit that if the creditors took half the produce, leaving the other half for him and his family, he would give double the quantity next year. In the following year they would receive the additional quantity as stipulated. This matter was reported to the Prophet, who forbade them to repeat this again, so that they received only the principal.\(^\text{21}\) Such credit cannot be termed productive.

It is well known that Muslim writers have gone into minute details of the events of the Prophet's time, especially those relating to the interpretation of the Qur'an. If in all this voluminous literature no mention has been made of productive interest, and if none of the cited examples reveal its existence, it will perhaps not be incorrect to assume that the then prevalent system of credit consisted of consumption and emergent loans only. If this is conceded, then, in the light of what some eminent Ulema like Ibn Qudama and Ibn Taimia have held — that the Qur'anic prohibition applies only to such Riba as was prevalent in pre-Islamic Arabia\(^\text{22}\) — the ban should now also be confined to interest on consumption and emergent loans or to other similar transactions equally injurious to the society. In this connection it may be pertinent to mention that what the Prophet proscribed in his last sermon at Mecca was Riba-ul-Jahiliya, that is Riba in force in pre-Islamic Arabia and not every kind and form of interest.

**The principle of more good from evil**

Islamic laws, especially those governing human relations, are intended to promote good and remove evil. This principle is enunciated in more than one place in the Qur'an. Let us take the verse relating to wine and games of chance.\(^\text{23}\) The Qur'an says:

"They question thee about wine and games of chance. In both is great evil and (some) good for men but the evil of them is greater than their good."

Commenting on this verse, Maulana Abul Kalam says:\(^\text{19}\)

"Usually it was thought (and even now some people think) that wine helps in fighting and betting in acquiring wealth. This mistake has been corrected and a basic truth explained that we should not look only on the beneficial aspect of a thing, because nothing is absolutely devoid of good; but should compare its good and evil. That which leads to more evil should be abandoned, even if it may have some good in it, and what leads to more good should be adopted, even if there be some fear of evil." Productive credit does more good than harm. In a community whose means of production are not nationalised, it is indispensable for large-scale industry. Does it not look strange that a society which tolerates big landlords and rentiers should penalize productive interest severely?

The true meaning of a passage can be understood only if it is read in the context in which it occurs. The orders relating to Riba occur among verses extolling charity and almsgiving. The former themselves contain the verse "God has blighted Riba and made almsgiving fruitful."\(^\text{20}\) This juxtaposition of Riba and almsgiving has furnished a reasonable basis for the view held by some that the prohibition is meant to protect the indigent.\(^\text{21}\) In other words it should be confined to consumption and emergent loans. Maulana Abul Kalam's translation of the relevant verses lends support to this view. His translation is in Urdu and I have tried to reproduce its meaning in English.\(^\text{22}\)

1. Those who (in place of helping the needy) charge (them) interest.
2. God has blighted interest and made almsgiving fruitful (i.e., He wishes to efface interest-charging whose object is to enrich oneself at the expense of the needy and to encourage charity whose object is to meet the needs of the needy and to help them in place of exploiting them).

**An objection answered**

The view advanced above that Riba refers to interest on consumption loans is based on the assumption that productive credit was not in vogue in pre-Islamic Arabia. This view has been criticized on the ground that I have dealt with various kinds of credit while what has been prohibited is Riba — the excess. What is Riba in the case of a consumption loan is Riba in the case of a productive loan also. This might sound illogical but is not so. As has been shown in the first two paragraphs, we cannot interpret Riba correctly until we find out how this term was understood by the Arabs of those days. If they were familiar with consumption credit only, Riba would carry a special significance for them. This significance, which would involve the association of interest with an instrument of exploitation and oppression, should be preserved in our interpretation also.

Some eminent Orientalists have painted the Arabia of the Prophet's time as a humming human hive in which finance, banking, business and speculation flourished, and commerce enjoyed the aid of credit. In many such cases I have tried to trace the source of information in regard to commercial credit, and whoever has been kind enough to answer my inquiry has referred me to Lammens, the distinguished author of La Macaque a la Veilla de l'Hegira. Let us now see what Lammens has to say. In chapter viii of that book he writes: "We are not sufficiently informed about the Meccan firms, banks and commercial centres and the methods of trade in vogue. Let us make a brief inquiry from the Qur'an as the traditional authors do not speak
about it.” He then proceeds to make deductions from the Qur’ân in respect of commerce, credit, etc., to which every student of that book will tell us are unwarranted conjectures.

