

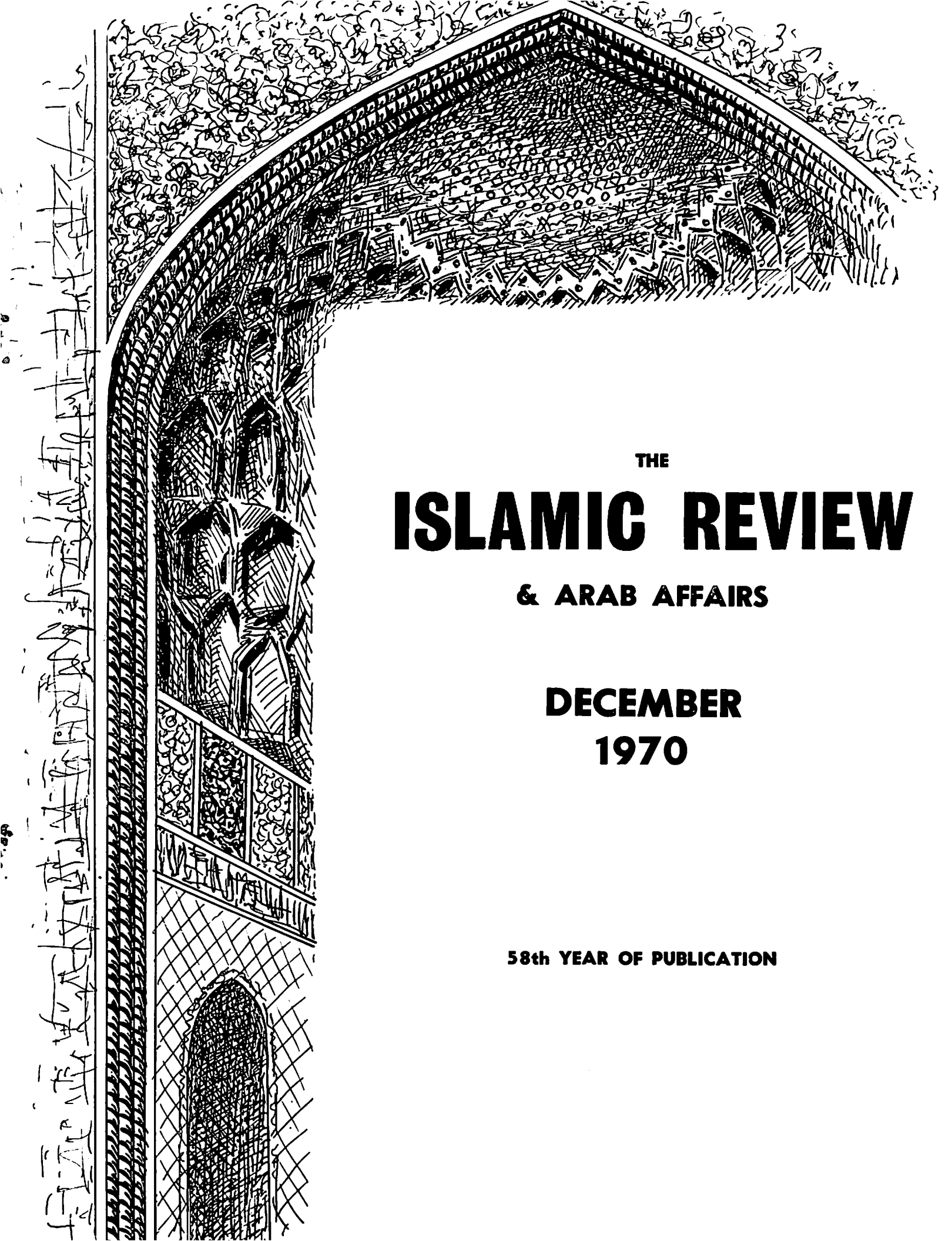
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December 1970



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& ARAB AFFAIRS

**DECEMBER
1970**

58th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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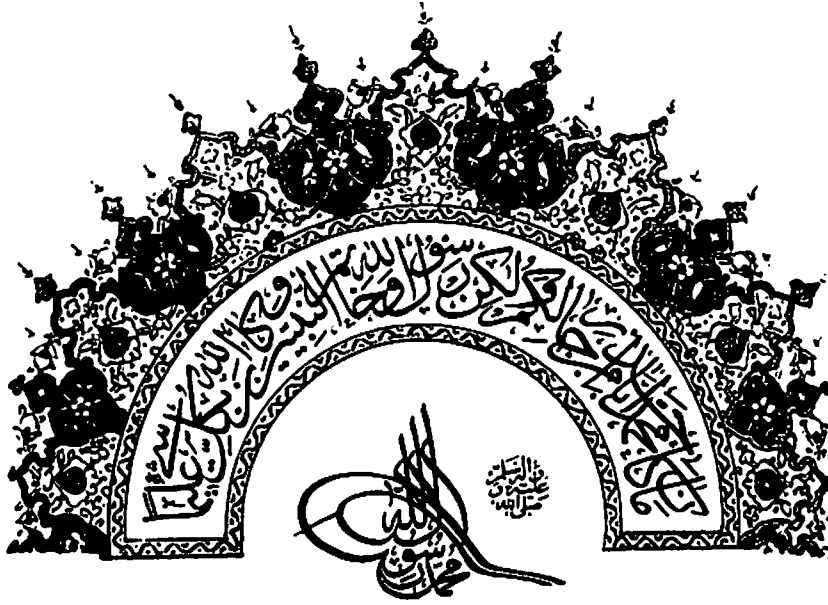
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"Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Messenger of God and the last of the Prophets. And God has full knowledge of all things"
The Qur'an, 33 : 40)

"There is no prophet after me" (The Prophet Muhammad)

Vol. 58 No. 12

DECEMBER 1970 C.E.

Shawwal 1390 A.H.

The Text of The Joint *Communique* of the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers,

held at Karachi, Pakistan from 26 to 29 December, 1970

Karachi, December 29, 1970

1. In conformity with the resolution of the Jeddah Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers adopted on 25 March, 1970, the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers met in Karachi from 26 to 28 December, 1970. The following countries participated in the Conference:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Chad, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, The Lebanon, Libya, The South Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mauretania, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Su'udí Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Tunisia, Turkey, and The United Arab Republic, The Yemen Arab Republic.

2. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization attended the Conference as observers.

3. The Conference elected His Excellency 'Abd al-Muttalib Malik, head of the Pakistan delegation, as Chairman,

and His Excellency Mr. 'Umar Arteh, Foreign Minister of Somalia, as *Rapporteur*.

4. The Conference expressed its profound sorrow for the demise of President Jamál 'Abd al-Násir, eminent leader of the Muslim world, and paid tribute to his rôle in world peace and justice.

5. The Conference also expressed its profound grief for the cyclonic disaster which had recently struck Pakistan and extended its deepest sympathy to the victims.

6. The delegates thanked the Government and people of Pakistan for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded to them, and for the excellent arrangements made for the Conference.

7. The Chairman informed the Conference that in pursuance of the decisions of the Islamic Conference of Foreign

Ministers held in Jeddah, the Government of Malaysia had nominated as Secretary General Y. T. M. Tunngu 'Abdul Rahmán Putra al-Haj, former Prime Minister of Malaysia. The Chairman recalled that the various positions which the delegations expressed in Jeddah regarding the establishment of the Secretariat were still maintained.

8. In his inaugural welcome address to the Conference, His Excellency General Muhammad Yahyá Khán, President of Pakistan, particularly emphasized that Islam is a religion of peace, but peace could endure only if it was founded on honour and justice. This objective of peace with honour could be achieved through a meaningful association among the Muslim peoples based on mutual co-operation and solidarity.

He voiced the hope that, inspired by the common heritage of Islam, the Conference would identify steps toward the achievement of the common interest of the Muslim peoples.

9. In this address Tunngu 'Abdul Rahmán expressed appreciation for the confidence placed in him by the Conference and the hope that his office would provide an organ for co-ordinating the various activities for co-operation among Muslim countries.

The Conference then adopted the following agenda:

1. Latest developments in the Middle East and moral and material support by participating States to the people of Palestine in their fight for liberation.
2. Examination of the serious situation resulting from the indescribable acts of aggression committed by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea.
3. Organization and financing of the Secretariat's activities.
4. Economic, Cultural and Social co-operation among participating States:
 - (a) International Muslim Bank for Trade and Development.
 - (b) International Muslim News Agency.
 - (c) Creation and reinforcement of Islamic Cultural Centres across the world.
5. Observance of al-Aqsá Day on the 21 of August, 1971.
6. Date and venue of the Third Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers.

The Middle East

10. The Conference,

REAFFIRMED the resolutions of the Rabat Islamic Summit Conference and the Jeddah Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which had drawn the attention to the dangerous situation in the Middle East and the fact that Israeli occupation of the territories of three Islamic countries constitutes a violation of the United Nations Charter, a defiance of the United Nations Resolutions and a serious and permanent threat to peace.

CONSIDERED it intolerable that Israel should continue its occupation of the territories of three Islamic countries and persist in a policy of force.

REITERATED the inadmissibility of the annexation by force of territories and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories.

DECLARED that respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is indispensable for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

DEMANDED the restoration of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine to its usurped homeland and reaffirmed its support of their struggle of national liberation.

REAFFIRMED the determination of the participating States to:

- (a) Intensify their political, moral and material support to the Palestine people in its rightful struggle for liberation;
- (b) Facilitate the establishment of representation of the Palestine Liberation Movement in the Islamic countries;
- (c) Denounce the Zionist movement as a racial, aggressive and expansionist movement conflicting with all the noble human ideals and constituting a permanent threat to world peace.

DEMANDED the implementation of resolutions which the United Nations had adopted on these questions.

11. The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers viewed with satisfaction the Cairo and Amman Agreements calling for fraternity and co-operation between the Government of Jordan and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and for a complete joint co-ordination of their efforts against the Zionist enemy.

12. The Conference, therefore, appealed to the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and to the Palestinian Liberation Organization and to other concerned parties to adhere to the complete Jordanian-Palestinian national unity.

13. The Conference noted the support given by Christians to the defence of the sanctity of the Holy Places, and to the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine. It welcomed co-operation between Muslims and Christians in order to safeguard and strengthen human spiritual values, and appreciated the outstanding rôle of The Lebanon in promoting such co-operation internally as well as internationally.

Al-Aqsá Day

14. The Conference recalled the declarations of the Rabat Summit and the Jeddah Conference following the desecration of al-Aqsá Mosque, which took place under the military occupation of the Holy City by Israel and reaffirmed their decision to commemorate the 21 of August, 1971, as al-Aqsá Day.



A view of the opening session of the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Karachi, Pakistan, on 26 December, 1970

Guinea

15. The Islamic Conference, having heard with attention all declarations about the serious situation created by the indescribable act of aggression by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea,

EXPRESSED its entire sympathy with the people of Guinea in their rightful struggle for the safeguard of their liberty and sovereignty.

CONDEMNED Portugal very strongly for its aggression against Guinea and endorsed the U.N. Security Council Resolution 290 of 5 December, 1970.

EXPRESSED to the people of Guinea, its Government, and its leader, President Ahmed Sekou Touré, the solidarity of the Muslim countries and lends them their support against colonialism and imperialism, and in their important contribution in the general struggle of liberation in Africa.

INVITED the Member States of the Islamic Conference to extend all possible material assistance to the Republic of Guinea.

International Muslim Bank of Trade and Development

16. The Conference, having examined the proposal submitted by Pakistan and the proposal made by the U.A.R. relating to undertaking a study of the idea of establishing either an Islamic Bank or an Islamic Federation of Banks, recommended the following:

1. The U.A.R. should be charged with the responsibility of making a comprehensive study of this project in the light of its own proposal, and in the light of the discussions that took place in the Conference. The U.A.R. shall submit the result of the study to the Secretary-General in six months time from now.
2. The Secretary-General shall forward this study to Member States with a view to obtaining their written

comments on the paper before submitting it to the next Conference for discussion and decision.

3. Any Member State of the Conference may participate in the study, provided it sends to the Secretary-General the names of specialists and experts nominated to participate in the work of their commissions. These names will be communicated within a month by the Secretary General to the U.A.R. so as to enable it to make its study as early as possible.
4. These studies, suggestions and recommendations shall not commit Member States before the decision of the Conference.

News Agency

17. The Conference,

AWARE of the urgent need to raise the voice of Islam.

AGREED in principle to the establishment of an Islamic International News Agency.

REQUESTED the Member States to submit their proposals in this connection to the Secretariat.

ASKED the Secretary General to convene a meeting of Member States representatives and experts charged with the study of the practical arrangements for the establishment of such an Agency to submit their report to the Conference in its ordinary third session.

Islamic Cultural Centres

19. Recalling that the Rabat Summit Conference had also decided to promote Islamic culture and civilization in the world, the Conference welcomed the proposals relating to the creation and reinforcement of Islamic Cultural Centres.

20. The Conference asked the Secretary General to convene a meeting of representatives and experts of Member States to study the practical arrangements for the establishment of cultural centres and to submit their report to the Conference in its third ordinary session.

21. The meeting of representatives and experts will be held in Rabat at the kind invitation of the Government of Morocco.

Study of Draft Charter

22. HAVING EXAMINED the matter of formulation of its basic principles and objectives;

RECOGNIZING the need of detailed and formal statement of these principles for adoption as guidelines for its deliberations; the Conference requests the Secretary General to take the following measures:

1. TO CIRCULATE within a month of this Conference a draft memorandum setting forth these objectives and the rules of procedure for the Conference, inviting the comments of the participating states, and ascertaining their respective wishes to take part in a meeting to study the document.
2. TO MAKE arrangements for holding the aforesaid meeting at Jeddah, within four months of circulation of the Memorandum and,
TO SUBMIT the recommendations of their meeting at the next Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers for their consideration.

Organization and Financing of Secretariat Activities

23. The Conference adopted a text concerning the Organization of its Secretariat and defining the financial means and the modalities of its activities.

Third Conference of Foreign Ministers

24. The Conference decided that its next meeting will be held in Kabul in the beginning of September 1971.

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The Text of the Address of General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan, at the Opening Session of the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Karachi, Pakistan on 25 December, 1970:

Five Aims of the Conference

*The President of Pakistan,
General Aghá Muhammad
Yahyá Khán*

"Mr. Chairman, Mr. Secretary General, honourable delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

"It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan.

"Since the last Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Jeddah a great Muslim and an outstanding Arab leader, President Jamál 'Abdul Násir, has passed away. His demise at this crucial juncture was indeed a great loss to his people in particular and to the Arab cause in general. May God guide President Anwar al-Sádát in handling the crucial task which lies ahead.

"You are aware that a terrible disaster has befallen my people in East Pakistan and we are still preoccupied in bringing relief and succour to them. Indeed the extent of the disaster is such that it has moved our friends all over the world to help us in alleviating the sufferings and distress of the stricken people. Despite our preoccupation in this effort, the Conference is being held as scheduled. This is a measure of the importance we attach to this Conference.

"My dear brethren, the Islamic Summit in Rabat was a milestone in Islamic history. It was a response to the affront to our deepest sentiments by the desecration of our first Qiblah, the sacred Masjid al-Aqsá. The arson committed therein consequent upon the Israeli aggression in the Middle East focused attention on the imperative need for consultation among our countries.

"The Heads of State and heads of Government assembled at Rabat issued a joint declaration which demonstrated their united stand on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by military conquest and the speedy withdrawal of Israeli military forces from all the territories occupied by them in June 1967. They affirmed their full support to the Palestinian people for the restitution of their usurped rights and in their struggle for national liberation. They realized the need for continuous co-operation among themselves and declared that their Governments shall consult together with a view to promoting between themselves close co-operation and mutual assistance in the economic, scientific, cultural and spiritual fields, inspired by the immortal teachings of Islam.

"The valuable process of consultations which was envisaged in Rabat crystallized in the first Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Jeddah. That Conference adopted important decisions on the situation in the Middle East and the rights of the people of Palestine. It resolved to meet once every year for consolidating co-operation among the participating countries and provided for a Secretariat to service the Conference. It also decided that the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers would be held at Karachi in Pakistan.

Five Principles for the Conference

"My country and my people consider it a great honour to host this Conference. We firmly believe that in Islam the world possesses a great constructive force for the welfare of humanity. It can inspire a creative and dynamic urge among the people to attain the great goal of integrated social, economic, political, moral and spiritual welfare. It has demonstrated its great capacity for liberating human beings from the shackles of racial injustice and colour prejudice. It seeks to foster freedom from superstitious and restrictive dogma. It was, therefore, a source of deep satisfaction to the people of Pakistan that the participants in the Islamic Summit at Rabat declared that they were convinced that their common creed constituted a powerful factor, bringing their peoples closer together and fostering understanding between them. We welcomed wholeheartedly their resolve to preserve the spiritual, moral and socio-economic values of Islam which constitute one of the essential factors for the achievement of progress by mankind.

"The decision to convene this conference every year is a historical development. These annual meetings offer an opportunity and pose a challenge. It is, therefore, necessary to define the basic principles which would constantly guide the deliberations of this Conference. Some of these principles have already found expression in our joint deliberations. In our opinion, these principles are:

"First, this is a Conference of peace, Islam means peace; as Muslims, we are men of peace. But, as the Islamic Summit in Rabat declared, peace must be with honour and justice. It is because we want peace with honour that we demand vacation of aggression from all occupied lands. It

is because we want peace with justice that we support the right of self-determination of peoples, be it in Palestine or anywhere else in Asia and Africa.

Second, this Conference symbolises the natural urge of Muslim peoples to share each other's trials and to work together for common purposes.

"Third, this Conference complements and does not offer a substitute for the existing forums of international co-operation. It is neither a new alignment nor a new *bloc*. It is an attempt on the part of like-minded countries who identify possible areas of meaningful and constructive co-operation among themselves in the various fields of international activity.

"Fourthly, this is not a theological Conference even though it is Islam which constitutes our common heritage and provides the bond of like-mindedness to our countries.

"And lastly, this Conference must be modest and realistic in its aims and methods. It should concentrate on what is common among us and expand gradually and with common consent the areas of agreement to our mutual benefit.

"My dear brethren, some fraternal countries are not here because of unavoidable circumstances. This Conference should try to understand and appreciate their position and, despite their absence, keep their interests before it in its deliberations. There will be time for this Conference to prove its utility in the common interest of all.

"Distinguished delegates, you have important questions to deal with. The situation in the Middle East and the continued occupation of Jerusalem and other Arab territories by Israel remains a cause of anguish and concern. Our support to the Arab cause is as firm and unswerving as ever. I am confident that your deliberations will once again demonstrate our united stand that aggression must be vacated, that the sons of the soil must be enabled to regain their birthright,

and that peace in the Middle East should be based on the firm foundation of justice and fairplay.

The Conference and Africa

"Our hearts also go out to those peoples of Africa who are still suffering from the vestiges of colonialism. Islam firmly rejects discrimination between man and man, and looks with abhorrence on all attempts to impose indignity on any group, nation or race. We would not be true to our basic ideals if we did not strive to remove inequalities between man and man on the basis of caste, creed or colour. We, therefore, unreservedly condemn the heinous system of apartheid and colonial exploitation in all its forms.

"I am very glad to note that this Conference will discuss concrete proposals for our common benefit in the economic and cultural fields. No association of States can be meaningful and lasting without this substance. Economic development is our foremost need. Our peoples are still waiting to taste that fruit of freedom. Mutual co-operation in the economic field among us all is, therefore, obviously desirable, and I believe that the time has come for us to identify the steps which we can all take together to move towards that goal.

"I would like to congratulate Tengku 'Abdul Rahmán on his nomination as the first Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference Secretariat. His is a noble task, and the breadth of his vision will undoubtedly be of immense benefit to the Secretariat. I am confident that this Conference will provide him with the requisite resources to enable him to perform the important duties entrusted to him.

"My dear brethren, before I conclude. I pray to Alláh to guide this Conference in its deliberations so that its decisions may foster unity and strengthen peace.

"I wish you all a happy sojourn in Pakistan."

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compiled by

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The Text of the Speech of Tengku 'Abdul Rahman, The First Secretary General, at the Opening Session of the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Karachi on 26th December 1970

"This is the first time that the Muslim people throughout the world have come together and there is no limit to what we can do if we honestly set our hearts on our task before us"

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S SPEECH: TEXT

"I am deeply touched by your expression of confidence in me and having approved of my appointment as the First Secretary General of the Islamic Conference. In all humility, I thank you very much for it. I can only promise to do my best and I leave it to you and to Alláh to make my work in the cause of our religion successful.

"I am convinced that if it is your wish that the Secretariat should function as an effective body for the unity and progress of Islam, then it shall be so, but I must emphasise that the most important thing is for all the member countries to abide and uphold the constitution.

"When His Majesty the King of Su'údí Arabia expressed his wish and pleasure that I took over as Secretary-General. I readily accepted the post and was happy to give up my office as Prime Minister of Malaysia, which post I had held for 15 years. The Government of Malaysia was kind enough to put at my disposal men and money in order to start and operate the Secretariat, which has been functioning for the last nine months. The progress has been admittedly slow, due primarily to the fact that it has not been given the official status by the member countries. The blue print which was circulated with request for comment to reach me by the end of October had not been complied with. I presume most countries would prefer to discuss this matter at this meeting in Karachi.

"You are aware of the decision reached at the Conference in Jeddah, and that is, that this Secretariat should be established there, but the ultimate goal will be in Jerusalem. This is a highly plausible plan and in keeping with the spirit of Islam, taking Jeddah as our first phase I would like to mention that as soon as the budget which is before this Conference is passed and money obtainable, there will be no difficulty in moving the officials to Jeddah.

"Accommodation for the Secretariat poses no problem, as His Majesty the King of Su'údí Arabia has been gracious enough to offer an ideal building for the purpose, and I can assure you that the only matter which must receive our prompt attention is to get the money for the Secretariat in order to enable it to function efficiently. Failing which a sum of money must be made available to meet the expenses of the Secretariat. At the moment Malaysia has undertaken the responsibility of running and financing it, and will continue to shoulder this responsibility until the availability of funds from member countries.

"You will appreciate that the work of the Secretary General of the Conference is no easy task, as this is the first



Tungkh 'Abdul Rahmán, the First Secretary General of the Permanent Secretariat of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers

time that the Muslim people throughout the world have come together, and there is no limit as to what we can do if we honestly set our hearts on the task before us. The object is to bring us together in order to understand one another better and to work for the common good of each and all. The path on which we have to travel is difficult and rough and the goal which we hope for is far and difficult of reach. There is no knowing how we can reach it, and so by setting up this organization we hope to put our hearts together in order to make our task less difficult. If we are determined to do all we can within the limits of human ingenuity, in particular by working together we can pray to Alláh to achieve our goal.

"We all realize that we Muslims, according to the words of the Prophet, must regard one another as brothers, and we must be prepared to do what we can in the cause of our religion to build a strong bond of brotherhood. After the fall of Islamic power the Muslims were scattered and disintegrated, but today by the grace of God most of the Muslim countries or all Muslim countries have found new won independence. The deserts and seas are filled with potential wealth.

"They have given prosperity to some of our countries whose people live in abundance, while others of our brothers live in dire destitution and poverty. While many live in peace and happiness, many live under the threat of war and aggression, and some in constant fear of persecution. There is, indeed, so much for the Muslims to do, to try and think how best we can help one another and find ways and means of doing it. For us to live in utter disregard of one another would be to forget the lesson of Islam.

"We are grateful to Alláh, the Almighty, for bringing us here together. We are the more grateful to Him for answering our prayers and the prayers of all Muslims throughout the world in being provided with the opportunity to come together here in Karachi. The desire for Islamic unity has been amply manifested by Muslims all over the world.