No development possible without interest-fed finance

Without large-scale industry a country is bound to remain weak, especially as defence has become very expensive. For under-developed countries foreign trade is even more important than internal trade because they depend on the former for machines and other essential goods. It is difficult to visualize how such countries can develop without the aid of credit. Some cite the example of Russia, but they overlook that in Communist countries all productive wealth is nationalised, which method is not acceptable to our Ulema. During the earlier period of Islam, commerce and trade could be carried on without interest-fed finance, and Muslim jurists were not compelled to study the question of Riba critically.21 According to Shah Waliullah, Ijtihad is not permitted until the occasion arises. When large-scale industry came into existence and the need for loan capital arose, the Ulema had closed the door of Ijtihad and the rulings given by them were merely echoes of the decisions taken by their predecessors many centuries earlier under very different circumstances. Besides the preponderant position obtained by productive investment,22 “the work of credit in the modern age differs from that of earlier times in two chief ways. Formerly a great part of it was given by professional money-lenders to spendthrift heirs; now it is chiefly given by people who are living within their incomes to States which do not spend recklessly, or to strong businesses, in the hands either of persons or joint stock companies. Again, formerly those who received it were generally hard-pressed by those to whom they had incurred obligations: now they are, for the greater part, powerful businesses engaged in production, transport and commerce.”23 Decisions which do not take account of these factors should not be binding in modern times.

The principle of avoiding harshness

The Qur’ân and Traditions lay stress on the principle that religion is not meant to be harsh of injurious. The Qur’ân says: “God desireth for you ease; He desireth not hardship for you.”24 Maulana Maududi says: “It is unanimously held in Islam that if a law becomes harsh or injurious, it may be relaxed.”25 The above discussion has, I hope, brought out that there is no indisputable basis for bringing productive interest under Riba. In the circumstances, as productive credit is essential for the development and strength of a country in this competitive age, why cannot the interpretations given by the Ulema centuries ago be relaxed? In the very verses prohibiting Riba a principle has been enunciated: “Oppress not nor shall ye be oppressed.”26 A relaxation keeping this principle in view will be welcome and will, it appears to me, cover productive interest which is not a source of oppression. Hazrat Umar is reported to have said that it would have given him the greatest pleasure if the Prophet had explained the correct position regarding Khilaftat, Kalala and Riba. The Prophet’s silence on these important questions is significant. Perhaps he wished to leave the matter to the discretion of the millat so that it could take decisions according to the circumstances of the time. Muslim countries, if they wish to develop and progress, should ask their Ulema to re-examine the question of Riba and take fresh decisions, within the spirit of the Qur’ân but unfettered by precedents, which may enable them to meet the challenge of modern finance.

Some Ulema have concluded from the sayings of the Prophet relating to Riba-al-Fazl that commercial credit is prohibited. Riba-al-Fazl relates to hand-to-hand exchange of articles of the same kind and prohibits the taking of any excess. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan holds, and I venture to agree with him, that the word Riba occurring in some of these sayings has got no connection with the Riba prohibited by the Qur’ân and has been used in the sense of defective sale. It seems to me that this prohibition was intended to exhort people to sell their goods for money in place of bartering them — an essential step for economic progress. The beginning was made with articles of the same kind. The following saying, which appears in the Bukhari as well as the Muslim, is important from this point of view:

“The Governor of Khyber brought superior kind of dates (as part of the revenue). The Prophet asked him whether all dates of Khyber were of that quality. He replied: Oh, no, Prophet of God. What (mixed) dates we get, we exchange, two baskets full of them with one basket full of these, and (sometimes) three baskets full with two. The Prophet said. Do not do this. (First) sell the collected (dates) for dirhams and then (purchase) the superior dates with dirhams. And the same orders apply when exchange is made by weight.”

Summing up

To sum up: (i) there is no authentic definition of Riba, and, as an undefined term, it should be interpreted as understood by the Arabs of those days.

(ii) There is no evidence of the existence of commercial credit in pre-Islamic Arabia, and, presumably, the only form of credit with which the Arabs were familiar was that relating to consumption and emergent loans. As such, Riba would for them be associated with extortion and oppression, and this association should be preserved in our present-day interpretation also.