"Muslim conferences, meetings and seminars on various subjects and at various levels have been well attended and participated in real earnest. These conferences indicated the strong desire to come together. There is a growing belief in Islamic resurgence, and if it is your will to make this belief come true, there is no reason why it should not be so. Inspired by past achievements and with the divine guidance, the Muslim people can march forward with full confidence in our ability to face the needs and the challenges of modern age.

"ISLAM WITH ITS MESSAGE OF HOMAGE TO GOD AND SERVICE TO MEN CAN NEVER BE A SPENT FORCE"

"Critics of Islam have been saying that Islam can never be a unifying force and that Islam is already a spent force in this era of scientific progress. Islam with its message of homage to God and service to men can never be a spent force or disintegrating factor in our search for unity. Many Muslim countries are sharply divided is not denied, but we believe that our faith can narrow the gap.

"Countries may differ in their policies and outlook, but more important than any other ideology, Islam remains the most motivating political force that transcends all bitter prejudices and party differences. I quote an instance to illustrate my point. When the old regime threatened to destroy Malaysia and embarked on open acts of aggression against my country, it was men of religion in Indonesia who changed the policy of hate to one of affection. It is our faith in Islam that has brought Indonesia and Malaysia closer together.

"What is even more convincing on the influence of Islam in our life is the fact that for one hundred long years the Muslims of Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia have been ruled by Christian forces and throughout these long years we have sustained ourselves because of the faith in Islam, and have as a result kept our religion and identity alive.

"What is even more glaring is Pakistan herself founded on the faith—exists on the faith—and finds strength on the faith of Islam.

Testimony of faith

"Our meeting here is a testimony of the great faith we have in Islam. There is no doubt at all of the spiritual bond that binds us together, but more important than that is the need to translate that spiritual bond into action. Mere declaration will not take us very far. I would sincerely appeal to Muslim leaders to make an appraisal of our actual capacity to co-operate in every possible field. The Muslim world is beset with numerous problems—political, economic and social—but these problems are surmountable provided we have the will to co-operate and the ability to organize ourselves. The predominance of our adversaries is their superiority of organization. Organize ourselves and we can truly help ourselves. This is my belief.

"When we speak of organization, we have in mind a form of disciplinary organ for co-ordination. Muslim countries must co-ordinate their activities and forces in order to reach a common goal. This co-ordination would mean that these countries would have to plan their activities in a given and set form. There must also be a will to make sacrifices.

"The opportunity for co-operation and co-ordination is now in existence. The Foreign Ministers' Conference is indeed a befitting occasion to consider our plan of action. The Conference has met once and it is meeting here for the second time. I shall endeavour to render my utmost for the good and well-being of Muslim people, though the years are quickly creeping upon me.

"The little strength I have in me I am prepared to give to achieve this goal, provided others are equally prepared to do the same. Alone I can achieve nothing. I feel that if our aspiration for a Muslim Secretariat to serve the needs of Muslim countries and people fail it now, it will be a long time, if ever, when such an organization can be set up again.

THE SECRETARIAT'S STRUCTURE

"We should decide here and now the type and structure of the Secretariat. Our attitude should be governed by the teachings of Islam and by the dictates of our needs, bearing in mind the purpose which has brought us together. I must admit that I know very little of what you have in mind, so I attempted in my own humble way to put ideas on paper to serve as guide lines. They are not original or exclusive, but if they can cater for our need, my humble opinion is that they are worth considering.

"I have circulated a blue print of the proposed Secretariat and I do hope that this blue print will be the basis of an agreement to be signed by participating countries. Officials from Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan have met in Kuala Lumpur to help me in polishing up the draft of the Constitution. I would like to say that the meeting of these officials will in no way prejudice the stand of any Government to state their case.

"The discussion we had has been of immense help to me. I do hope that one of the countries will adopt the paper on the Constitution of the Secretariat and present it to the Conference for discussion and decision. I would like to suggest that at some stage of our Conference, a Commission be appointed to prepare a suitable resolution for adoption by this Conference of the Constitution of the Secretariat.

"In addition to the Secretary-General, I would like to see an inner Council established with membership not exceeding twelve men, whose duties would be to initiate, assist, advise and see to the implementation of the projects and

Continued on page 18

نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

(We praise God and invoke His blessings on Muhammad, His noble Messenger, the Last Prophet.)

The Finality of Prophethood¹

Why The Prophet Muhammad is the Last Prophet of God

Jewish-Christian Conceptions of Prophethood compared with that of Islam

By Shaheer Niazi

When the Muslims speak of the Finality of Prophethood they always mean the culmination of a process of revelation by the Will of God. According to the law of nature, a thing that begins must ultimately come to an end, and consequently the institution of Prophethood which originated *ex nihilo* along with the creation of the Prophet Adam came to an end when the Divine Law for the guidance of human beings was completed and God revealed it to the Last Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him!):

"This day I have perfected your religion for you and completed My favour on you and chosen for you al-Islām as religion" (The Qur'ān, 5:3).

"And designated the Prophet Muhammad as the 'last (khátam) of the Prophets'" (The Qur'ān, 32:40).

The polemics about the readings of the word *Khátam* makes no difference whatsoever, because the perfection of law and the divine protection of the Word of God according to the Qur'ānic verse (15:9):

"We are the Protectors of it."

left no room for another prophet to come after the Prophet Muhammad.

Before the advent of the Holy Qur'ān, almost all the Divine Scriptures were either lost or interpolated, and in many cases people were left without any ethical code of life; therefore, each prophet of the Banú Israel used to come in succession without any fresh revelation, simply to revive and propound the teachings of his predecessor, which were either forgotten or distorted by his people. Contrarily, the last revelation to the Prophet Muhammad, i.e. the Qur'ān, stands as it was in the days of the Prophet himself. There is no change, no interpolation of any kind whatsoever. However, before coming to a certain conclusion, we must survey the history of the conception of Prophethood at different times and places.

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPTION OF PROPHETHOOD

Evidently the institution of Prophethood is as old as the creation of "Man", who in the chronological order was also the first Prophet of God. This Prophet was Adam (The Qur'ān, 2: 30). We find that the meaning of the word *Nubuwwah* was absolutely clear in the beginning, and a *Nabí* was a man who was appointed or, say, chosen by God Almighty to receive His Message and to deliver it to his people without the slightest change or mistake in it. After some generations the children of Adam began to violate the Covenant and started worshipping the forces of Nature instead of God. It was the fear of some sort of temptation which made them polytheists as stated by Ibn Hishám Kalbí, one of the most ancient Muslim historians, in his book *Kitáb al-Asnám* (English translation by Nabíh Amin Fáris: *The Book of Idols*, 1952, p. 6).

The progeny of Adam began to belie the Messengers of God on the ground that they were human beings like themselves; they obstinately wanted to submit to some sort of super-human beings. It was the time when a pagan philosophy worked at the root of anthropomorphism and the forces of Nature were deified by them for the first time in the history of mankind, before the Deluge. It, too, happened that the place of the Prophets was taken by the *Káhins*; astrologers who could predict on the basis of astronomical calculations, and then their prophecies substituted the Divine revelations and the word "Prophet" (*Nabí*) was misused. In Arabic and Hebrew both the root of the word *nabí* is *nabá*, which means to procure some information from the heavens mysteriously and convey it to the people. This connotation made it easy to identify prophecy with magic and astronomical or other whimsical predictions of the priestess of Delphi.

¹ Courtesy, the Editor, *Islamic Literature*, Lahore, Pakistan, for November 1970, vol. xxi No. 11.

In the light of the history of religion we find that man has been constantly realising the need of an agency through which he could solve his problems concerning profit and loss; therefore, the magicians, priests (*Káhins*) and astrologers gained great influence, and whenever a true Messenger of God came to them, they ridiculed and rejected him. The Holy Qur'án tells us that they used to raise objections to his taking food, having a family, or his ailing and dying like an ordinary person. In their opinion, a Prophet must be superhuman. This was the notion that led the Banú Israel to portray their Prophets in a most derogatory manner, as I will discuss later in this article. The most venomous doctrine that poisoned the crystal atmosphere of the Vicegerency of God on this earth is that a Prophet, who is also the Vicegerent of God on earth at the same time, should be essentially like gods and deities.

It is very embarrassing that we do not find appropriate words in the English language to explain the Islamic doctrine and Arabic terminology. For instance, even the use of the words like "Prophet", "Prophecy" and "Apostle" is not appropriate, and the prophetic calibre is not fully established by using them. According to the English lexicon (see *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary*, ed. 1962, pp. 878), the word "Prophecy" means "inspired or prophetic utterance, prediction, public interpretation of the Scripture or preaching". Similarly, the word "Prophet" means "a spokesman of deity, one who proclaims a divine message, a preacher, a minister of a Second Order of the Catholic Apostolic Church, a foreteller whether claiming to be inspired or not". Not only this, but they have the conception of a Prophetess also which represents the ancient priestess of Delphi. This clearly indicates the pagan influence on the English language and the language of the Holy. See (the Catholic Church). The word "Apostle", which is used for "rasúl" (*Arabic*), which means "the Sent One" is inappropriate, because it means "one who is sent to preach the gospel, especially one of Jesus Christ's Twelve Disciples". The Qur'anic conception of *nubuwwah* and *risálah* is altogether different from that of the Christian Church, and in the strict sense we can use the word "Messenger of God" alone.

FALSE AND TRUE PROPHETS

Some people stress that a Prophet is he who prophesies frequently. This definition enables the false prophets to beguile innocent people on the basis of their power of prophecy in the name of Divine revelation. It is recorded history that almost all the false prophets who claimed to be divinely inspired were, in fact, predicting by means of astrological calculations or by some other evil sources. Physiognomy and geomancy have also been a great asset to them. It is evident that almost all the predictions and prophecies of the ancient *Káhins* about the Prophets of the Banú Israel came true. Should we take them to be prophets? No! not at all. The predictions which are based on some mathematical calculations or are gathered from the Jinn or similar sources can be both correct and incorrect, while a prophecy based on Divine revelation can never be wrong. To examine the nature of ancient prophecies of the pagan priests or the priestesses, one should go through the ancient records dealing with the pagan oracles in India, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, Arabia and the greatest of them in Greece, known as the Oracle of Delphi. Though the judgements pronounced by the Priestess of the Oracle of Delphi proved correct in many cases, the phrases used in her pronouncements were always tricky and ambiguous. For

instance, in the case of Oedipus, who unknowingly killed his father King Laius, married his own mother Jocasta and became the father of illegitimate children according to a prediction made at the time of his birth, the words used in the prediction were Satanic. We find that when Darius, the King of Iran, consulted the Oracle at Delphi through his agents about the result of the war between him and Alexander the Great, he was told, "You will destroy a great power." When Darius was defeated by Alexander, the prophecy was interpreted to mean that he was supposed to destroy his own power and not that of his enemy. The false prophets would have felt shy if they could compare their output with those *Káhins* who had predicted the birth and other movements of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad (peace be upon them!). Therefore, we can infer rightly that though prediction, foretelling, forecasting and prophesying are part of Prophethood, it is not the whole of Prophethood at all.

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF PROPHETHOOD

I have already implied that the need for having some spiritual guide and interpreter of the Divine Law was felt everywhere at all times, but I will deal basically with the Pagan, Hindu, Jewish, Christian and then with the Islamic conception of Prophethood. The Holy Qur'án tells us that the Messengers of God were sent to all the nations (10:47, 16:36). Though we do not know exactly their number, names and places, we can take into consideration the names of eminent religious leaders of India, China and Iran as well, including the names of Krishna, Buddha, Confucius, Tao and Zoroaster, and others. Every student of history knows about the life of Krishna, who speaks so highly about the Unity of God in the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, shown by his opponents as a thief and adulterer, allegedly eloping with the wives and daughters of peaceful citizens. It means that their conception of Prophethood was confused like that of the Jews who were under the influence of Greek mythology.

When we go through the Old Testament, we find that the Banú Israel, who were in the beginning fully aware of the meanings of Prophethood, gradually fell a prey to pagan ideas and they portrayed their great Prophets as criminals and sinners of the lowest order. There are numerous vulgar and obscene stories woven around them, but only to show the result of their misconception of Prophethood, I will summarize them as under:

(1) The great Prophet Abraham is said to have administered an oath of loyalty to his servant when he was about to leave for Mesopotamia, by putting his hand under his thigh in a pagan way (Genesis 24:2-7).

(2) The Prophet Lot is alleged to have committed rape on his two real daughters while staying at Segor after the destruction of Sodom and most shamelessly the daughters are said to have given birth to illegitimate children of their own father (Gen. 9:29-36).

(3) The Prophet Jacob is accused of cheating his father Prophet Isaac (Isháq), and then marrying two real sisters at one time (Gen. 29:15-18).

(4) Then in the house of Jacob, his son is reported to have committed rape on his real daughter-in-law (II Samuel, 13:1-2).

(5) Then the Prophet David is allegedly said to have fallen in love with a young and beautiful married woman named Bethsabee, daughter of Eliam and the wife of Uriah who was out of station at that time. David forcibly raped her

and when she became pregnant, he planned to kill Uriah, and when he was killed, he took her for his wife. It is also shamelessly said that the child who was born out of wedlock is known to us as King Solomon the Wise. In the same breath Solomon is said to have worshipped idols (II Samuel, 2:1-17, 26-27).

(6) Then Amnon, the son of David, is alleged to have committed rape on his sister. David was sad but he did not punish him. At last David's second son Absalom killed Amnon and fled away (II Samuel, 13:11-14).

(7) Then Absalom became a rebel, fought against his father David and defeated him. After capturing his father's harem, he committed rape on all of his step-mothers in public, only to insult his father, the Prophet David (II Samuel, 16: 21-22).

So this is what you find written in the Bible (Old Testament) about the Prophets of the Banú Israel, who according to the Holy Qur'án were perfectly virtuous and God-fearing. They never committed crimes or violated the Law of God. Most of the Prophets, whose names are mentioned above, are called simply Kings and Priests by the Christians, and not as Prophets and the Messengers of God, which they in fact were. Truly speaking, one fails to understand the mind of the Jews and Christians, because they have got no set principles for reverence or hostility or for approval or rejection. However, it can be implied without much difficulty that those Scriptures were written by those who did not know the meaning of Prophethood, or by those who were hostile towards these Prophets, otherwise they would have realized that those who did not bear a good moral character themselves could not become the teachers of morality or good conduct. The most intricate problem for mankind has been the question of defining the Vicegerency of God on this earth. All such conceptions that may constitute a faith can be simplified in the following manner:

- (a) Those who believed that God is absolutely transcendental wrongly expected that His Messenger would be some angel or at least a super-human being. Due to their ignorance they also regarded His Messenger as His Incarnation and inadvertently ascribed almost all the Divine Attributes to him.
- (b) Those who belied the teachings of the Prophets and rejected them simply because they were human beings like themselves.
- (c) Those who conceived God as an anthropomorphic deity like the Olympian gods, naturally treated the Messengers of God like the priests of the pagan temples, who were privileged to commit a sin or a crime without being answerable for it.
- (d) Those who wanted to eliminate the evil practice of attributing the powers of God to His Messengers, unfortunately degraded them in a most derogatory manner and regarded them as ordinary reformers, teachers and like some elderly persons.
- (e) Those who were greatly influenced by the *Káhins*, magicians and poets, regarded the Prophets as magicians, poets and *majnún* (i.e. under the influence of some Jinn).

THE QUR'ANIC CONCEPTION OF PROPHETHOOD

These and similar extreme views in different countries at different times have been creating a fuss and breeding the germs of sectarianism invariably. It seems imperative to

record the Qur'anic views about the office of Prophethood. What the Holy Qur'án says about the Prophets is as follows:

- (1) That they are chosen by God and *nubuwwah* (prophethood) is not by choice or desire of a man (27:75).
- (2) That the Messengers are sent to teach people that God is One and there is no God other than He (16:36).
- (3) That they are raised among all the nations (10:47, 12:7, 35:24).
- (4) That they are sent to warn people against evil (35:24).
- (5) That they are informed about the Divine secrets (72:27).
- (6) That they are sent to settle the disputes of the people and to do justice to everyone (10:47).
- (7) That they are specially guarded by God (72:28).
- (8) That they are mortals and take food (21:7-8).
- (9) That they have wives and children (13:38).
- (10) That they are never unfaithful to God (3:160).
- (11) That they never violate the Law of God (72:27).

The verses of the Holy Qur'án noted above clarify the whole situation and establish the fact that the Messengers of God are just human beings and their distinction is due to their piety and the Word of God which is revealed to them. Now I should refer to some other verses of the Holy Qur'án about the significance of the ministry of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him!):

- (i) That he (Muhammad) was a guide for all the nations of the world (13:7).
- (ii) That he was raised to settle the differences of all the nations (2:13).
- (iii) That he was testified to by all the Prophets of the past (3:80).
- (iv) That, though all the Prophets were true, there are degrees of excellence (2:253).
- (v) That he was a teacher and purifier (2:129, 151; 3:163; 62:2-3).
- (vi) That he did not receive revelation according to his desire (3:184).
- (vii) That he was the Last of the Prophets of the world (21:30).

Beyond doubt the Holy Qur'án has cleared up all the doubts of the human beings in connection with the office of Prophethood, and particularly about the Last Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him!) who was also called a liar, poet, magician and *majnún* (mad) by the pagan Arabs. The Holy Qur'án has refuted all such charges and declared in clear terms that Muhammad is neither a poet nor a magician, but the Messenger and the servant of God, who is apparently like us, but he receives the Message of God to be delivered to us for our guidance and to judge people with equality (5:42-43).

Though all the non-Muslims reject the Prophethood of Muhammad, the Muslims, unlike Jews and Christians, are bound to venerate all the Prophets of the Banú Israel and regard them as the true Prophets of God. Also this is incumbent upon a Muslim to believe that all the Divine books including the Torah, the Psalms and the Gospels, were the

Word of God, in their original form, but not the books which are the components of the present Bible, the reason being that all of them are written by persons other than the Prophets and that they are interpolated. All the original Divine Scriptures of the world, except the Qur'an, are either lost or hidden according to the statement of the Holy Qur'an and the history of religion. Therefore, we can infer that the present Bible is partly right and partly wrong.

THE QUR'AN ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROPHETS OF GOD

Now, one thing which remains is to survey the Scriptures and find out the characteristics of the Prophets of God from Adam to Muhammad. Though the characteristics of Prophethood are not found in any collective form anywhere, yet we can collect them from the Bible and the Qur'an and summarise as follows:

- (1) That all the true Prophets of God, from Adam to Muhammad, belonged to the noblest families of the world.
- (2) That the language spoken by the Prophets of God was always flawless despite the fact that they were not academically qualified.
- (3) That all the Prophets of God used to receive the Message, i.e. the Revelation, in the language of their people so that they should be able to understand it properly and easily.
- (4) That the language of the Revelation is always flawless, whatever language it may be.
- (5) That a true Prophet of God is never a poet in the strict sense. The question of being a magician or a majnún does not arise.
- (6) That a true Prophet of God bears a good moral character and he essentially practises what he preaches to others. He never tells lies to people.
- (7) That a Prophet of God is always a sane person, free from all mental diseases.

- (8) That a true Prophet of God never commits crimes and sins, and he never worships anyone other than the Most High God, even before his Call to prophethood.
- (9) That a true Prophet of God is always kind and forgiving, and he never plans to revenge for his personal grudge.

The inference is that all the Messengers of God are always chosen by God Himself, and they cannot attain this position by choice, desire, efforts and deeds. They are always human beings, because an angel or a jinn could never serve as a model for humankind.

THE FINALITY OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD'S PROPHETHOOD

In the end, it seems imperative to emphasize once again on the Finality of Muhammad's Prophethood. The finality of his Prophethood means that no other Prophet will come after him, but this reply has become the base of philosophical discussions. Ibn 'Arabí was the first mystic who interpreted it logically. He stated that the phrase *Khátam al-Nabiyyín* means the finality of the Divine Law, but the Divine inspiration will continue to exist. This philosophy led some people astray, and they proclaimed to be the prophets of God on the pretext that they are the recipients of Divine revelation and called it *Nubuwwah Ghair Tashr'i'i* (Prophethood without any Divine Law), but I have already ruled out this possibility on the ground that the Holy Qur'an stands today as it was in the days of the Prophet Muhammad and, thus, there is no need of any Prophet to come to revive it. The Divine Law is perfected and God has Himself become responsible for the safeguard of the Holy Qur'an. The life of the Holy Prophet Muhammad covers almost all the phases of the life of human beings and there remains no room for a man who should be more than a humble follower of the Prophet Muhammad.

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by Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad

(Edited and rendered into English by Dr. Syed 'Abdul Latif)

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by Mongi Chemli

INTRODUCTION HOW ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY CAME TO SPAIN

1 Philosophy and religion in Islam

There seems to be little doubt that Islamic philosophy¹ is for the most part of Greek inspiration, and that it is directly based on eclecticism and neo-Platonism. In fact, Muslim thought was indeed quite ready to receive this philosophical contribution.²

Everyone knows that it was Stoicism that brought the world of ideas from heaven to earth. According to this doctrine, for man the only possible knowledge is experimental knowledge. All activity proceeds from a supreme and perfect Cause, whose unity of action demonstrates the beauty of the world and its harmony. These teachings were instrumental, to a certain extent, in bringing together Stoics and Muslims—they were common to both communities. According to the latter, God is transcendental and all-powerful; He creates truths or realities and the beings which correspond to them, and brings them together in accordance with His sovereign will. Man is in total submission to these truths created by God, and to the activities willed by Him. Thus there was already a tendency to harmony and agreement between Stoicism and Islam. But, alas! things were not so simple as that. Philosophy, in order to get any kind of a hearing in the Muslim world, had first of all to overcome a number of obstacles.

About a century after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (632 C.E.), Islam, which had become master of an immense empire and heir to civilizations as numerous as they were different, found itself confronted by an embarrassing problem. It was a problem which was almost insoluble, and, in any case, exceedingly awkward: How could Muslims make legitimate and moral use of such a rich legacy—treasures which were intellectual and moral as well as material and artistic, the work of "infidel" nations?

Would the Islamic Law, the only *raison d'être* of the new Empire, now allow them to make use of pagan science and philosophy? And thus was born the famous question: "Can there be any possible agreement between religion and philosophy?" (A question which was to remain unanswered for many years, and may remain so for ever). In other words: Is it possible to be both a philosopher and a good Muslim? And this was the question which arose, from the day when Christians of the Nestorian sect translated Greek scientific or philosophic works from Greek into Arabic via the Syriac language. The books on science spoke about astronomy,

which could foretell eclipses, about medicine, which claimed to heal diseases! The philosophical works taught the eternity of the world, the pristine identity of God and of creatures, and the identification of man—in ecstasy—with God!

This "strange" importation from a foreign country met with hostility from the doctors of pure orthodoxy, who rejected it categorically. They ranted about innovation and heresy. How many books were burned in the public squares of Baghdad, Seville, Granada and Cordova, books written by savants and philosophers! "Philosophy," says L. Gauthier, "even during the most favourable periods of history, has never enjoyed anything but a restless and precarious existence".³ No doubt this verdict is somewhat exaggerated; for although among Muslims thinkers there were some who were hostile to this new knowledge, there were others, on the contrary, who were glad to slake their thirst at its cool, refreshing waters, and were even to become its fervent admirers, and who were eventually able to utilize and assimilate it, and to draw up another system which was original and often very solidly constructed. "The *falsafah*", according to L. Gardet and M. M. Anawátí, without any doubt "is preponderantly neo-Platonist (Aristotle not excluded) among the followers of Farábí (d. 960 C.E.) and Ibn Síná (d. 1037 C.E.), and preponderantly of Aristotelians among those who follow Ibn Rushd (d. 1199 C.E.). Neither is there any doubt that it is a very authentic philosophy, even a high-class philosophy".⁴

Dieterici lays emphasis on this point. He says: "In the 10th century C.E., the Arabs acknowledged philosophy as the king of all the sciences. They strove to assemble and classify all the knowledge which came to them from the

* Courtesy, the Editor, The *I.B.L.A.*, No. 30 (1969), a learned journal of the Institut des Belles Lettres, Tunis, Tunisia.