(iii) As the trade of the period prior to the emergence of large-scale industry did not stand in need of interest-fed capital, no occasion arose for Ijtihad on the question of commercial interest, but when the era of large-scale industry arrived, the Ulema had already closed the door of Ijtihad, and their rulings were mere echoes of the decisions taken by their predecessors centuries earlier under quite different circumstances.

(iv) With the present-day changed conditions, it is necessary to re-examine the question of interest and take fresh decisions in the light of the Qur’ân. Such an examination would, it seems to me, lead to the restriction of the prohibition to interest on loans of the category of consumption and emergent loans.

My submission, therefore, is that outside the field of loans which lend themselves to extortion and oppression of the needy, like consumption, agricultural, etc., loans, it is open to the Government of a country to make its own decisions subject, of course, to the general principles enunciated by the Qur’ân or the Prophet. In regard to those within that field, the community must find the capital for loans without interest. One way of doing this is that the Government should collect the Zakat and advance loans through co-operative societies. Whether the actual expenses of administering such funds can be recovered from the borrowers or not is a minor question on which I would not
like to express an opinion at this stage. It may, however, be interesting to know that in Hyderabad-Deccan, while it was under the Nizam, a co-operative society existed which did not charge interest on the loans granted by it to its members.

1 Note by Maulana Haneef Bhujiani, p. 392, of Sayed Rais Ahmad Jafarji's translation of Professor Abu Zahra's Life of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.
3 The Qur'an, 43: 3.
5 J'Amil Bayan, Vol. 4, p. 35.
7 Tafsir, Vol. 1, p. 203.
8 Assimani-ul-Kabara, Vol. 5.
10 Sad, by Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, Vol. 1, p. 35.
12 W. J. Ashley's Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, Part 1, p. 156.
13 Mr. Lawrence Dennis quoted by Dr. A. I. Qureshi in Islam and the Theory of Interest, p. 197.
14 Jewish Encyclopedia, article on Arabia.
15 Encyclopedia of Islam, article on Mecca.
17 The Islamic Review, February 1957, Article on "Islamic View of Riba" by Mr. Muhammad Abus Saud.
18 The Qur'an, 2: 219.
19 Tarjumanul Quran.
20 The Qur'an, 2: 276.
22 Money, Credit and Commerce, by Alfred Marshall, Book III, Chapter 1.
23 The Qur'an, 2: 185.
25 The Qur'an, 2: 279.
26 Al-Farang, by Maulana Shibli Naumani, p. 484.
28 Muarrif for May 1944, pp. 211-216.

THE STORY OF THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE

Uplands,
Burley,
Ringwood, Hants.

The Imam,
The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking.

Dear Sir,

I saw your Mosque, with invitation to enquire about it, on my way by train on a day trip to London last Saturday, and should be pleased to know something of Islam in this country.

It also occurs to me that it may be of interest to you that I am a Deputy for "Britain South" (which includes Surrey) in the Commonwealth of World Citizens (Headquarters: 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8). Indeed, it was to attend one of their meetings that I happened to be on the train to London. I hope, therefore, that you will also be interested in what I am doing.

Yours faithfully,
The Very Revd. J. P. GRANT.

THE REPLY

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter dated 25th January.

This Mosque was built in 1889 by an Orientalist, Dr. G. W. Lietzner, who had spent a lifetime in northern India, mostly Lahore, as a linguist and educationist. On return after retirement, he brought with him the idea of setting up a centre of Oriental culture, with a mosque and a temple, symbolizing the two main religions of India — Islam and Hinduism.

In 1912 a Muslim missionary, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din by name, set up an Islamic Mission here, with a view to promoting better understanding of Islam among the British people. He started a monthly journal in English, The Islamic Review, which today has a world-wide circulation.

During the years, as the misconceptions about Islam went on dispelling and the truth about it became better known, people interested in religion discovered that the unity of the Godhead and universal human equality and brotherhood, which formed the two basic teachings of Islam, and the respect shown towards all other revealed religions and their Founders, especially Jesus, were just the echoes of their own hearts, and declared their faith in Islam.