1 We think it more correct to speak of "Islamic philosophy", and not "Arab philosophy". We will simply point out that Muslim thought, whether it be *falsafah* or *kalâm*, is determined by its relationship with Islam. cf. Ibn Khaldûn: *Muqaddimah*, ed. 'Alî 'Abd al-Wâhid Wâfi, III, 1090 (Cairo, 1960). cf. 'Alî 'Abd al-Râziq: *Tamhîd li-târikh al-falsafah al-Islâmiyyah*, 16-20 (Cairo, 1959). cf. Ahmad Fu'âd al-Ahwânî: *Ma'ânî al-falsafah*, 30 (Cairo, 1947). cf. Henry Corbin: *Histoire de la Philosophie Islamique, 5 et seq.* (Paris, 1964). cf. A. Amîn: *Duhâ*, Vol. 3, p. 20 (6th edition, Cairo, 1956).

2 cf. Louis Gardet and M.-M. Anawátí: *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, p. 320 (Paris, 1948). cf. G. Quadri: *La Philosophie Arabe dans l'Europe Médiévale, 6 et seq.* (Paris, 1947) (French translation by R. Huret).

3 L. Gauthier: *Ibn Rochd (Averroès)*, p. 18 (Paris, 1948).

4 *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, p. 320.

Greeks.⁵ There is no need to dwell on "... the enthusiasm which welcomed the triumphant arrival of Greek philosophy and science, and the teams of Christian, Jewish, and finally Muslim translators who worked for the Caliphs."⁶ Translators, commentators and learned men of all kinds worked in co-operation in one or other of the libraries, in one or other of the different groups, bringing to life Galen and Ptolemy, Plato and Aristotle, Plotinus (the pseudo-Aristotle), Porphyry and Proclus. Thus the great Abbaside era gave its welcome to this "sapiential gnosis" and this rational knowledge, the work of the human reason.

But for all that the *falásifah* did not abandon religion. Their ideal was certainly to "... solve by the reason alone, and explain by the reason alone, the problems confronting the human mind", as declared by L. Gardet and M. M. Anawátí. But having found many obscure and knotty points in Greek philosophy, they looked for enlightenment to the Qur'an, and that, we believe, was the essential detail separating them from the people of the "*Kalám*". The latter strove to defend the truth taught by the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The Muslim philosophers, whose positions were more or less finely nuanced, admitted that revealed truth could be helpful in the comprehension of philosophic truth and the rational criterion. They acknowledged that religion had served as an "ingredient" in their philosophic speculation. Al-Kindí (d. about 873 C.E.), the earliest of those who took up the study of the philosophy of the Greeks, believed firmly in the possibility of a basic agreement between prophetic religion and rational research. He did not hesitate to attack the dialecticians of the "*Kalám*", accusing them of being deliberately dishonest and of denying the truth.⁹ Without going into details, we will simply mention that the *falásifah* were good Muslims—and they did not hesitate to declare it—and that they do not appear to have lowered their mental stature by seeking to harmonize philosophic thought with Muslim dogma.

We must not omit to mention the fact that, as a result of their efforts, there came into being a system, adequate and coherent, even majestic, which bore witness to the perspicacity of the minds that conceived it, but which has not definitely received the approval of the theologians. And by these theologians, and especially by the most famous of them, Ghazzálí, they were violently attacked, defamed and vilified.

2 A turning-point in Islamic philosophy ... Ghazzálí

Ghazzálí (d. 1111 C.E.) was the incarnation, so to speak, of a "turning-point" which was of the highest importance in the history of Muslim thought. "While being careful to avoid certain exaggerations," says Henry Corbin, "we will willingly admit that this man from Khurassán was one of the most powerful personalities, and one of the most methodical minds, that have ever appeared in the Islamic world, facts that are also attested by the honorific title given him, which he shares with a few others, that of '*Hujjah al-Islám*' (the Proof, the Guarantor of Islám)."⁷ He was undoubtedly a theologian (*mutakallim*), and he made incursions into mysticism (*tasawwuf*). But we are certainly justified in wondering whether he was a philosopher. The fact is, Ghazzálí cannot be said to have had a "system", and that is why some historians of philosophy did not see it fit to show any appreciation of the philosophical value of his work. Ghazzálí, far from having any desire to systematize his own thought, studied and reflected on the different problems confronting man, and tried to solve them. It may be true

that he had no system, but we can find a unity in his reasoning. However, this unity is nothing else but the unity of his own life, a life which was animated and colourful from the intellectual and spiritual points of view.¹⁰

Ghazzálí, as we know, played the rôle of "accommodator" or "harmonizer" between Muslim mysticism and orthodoxy, and, "although he was unable to produce an orthodox mysticism", in the words of Nicholson, "at least he succeeded in developing a mystical orthodoxy."¹¹ In his *Confessions* Ghazzálí writes, with a touch of sincerity which cannot fail to impress: "I have clearly understood that mystics are not boring gossips, but that they have their 'soul states'. Whatever could be absorbed, I learnt. As for the rest, it is a question of personal experiment and sticking to the right path. . . . I shall content myself with declaring that the Mystics (Súfí) make a special point of following the way of God. Their conduct is perfect, their path is straight, their character virtuous. . . . What shall we say about a Path on which perfection consists, above all, in cleaning from the heart everything that is not God, which begins by the fusion of the heart in the remembrance of God; and which culminates in total annihilation in God? And yet this culmination is merely a beginning when we compare it with the liberation of the will and the knowledge which is acquired thereby. In fact, it is really the starting-point of the Path, and all that precedes it is but the antechamber. Science is verification by proof. Tasting (or 'sampling') is the intimate experience of ecstasy. And Faith, founded on conjecture, is the acceptance of both oral testimonies and those arising from experience."¹²

From this text it is evident that Ghazzálí knew, perhaps better than anyone else, how to blend or amalgamate mystical conceptions with Muslim orthodoxy, and it was under the banner of this orthodoxy, when he made himself the defender of the Faith, that he attacked the *falásifah* in his famous treatise: *The Destruction of the Philosophers* (Taháfut al-Falásifah).¹³

These fierce attacks by Ghazzálí against the philosophers have been variously interpreted and often, we think, misunderstood. In fact, far from constituting a categorical refutation of the *falásifah*, this reaction, because it was violent, shows the importance in which Ghazzálí held them and the esteem and value which he accorded them. How true it is that we are not interested in even a single thought unless it carries with it a minimum of value! We should point out,

5 Dieterici: *Die philosophie der Araber*, Vol. 8, part 5 (quoted by M. Allari: *Le rationalisme d'Averroès*, in *B.E.O.*, Vol. 14, years 1952-54, Damascus, 1954, 13).

6 L. Gardet: *Philosophie et religion en Islam avant l'an 330 de l'Hégire*. cf. *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, Colloquium at Strasburg, 12-13-14 June, 1959 (Paris, 1961), p. 43.

7 The plural of *faylasúf*: a philosopher or sage (*hakím*). For a more complete understanding of the meaning of *falsafah*, *faylasúf* and *falásifah*, cf. L. Gardet and M. M. Anawátí: *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, p. 320; L. Gardet: *Philosophie et religion en Islam*, p. 45; Henry Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 7 (et seq.).

8 cf. Al-Kindí: *Kitáb ilá-l-mu'tasim billáh: fi al-falsafah al-'ulá*, Ed. A. F. al-Ahwání, Cairo, 1948, p. 81, et seq.

9 H. Corbin: *Histoire de la Philosophie Islamique*, p. 251.

10 See the excellent article by F. Jabre: *La biographie et l'oeuvre de Ghazzálí*, in *M.I.D.E.O.*, 1, 1954.

11 Quoted by D. Sourdel: *L'Islam (Que Sais-je?)*, Paris, 1954), p. 90.

12 *Al-Munqid min al-dalál* (Error and deliverance). Translation by F. Jabre (Collection U.N.E.S.C.O.), Beirut, 1959, pp. 96, 100, 102.

13 In this work Ghazzálí refutes twenty *falásifah* theories, of which three are of essential importance: the eternity of the world, God's "non-knowledge" of individuals and the rejection of bodily resurrection (see *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Gardet and Anawátí, p. 318, N. 1).

emphatically, that Ghazzālī was not so much attacking the Greek elements in their philosophy, but rather their tendency to "concordism", and their errors." Incidentally, while criticising them, he turned them to profit by using their method, and he did not conceal the fact that he really appreciated the efforts they were making to give the Qur'ānic revelation an honoured place in philosophical thought and reflection. "Ghazzālī's whole effort is to demonstrate to the philosophers that philosophical demonstration demonstrates nothing; unfortunately, he is obliged to demonstrate this precisely by a philosophical demonstration." ¹⁵

The goal which Ghazzālī set before himself was to grasp the "... profound realities of things" (*haqā'iq al-'umūr*). "My aim," he writes in *al-Munqid*, "is to know the deep realities of things: the important thing is to grasp the essence of knowledge. Now real knowledge is that knowledge where the object known is revealed without giving rise to the slightest trace of doubt, and where there is not the remotest possibility of error or illusion." ¹⁶

And how is truth to be attained? According to Ghazzālī, there is no doubt that it cannot be reached by the use of reason alone. Reason exists; there is not the slightest doubt about it. But the results to which it leads are not free from the risk of error. Being in a state of perpetual "movement", it can never arrive at a definite, final point of rest. Thus real knowledge will come from elsewhere—from meditation, illuminated by Divine light. "This light is the key to most of the knowledge that we possess. The man who believes that the 'unveiling of the real' is the result of meticulously thought-out arguments is simply disparaging or circumscribing the immense vastness of God's mercy. So it is from that light that we must ask for revelation; for it will sometimes, in certain circumstances, surge up from the depths of the Divine goodness." ¹⁷

Thus we may say that the preliminary stages of the true knowledge, real knowledge, can certainly be prepared by the speculative use of the reason, but it can only be attained in its fullness through the power of intuition. It is the heart, the intuitive faculty, which acquires knowledge, so that speculative reason needs to be unceasingly corrected by religious knowledge, by a return to Revelation." The reason should not dominate over religious thought, although we must be careful to avoid mere speculation. What is most important of all is personal religious experience, and as a consequence of this all certitude must henceforward have as its basis, not reason, but ecstasy." ¹⁸

Thus we see that Ghazzālī puts forward a *mystical philosophy*, and lays stress on the importance of striving for *moral perfection*. This morality must not be merely theoretical; for it has as its essential basis one's own personal cultivation of the virtues mentioned in the Qur'ān (knowledge of God, personal effort, disinterestedness, a certain detachment from purely worldly pursuits, etc.), and serious and profound meditation. And this constituted one of the essential themes of his monumental work: *'Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.

It is quite obvious that Ghazzālī's philosophy had as its mainspring the search for real knowledge. As Gardet and Anawātī both affirm: "The real gist of this knowledge is that it must be 'lived'. It is more the philosophy of a moralist than that of an erudite metaphysician.

"Ghazzālī's philosophy had considerable influence in the Muslim world. In the domain of philosophy it was

monumental. In the Muslim East Aristotelianism fell into disfavour. However, this state of affairs was only temporary." ¹⁹

It was not long before *falsafah* penetrated to another important part of the Muslim world—Spain. Here it shone with a resplendent lustre, and, of course, it is common knowledge that it was from Spain that the Greek works on science and philosophy penetrated into Europe. These works were first translated into Hebrew by Jews living in Spain and Southern France, and then into Latin. Commentaries on these were carried out by Arab scholars. Thus Islam served as a connecting link between ancient and modern thought.

3 Ibn Bājjah (Avempace) . . . A forerunner of speculative knowledge in the Muslim West

Ghazzālī's violent attacks against the *falsafah* gave rise to lively reactions, and it was by replying to our moralising philosopher that his opponents showed that they possessed a depth of analytical power and a precision of thought original enough to merit attention. Ibn Bājjah (Avempace to the Latins), was the first to try to bring back, to reinstate, the authority of reason, in his counter-arguments against Ghazzālī. For, according to MacDonald, Ghazzālī used reason "in order to destroy reason, by demonstrating that reason is incapable of leading to absolute knowledge". In fact, does he not claim that the use of the reasoning faculties alone is far from leading to moral perfection?

Ibn Bājjah, in his famous work: *Tadbīr al-Mutawahhid* (The Regime of the Solitary, or perhaps, The Routine of the Hermit), places himself in direct opposition to this affirmation, this contention, of Ghazzālī. He endeavours to show that it is precisely by the successive development of the rational faculties and by science—in a word, philosophy—that man attains moral perfection and supreme happiness. Ibn Bājjah declares that the aim of the moral life is the triumph of the "rational soul" over the "animal part".

And who is Ibn Bājjah, this thinker, whose work everyone agrees has been very little studied, if indeed, it is not

14 "The *falsafah* were not apologists for Islam, either intentionally or otherwise. And if they thought they could be real philosophers, in the sense in which they understood philosophy, while at the same time declaring that they were Muslims, this arose from the actual concept which they had of religion. It was from the exterior that they viewed the dogmas of the Qur'ān. In other words, they were not striving to understand or defend dogma, but to bring about a reconciliation or 'accommodation', by taking this and leaving that. They endeavoured to harmonize their philosophy with the Qur'ān in the same way that they strove to unite into one stream the two currents—Platonist and Aristotelian—of Greek thought. By doing this they acquired the concept of a God who was not only the ultimate and generating Agent, but, in fact, the effective cause of the material world." Gardet and Anawātī: *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, p. 322.

15 H. Corbin: *Histoire de la Philosophie Islamique*, p. 258.

16 *Al-Munqid*, p. 62 (Translation by F. Jabre, Beirut, 1959), U.N.E.S.C.O. Collection.

17 *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

18 Ch. Pellat: *Langue et Littérature Arabes*, Paris, 1952, p. 160.

19 Cf. Roger Arnaldez: *Classicisme et Déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam* (Actes du Symposium de Bordeaux, 1956), Paris, 1957, p. 257.

practically unknown? 20

What kind of philosophy does he put forward in his work, the *Tadbir al-Mutawahhid*?

This is what we propose to study in these pages. We shall endeavour to understand his conception of the quest for moral perfection and what means he intends to use to attain the supreme happiness and arrive at the much-desired goal—the real knowledge, the highest Truth.

And finally, we shall endeavour to define the type of reasoning used by Ibn Bájjah, and we shall be able to say whether it is the reasoning followed by the *falásifah*, with which we are fairly-well acquainted, or whether, on the contrary, it shows signs of some originality.

Once we have studied and analysed this work, we shall be able to appreciate the importance of the author, and we can then deal with the part he plays in Islamic philosophy.

(To be continued)

20 (a) Carra de Vaux writes in *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1923, p. 49: "Ibn Bájjah has been very little studied, although his name is fairly renowned. In fact, very little has been written about him."

(b) D. M. Dunlop writes about Ibn Bájjah in an article which appeared in Arabic in the *Review of the Arabic Section of the B.B.C., al-mustami' al-'Arabi (The Arab Listener)*, No. 7, 5th year, London, 1944, p. 9: "We would very much like to become acquainted in the near future with the writings of Ibn Bájjah in their original version (Arabic), for it is only in this way that we can get to know about the life, and in particular the thought, of this man, who is considered by the most important world scholars as the most talented of Arab philosophers."

(c) Sarton writes in his *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. 2, Washington, 1950, p. 183: "His numerous writings have not yet been studied. At the present time it is not at all possible to appreciate his scientific importance at its rightful value."

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TENGGU 'ABDUL RAHMAN'S SPEECH

—Continued from page 10

other decisions of the Conference. The meeting of this Council should be held once in three months or more often, if need be.

PAKISTAN AND THE CONFERENCE

"Before I conclude I would like to thank the Pakistan Government for hosting this Conference and for making all the preparations, months ahead to ensure the success of the Conference, held for the first time in this great Muslim country. They had to continue to attend to their task despite the great and unforgettable calamity which befell their country causing loss to lives and properties unprecedented in the history of mankind.

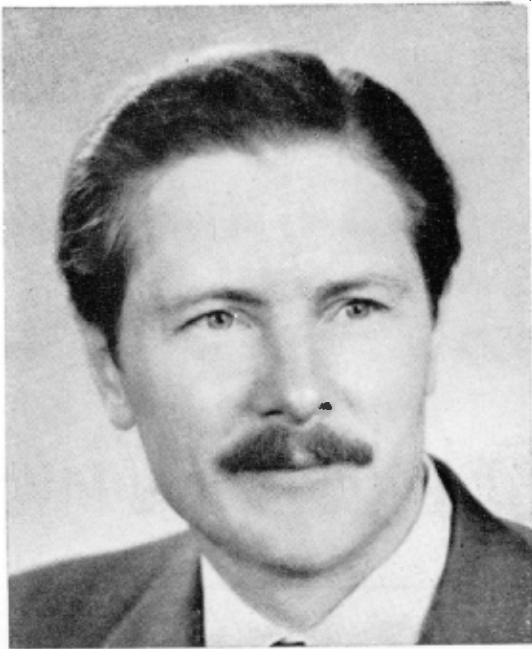
"Sympathies accompanied by material help poured in. The Secretariat initiated urgent appeal on hearing of the tragedy to all Muslim countries to send help in the form of food and money. In Malaysia the Government sent financial help immediately and the public are still collecting funds to be sent here.

"The suffering cannot be assured in money, but it will help to alleviate the suffering of our poor unfortunate brothers who have suffered so much. I am sure most Muslim countries have done their duties by answering the call for help. I take this opportunity to express to the Pakistan Government our deepest sympathies for the sorrow thousands of their people have suffered, and to assure them that my country for one will do our utmost to provide whatever help we can.

"Returning to the present Conference, I am sure everybody will agree with me that the Government of Pakistan have left nothing to chance, but have commandeered all their resources to make sure that all the delegates are properly looked after, accommodated and served.

"You will no doubt join with me in congratulating the organizers of this Conference for the excellent arrangements laid out for us in preparation of this Conference. Officials of the Pakistan Government and my officials have spent many days and nights together before this Conference to see that nothing has been overlooked, and so if there is any short-coming I can assure you that it was not intentional but unavoidable due to circumstances beyond their control. Therefore, in view of the severe strain that they have undergone, I hope every delegate will understand and will readily forgive and forget.

"It is my hope that all those taking part in this Conference will deliberate in the spirit which has brought us together, that is, to work in the cause of Islam and for the good of Muslims. I am sure this Conference will prepare the nursery for the seed from which will grow a strong sense of comradeship among Muslims of the world. May Alláh bless our efforts with success!"



Norman Lewis

The Last Stand

And in the passes of the Alpuxarras, lone and wild,
The banners of Castile and Aragon,
Aggressive emblems of the Catholic Church,
Stood out upon their wooden staffs,
Whipped in the mountain wind and insolent . . .
While cruel tyranny must flourish in the valleys of the range.

And then God's people rose. Town after town
Attacked the churches of the infidel.
And Mary, whom the Catholics worship in the place of God,
Became the target of the darts and spears.
Why should this idol be forever honoured, revered?

The Marquess of Mondejar, trying calmness now,
Gave offers of conciliation to the Muslim throng . . .
But then there came the massacre at Jubiles,
And much the same at Laroles.
And Moors were murdered in the jail at Albaycin.

And then Don Juan of Austria began to lead the infidels.
"No quarter" was his motto. And the little ones
Were murdered as he coolly watched the dead.
The mothers and the fathers also felt the steel.
And so the villages of God's own people in the land
Were loaded with the dead. There were no graves for these,
For who would bury them? The Vultures were their graves.

The Roman Catholics felt the sword would justify.
For might, to them, was ever right.

And these industrious and yet day-dreaming Moors
Who read their Qur'án and bowed down to pray
Must take their way, the Christian way.
Or else be driven from their fair Espana.

How little, then, the Moors could see
The long, long ages when the Christian breed
Would trample men on many a bloody field
And seek to prove the strongest is the best.

And Requesens, the Grand Commander of the infidels,
Burned down the villages of peaceful men.
And when the people went into the caves
He smoked them out . . . And now we see
What worshippers of Mary do to Muslims when they can—
The last dejected myriads were enslaved
Or sent to exile in a distant land
Where great Gibraltar crouched so like a Lion in the Straits.

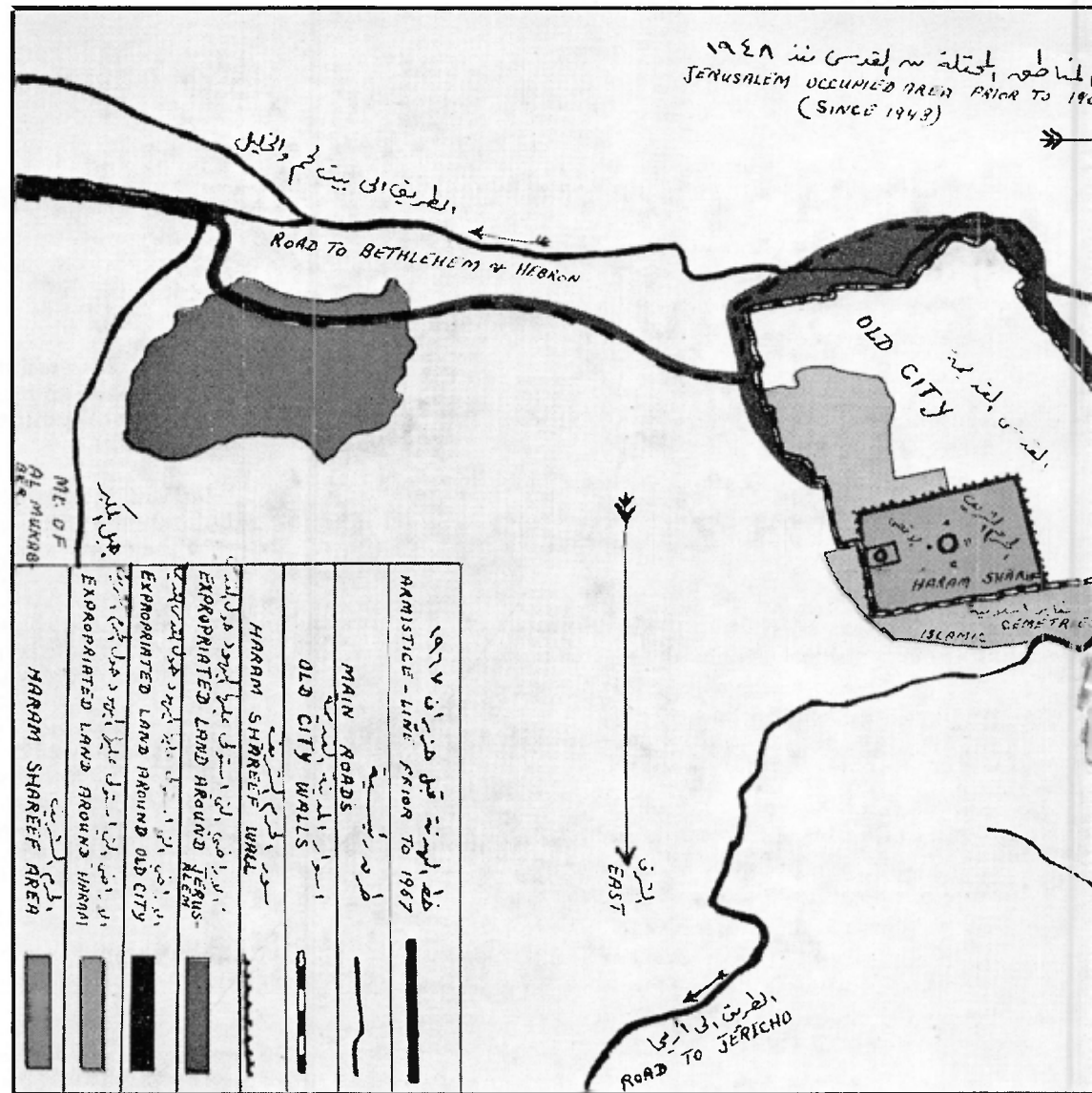
And so farewell to our lost Paradise.
The far-off mountains faded on the northern rim.
The waves were lapping at Gibraltar's base
As all remaining went to endless misery
In northern Africa, the Golden Land,
The land of sunlight and of sand.