Among them were men and women of all classes and social strata — common men and women, intellectuals, aristocrats, military and naval officers. Their numbers by now go into four figures. One of the earliest of the upper-class converts was Lord Headley, followed years later by Sir Archibald Hamilton. Among the earliest converts from among the intellectuals was the late Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, an author of repute who subsequently became translator of the Qur'an into English. Habibullah Lovegrove was the President of a Spirituists Society in London. Quite a number came from among the military and naval officers. One of the British Muslims, a Cambridge graduate, Mr. B. Pickard, has named his house at Hertford as Dar-al-Allah (The House of Allah). Another, a University lecturer, Mr. David Cowan, delivered the Khutba (Sermon) here at this Mosque at one of our annual 'Id festivals, which are attended by about 3,000 people. A retired Commander of the British Navy, Comdr. P. Robinson, is a frequent writer to our organ, The Islamic Review, on Islamic topics.

This in brief is the story of Islam in this country. But no letter can give the full picture, which you can get only by
a personal visit. You will be welcome any day, should you
care to come and see things for yourself.

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN,
Imam.

ISLAM’S APPEAL
12 Park Road,
Okehampton,
Devon.
25th January 1959.

The Imam,
The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking.

Dear Sir,

On the rare occasions when I travel to London the train
passes the Mosque at Woking, where there are notices asking
people to call at, or write to, the Mosque. On the strength
of this I am writing because for many years Islam has
appealed to me.

The basic principles of both Islam and Christianity appear
to be the same, but the creed of Islam is simple and straight-
forward, whilst that of Christianity rather complicated and
somewhat contradictory.

On the other hand I feel that Islam is the more difficult
to live up to.

I have come to the conclusion that, apart from upbringing, tradition and environment, religion is largely a matter of
temperament.

When serving in ships which spent a good deal of time
in Turkish waters between 1919 and 1923, I bought a certain
number of books on the subject, including an English edition
of the Qur’ân. I have recently been re-reading these books,
but a great many changes have occurred since they were
written.

At the moment my mind is in a muddle with the various
conflicting emotions uncertainty brings.

I would be most grateful if you would advise.

Yours faithfully,
A. F. FELLOWES (Cmdr., R.N.).

THE REPLY

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter of 25th January.

The muddle-mindedness you find yourself in is exactly
the state which it is the object of the Qur’ânic revelation to
remove. It claims to be a healing for the mind, to dispel
doubt, and lead from darkness into light. If you look up
your copy of the Qur’ân, you will find this promise held out
in these very words. Indeed, a sure knowledge of God is the
only cure for the daily growing mental conflicts and distrac-
tions. The modern man is suffering from what I should call
the split personality. Of this is born much of his mental
agony. What is needed is to explore what should serve as an
integrating principle of life. A sure knowledge of God and
faith in His all-comprehensive Providence alone can give
that integration. The Qur’ân calls this integration as a “firm
handle”, which knows no breaking-down. That is what
modern man needs. He can span the vast expanse of the
space. But he has not been able to fathom the depths of his
own being, its working, and how to ensure its smooth
harmonious working. That is the vacuum which the Qur’ân,
as the only sure, extant Word of God, can fill.

You are right that the basic teachings of Islam and
Christianity are the same, if by Christianity you mean the
way Jesus preached, not the creeds and rituals heaped
thereon by the Church. Jesus wanted to extricate the spirit
of religion from underneath the whole debris of rites and
rituals with which the Pharisees had heaped thereon. The Church
did the same to his simple teaching, burying it under a dead
weight of ceremonialism and formalism.

The Qur’ân says it is a recapitulation of Jesus’s teaching,
shorn of all subsequent man-made trappings.

Islam is not difficult to live up to, as you seem to
apprehend. It is the just natural way of living a healthful
life. The Qur’ân says God does not want man to do anything
which is beyond his capacity.

I am sending you under a separate cover a copy of The
Teachings of Islam, which, I hope, you will find of some
help towards resolving the mental confusion you are
experiencing.

If you could spare time, you may pay us a visit on a
Sunday forenoon, when we have a small community meeting.

Yours truly,
MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN,
Imam, The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking, Surrey.

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Basmüftü Dr. Hasan Efendi Dana, Lefkose, Cyprus (Correspondence in Turkish and Arabic).

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Tampereen Isalmuaisen Seurakunta, Vellamonkatu 21, Tampere, Finland (Mr. Habibur-Raahim Shakir, Imam) (Correspondence in Arabic, Turkish or English).

GERMANY
Der Vorstand der Moschee zu Berlin, Brienerstrasse 7/8, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Germany (Correspondence in English and German).