And yet we take no lesson from those early monstrous crimes.
The Muslims are divided, fighting one another, in these times.

The Greeks were warring with each other 'til the day
When Rome devoured them . . . Men do not learn
The lesson that in unity is strength.

Norman Lewis

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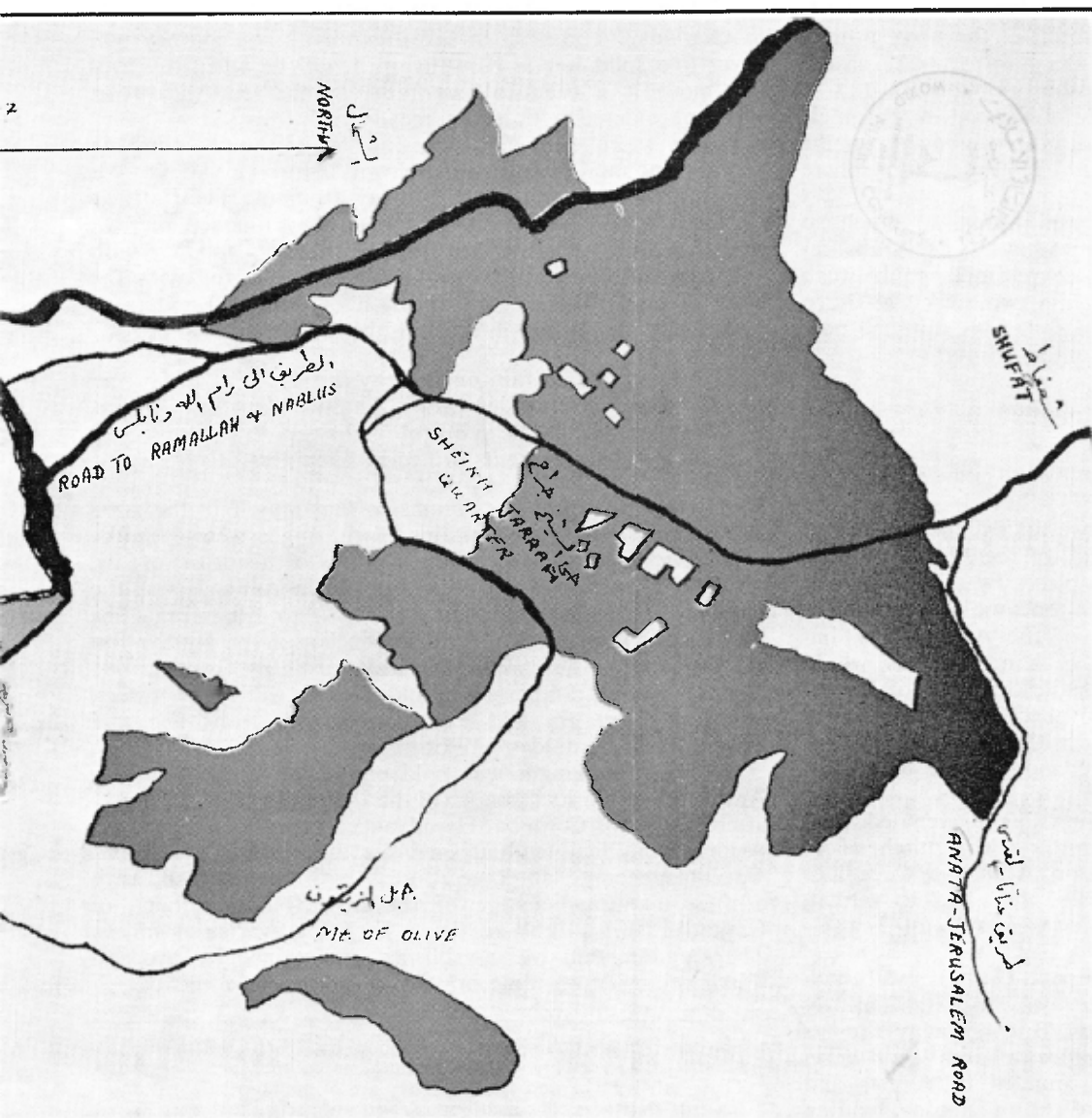
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A Journey to Paradise Lost: Granada

By Naji Jawad as-Sa'ati

(Translated from the Arabic by Professor Dr. S. A. Khulusi)

We, the Arabs, call it *Gharnáta*, whereas the Spaniards call it Granada, meaning the pomegranate (the sweet pomegranate, of course!). It was so named on account of the abundance of pomegranate orchards in its suburbs. It is of good quality because of the fertility of the soil in the magic city. Its breeze that touches the waters sweeping down the snow-capped Sierra Nevada adds to its tender atmosphere softness.

Granada is rich with waters and farms, so much so that its lowlands are called the meadows. The Arabs renamed it "Damascus", for the close resemblance between the two cities and the presence of the two rivers, al-Darro and "Shanell", which irrigate its red soil. This gave the poet Lisán al-Dín Ibn al-Khatib the incentive to say:

"A city surrounded by gardens
Like a beautiful face, with the myrtle
As newly grown side whiskers.
Its valley is the wrist of a damsel
The bridges being adorning bracelets."

The Princedom of Granada rose amidst the chaos that overwhelmed Andalusia after the fall of the Almohade rule. The country was already torn into pieces by schismatic and civil war. Ibn al-Ahmar enjoyed at the time the confidence and respect of the great majority of the Andalusians, but the petty leaders were so jealous of him that they would rather rally round the banner of Castile than that of Ibn al-Ahmar. So it was. They concluded peace with the King of Castile and refused to join hands with the Arab, Ibn al-Ahmar. Ethnic, religious, linguistic and historic bonds, all disappeared before egoistic feelings!

Ferdinand III began to watch the rising rejuvenated Arab power in the person of Ibn al-Ahmar with apprehension. He dispatched an army led by his son, Alphonso, to besiege Granada. On sustaining great losses, they had to retreat, thanks to the shrewd and capable leadership of Ibn al-Ahmar.

Granada had formerly a compact Gothic style¹ with its buildings meeting in its narrow alleys. That is still clearly seen in some of its ancient quarters. But, nowadays, it has spacious streets and avenues, because modern civilization has penetrated it. The city is surrounded by forests and farms lying peacefully in the lap of the mountains, lending freshness to the whole atmosphere.

* * *

"Tomorrow evening the train will take us from Madrid to Granada," I said to myself dreamily. "The journey will cover five solid hours. How happy I will be when my eyes will move in a beautiful panorama on the red Andalusian soil embroidered with green meadows!"

The train went fast crossing fertile lands, climbing verdant mountains and going down luxuriant valleys. We saw waterfalls running swiftly away from us. Their strings of water were silvery, but no sooner they touched the sun rays than they became silky. But they bade us goodbye with an azure colour; for the lust of silver got mixed with the glow of gold. With the intoxication of dreams I reiterated what I had memorized in my early boyhood:

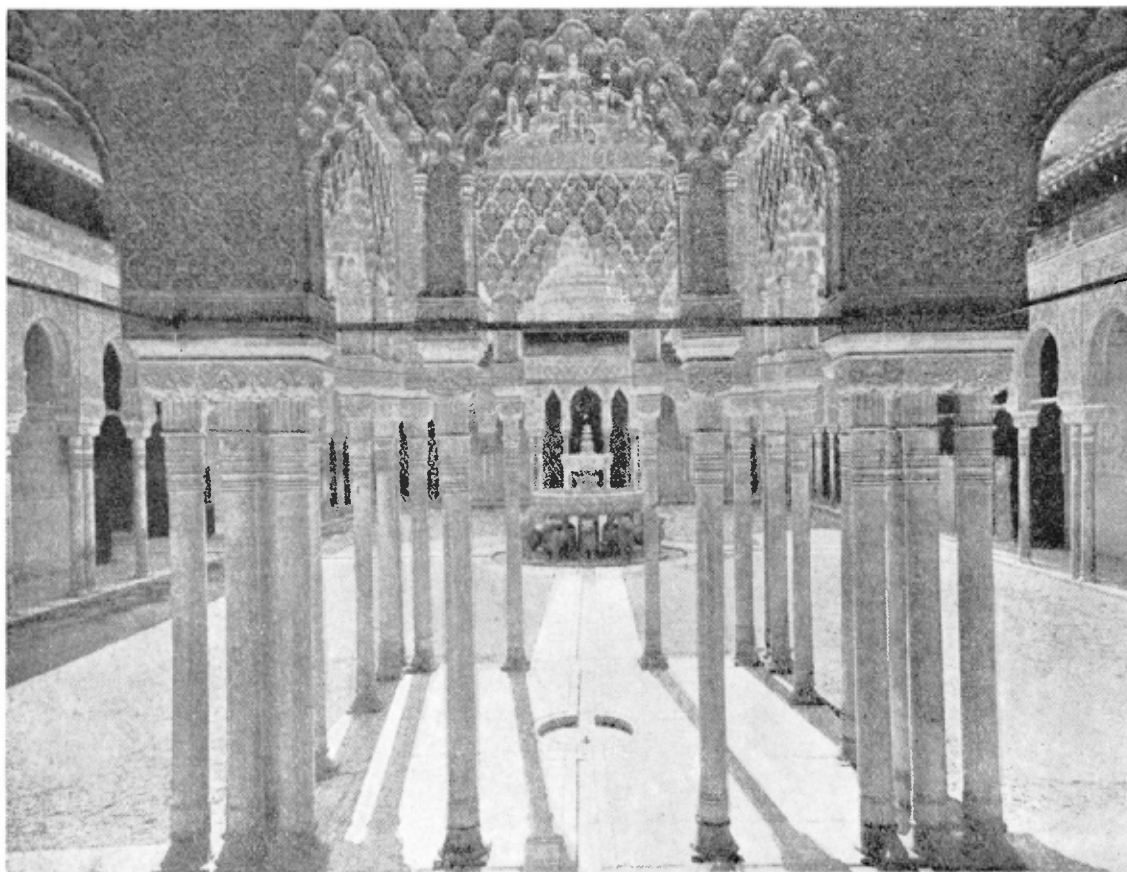
"May abundant rain quench thy thirst
O 'our time of rendezvous in Andalusia!
It was but a dream in a profound sleep
Or snatched moments of fleeing happiness."

I woke up from my dreams to find myself in the arms of Granada. The dark curtains of the night were just like the heavy stage curtains hiding myriads of historical events.

The telephone woke me up in the morning. It was the voice of the guide announcing our visit to Alhambra (The Red Castle), built by Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Ibn Nusayr Ibn al-Ahmar when he captured the old castle of Granada. He strengthened its ramparts and added to its walls new towers. Some of them are still extant struggling with time and defying the vicissitudes of Fortune.