Islamische Gemeinschaft in West-Europe, e.V., Achaterstrasse 4, Muenchen 54, Germany (Correspondence in German, Arabic, Turkish, English and Russian).

Deutsche Muslim Liga, Schlesischestrasse 27, P.O.Box 1486, Bremen, Germany (Correspondence in German or English).

Der Vorstand der Moschee in Hamburg, Wieckstrasse 24, Hamburg-Stellingen, Germany (Correspondence in German or English).

Islamische Gemeinde in Hamburg, E.V., Postschilschaff 1053, Hamburg, Germany (Mr. Omar Schubert, Chairman) (Correspondence in German).

Die Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, Oderfelderstrasse 18, Hamburg 13, Germany (Mr. Abdal Latif, Chairman) (Correspondence in English, German and Urdu).

Islamische Gemeinde Deutschland, Rheinhauserstrasse 12, Mannheim, Germany (Mr. Abdullah Weisser, Chairman) (Correspondence in German).

Islamische Gemeinde in Hamburg, P.O. Box 12, Hamburg 36, Germany (Mr. Ali Emari, Secretary-General) (Correspondence in German).

Hafiz Nureddin Nakib Chodscha Namangani, Imam for the Refugees, Dachauerstrasse 9, Muenchen, Germany (Correspondence in German).

NETHERLANDS
Mr. Muhammad Khalil Ibrahim, L.L.B., Barrister-at-Law, Noordeinde 14 B, Den Haag, Netherlands (Correspondence in English).

De Moskee, Oostduinlaan 79, Den Haag, Netherlands (Correspondence in English or Arabic).

Friends of Islam, Stadiumplein 11/2, Amsterdam-Z (Mr. S. M. Tufail, Secretary) (Correspondence in English, Urdu and Dutch).

YUGOSLAVIA
Vrhovno Islamsko Starjesinstvo, Sarajevo, Save Kovacevica ulica broj 2, Yugoslavia (Correspondence in Arabic, Serbo-Croat and Turkish).

Ulema-Medzilis, Dvoriste Careve Dzamije, Sarajevo, Obala, Yugoslavia (Correspondence in Arabic, Serbo-Croat and Turkish).

Ulema-medzilis, Skopje, Macedonia, Yugoslavia (Correspondence in Turkish and Arabic).

THE UNITED KINGDOM
The Editor of The Islamic Review, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England (Correspondence in English, French, Arabic, Urdu and German).

The Muslim Society in Great Britain, 18 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, England (Correspondence in English).

The Young Men's Muslim Association and Islamic Cultural Centre, Regent's Lodge, Park Road, London, N.W.8, England (Correspondence in Arabic and English).

Bosnian Muslim Society (Mr. A. Lepic), 26 St. Andrew's Terrace, Listerhill, Bradford, England (Correspondence in English and Croat).

The London Mosque, 63 Melrose Road, London, S.W.18 (Correspondence in English, Urdu and Arabic).

SWITZERLAND
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Ahmadiyya Centre, Hogbergsg, 32 A II, Stockholm So, Sweden.

FRANCE
Le Mosque de Paris, Paris, France (Correspondence in Arabic and French).

POLAND
Professor Dr. Wieslaw Jezierski 4/22 Sloneczna St. Krakow 1 (Correspondence in English and German).

SPAIN
Ahmadiyya-Centre, Lista 58, Madrid, Spain.

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Hasan Effendi Hilmi, Moufti de Comotini, Trace, Greece (Correspondence in Turkish, Greek and Arabic).

Hafiz Ali Reshad (Review "Peygamber Binası"), Egnatias 37, Comotini, Greece (Correspondence in Turkish and Arabic).

AUSTRALIA
Dr. Mohammed Alem Khan, 181 Street Street, Adelaide, South Australia, Australia (Correspondence in English).

The Muslim Mosque al Perth, West Australia (Correspondence in English).

Mr. Salek Basalama, 226 Leicester Street, Carlton, Melbourne (Correspondence in Arabic and English).

Mr. A. Abdal, Metropole Arcade, 377 Rourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia (Correspondence in English).

Mr. M. A. Alvie, High Commission of Pakistan, 115 Pitt Street, Sydney, Australia (Correspondence in English).

Islamic Society of South Australia (Inc. 1955), Box 1694 N, G.P.O., Adelaide, South Australia (Correspondence in English).

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