This great knight was bold enough to build a mighty Arab state in the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula, shortly after the fall of Cordoba. He advanced from his native town Arjuna near Jaen and arrayed his army to fight the implacable enemy. He joined forces with other allied Arab armies, taking advantage of the invincible mountains of Granada. He was able to throw back the avaricious forces. The kingdom thus was established, maintained for two and a half centuries, standing bravely in the face of four Spanish

¹ The people of Granada, as described by Lisán al-Dín Ibn al-Khatib, have comely looks, medium noses that are not sharp. Their hair is black and straight. They are of medium height, leaning towards shortness. Their colour is rosy, imbued with redness. Their tongue is eloquently Arabic, but full of unusual words. They have self-respect in their quarrels. Their genealogy is Arabic, but amongst them there are many Berbers and immigrants.



A view of the famous "Courtyard of the Lions" in the Alhambra Palace at Granada, Spain.

The Palace was built by the Moorish kings of Granada (Ibn al-Ahmar and his successors) at various dates between 1248 and 1354 C.E.

states. It so happened in the end that it became the last refuge of a great waning civilization; for whenever a petty Arab state outside Granada fell into the grip of the Spaniards, its Arab inhabitants poured in as refugees fleeing the unbearable advancing tyranny.

Whether it derives its name from the Banú al-Ahmar, the descendants of the "Red", or from the red colour of the hill upon which it was built is unknown. To our mind it took its name from its rulers. The red spot was deliberately chosen to give further effect to the immortal name.

We followed our guide to the Summer Palace. We crossed a boulevard with lofty evergreen pine trees on both sides. It is still as it was designed by the ancient Arab gardeners. Whenever a tree dies, another is grown instead, in the same style, so that the old layout is eternally preserved. The same is the case with the garden called Generalife, which is, according to one authority, derived from the Arabic *Jannah al-'Arif* (The Supervisor's Paradise); but according to a better authority, it is *Jannah al-Khalifah* (the Paradise of the Caliph).

Situated on the red hill, the Generalife faces a large courtyard with arches on both sides and a pool in the middle and a fountain in every corner which is a masterpiece of art. The water is still jetting forth from the time of the Andalusians. With its assiduous splashing, it is only telling over and over again the fantastic story of an undying people.

There you could see quaint bridges, elegant pillars and decorated multi-coloured plaster giving the effect of heavy curtains of dentelle, not to mention the latticed windows, the etched wooden doors, the two myrtle rows surrounding the pool. All that is reflected in the pool. It is so quiet that you

can even hear the fluttering wings of the butterflies. Flowers are in every corner and passage, even the walls of its compartments are pine trees, and though its ceiling is the blue canopy of heaven, its floor is made of beautiful mosaics. Everything suggests to you that this garden has come into existence today . . . or yesterday at the latest.

The Generalife is a kind of fortified solitude . . . cut off from the clamour of life in a sanctified manner.

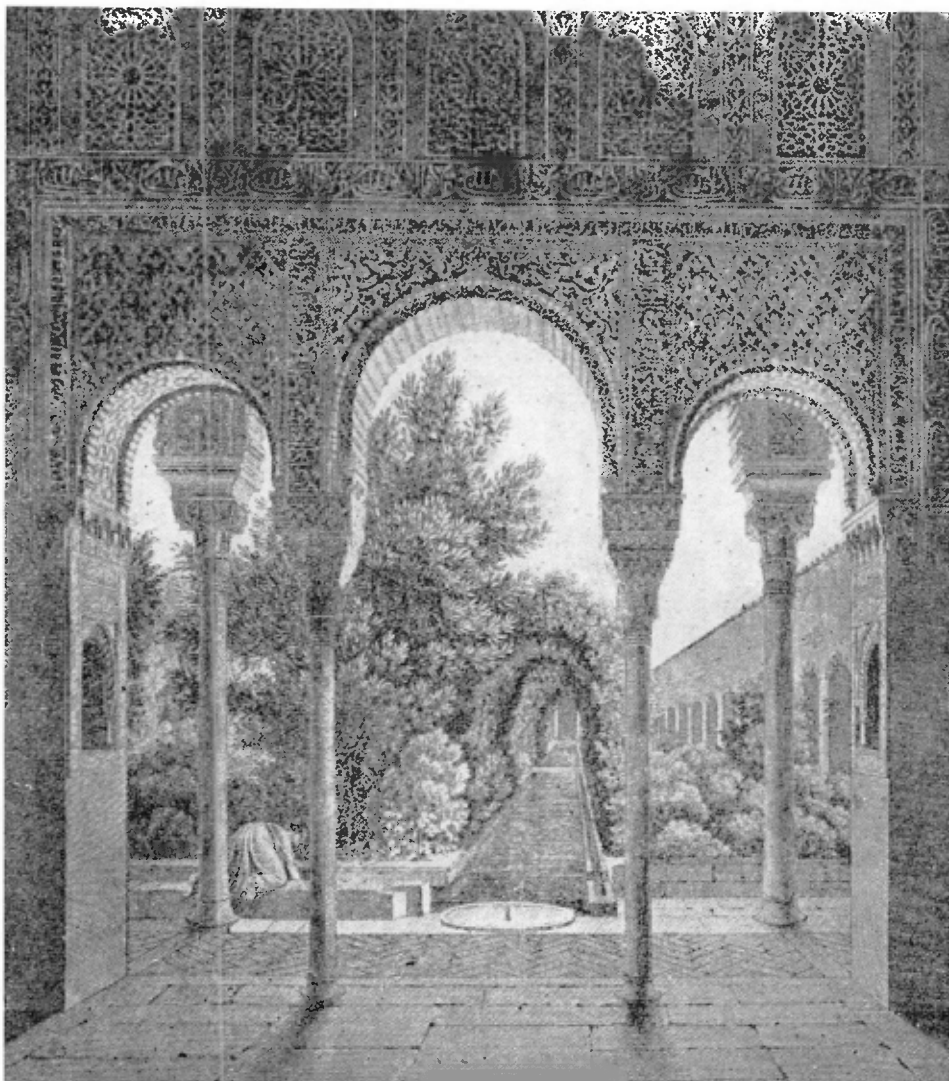
We climbed the staircase of the Generalife. The clever engineer had made the water run on both sides of the railings in the form of a canal that gets its water from the snow-capped Sierra Nevada, in a wonderful engineering design. It is set up, as steps one above the other, embroidered with verdant colour. It reminded me of the hanging gardens of Babylon. The Arabian gardens in Andalusia, reflect on the whole their philosophy of life; for garden designing always portrays man's outlook on life.

In spite of the intense silence, nothing is dead here. You can still hear in a strange way the soft giggles, footsteps, whispers and tunes of bygone days. One can even see the phantoms of the Andalusian lovers behind the trees. Nay, even the tragic figures of the historic personages of the last days of Granada . . . There under the exquisite arches wrapped with evergreen leaves.

We roamed about in the Summer Hall, which was rife with decorations, arabesques and geometrical designs in relief. The inscriptions, mostly Qur'anic verses and lines of poetry, were in the Andalusian style, which is a developed form of the *Naskhi* style that was used in the old Baghdádí MSS. The Kúfíc style was also in evidence. It can be seen in their watchword phrase, "*Lá Gháliba illá Alláh*"! ("There is no conqueror but God!"), which they humbly reiterated

The Summer Palace of the Moorish Kings of Granada known as Generalife.

The gardens of this Palace are part of the Alhambra. These gardens are today as they were designed by the ancient Arab garden designers about 700 years ago.



in triumph to keep down their arrogance, and in defeat to inspire them with future hope.

"Look at the five corners", pointed the guide to the prayer niche, "they are indicative of the five pillars of Islam: prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, alms-giving and *jihād* or holy-war." The guide went on explaining that with this holy zeal the Muslims defied the sea-waves, the heights of mountains and the dangers of the wilderness until their penetration was complete. If they were triumphant, they were conquerors; if defeated, they are martyrs.

The amiable guide took us next to *al-Hamrá* proper (The Winter Palace), of which the woman's section was demolished by order of Charles V to have his Gothic palace built on its ruins vying thereby with *al-Hamrá*. The contrast is so great that it only intensifies the beauty of *al-Hamrá*. And as we Arabs say, "beauty can best be understood when compared with ugliness".

What remains of *al-Hamrá* is still enough to give a fair idea of its original glamour.

The slender rosy and grey marble columns, the stalactites hanging down from its roofs, the arabesques, the etchings in the wood, the Andalusian arches and the cursive writing, all prove that the fingers of the unknown architect were embroidering rather than building. He was a poet who composed an immortal epic with bricks, plaster and wood. He

did all that from imagination, without reference to a model in nature, except in minor details. Even in the latter case he showed a good deal of originality. He represented it in such a way as to efface the original prototype.

Spellbound by this architectural monument, I realised that the secret does not lie in the cost of the material used as in the art, for the former does not cost much. It is only wood, plaster and red bricks. There was no gold, no silver and crystal. For this reason the American poet, Washington Irving was enamoured of it, when he visited Granada more than a century ago by an invitation from his friend the Ambassador of the United States in Madrid. He was so bewitched by the palace that he could not help exclaiming; "Oh! It is a poem composed of granite and marble!" It was the call of this great genius that roused the interest of the world in *al-Hamrá* after it had been neglected for so many long years . . . His poetical echoes were followed by Chateaubriand's *The Adventures of the last of Banú 'l-Sarráj*, *Sarráj*.

While I was looking round in *al-Hamrá*, I saw the suite that was occupied by Irving, the corner where he wrote his poems and tales. He continued to write about *al-Hamrá* even after his return to his native village, "Sunny Sand" by the river Hudson. He remained greatly enamoured of Granada and its bewitching Palace till his death in 1859.

Two needs of Islamic World

1. A Commonwealth of Islamic Countries

2. A Muslim World Bank

By Dr. Muhammad Muslehuddin, Ph. D. (London)

THE NEED OF COMMONWEALTH

The Definition:

Commonwealth, as the very word denotes, may be defined as an association formed for the welfare of its members. Its chief object being the welfare of its members, it is organized according to their needs and requirements. It is thus a sort of federation or union of several States, which join together for a common purpose, while retaining control of their own internal affairs.

Among several Federations of the world let us take up, for example, the Commonwealth of Australia, which seems akin to the British Commonwealth, but, in fact, it is entirely different from the latter. The Australian Commonwealth consists of six self-governing States under the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900 C.E., with executive power solely vested in a Governor General advised by an Executive Council. This is definitely a rigid form of government compared with the British Commonwealth, which is a more flexible and loosely knit association of members.

The Trend of Events

The world, at present, is divided into two Power Blocs representing the East and West—Communism and Capitalism. Both, unfortunately, are adverse to Islam and its ideology. The Communist slogan of "Banish God from the Heaven and the Capitalist from the Earth", has so alarmed the Capitalist countries of the West that they, in order to ward off this peril, have closed their ranks and formed themselves into a "Grouping". This grouping is apparently a sort of economic co-operation, but its main object is to rally the Western countries to stem the rising tide of Communism. The proof of it lies in the circumstances that formed the background of the 1955 Treaty of Rome, which has ultimately given birth to the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) or the Common Market as it has now come to be called.

The union is said to be an economic union for the removal of the quantitative restrictions and tariffs in trade between the member states and the adoption of a common tariff toward the rest of the world; free establishment of firms within the area; the adoption of common policies in certain crucial sectors; the co-ordination of policies in other sectors. The goal is set to create a common market, but it really goes to form a single state with a considerable degree of political integration to take policy decisions in concert and to obey a number of common rules. This, in short, is

a well devised scheme for the unification of Western Europe.

The unification of Western Europe is a step towards the unification of the whole West. Ever since its emergence with originally six countries, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg) as its constituents, the E.E.C. has been continuously extending its sphere of influence right through Europe on to the United States of America. For a further expansion of European co-operation and for strengthening relations between European countries, there is set up, "The Economic Commissions for Europe (E.C.E.)", which holds annual sessions to afford the representatives of European countries an opportunity to exchange their views on the solidarity of the Western world.

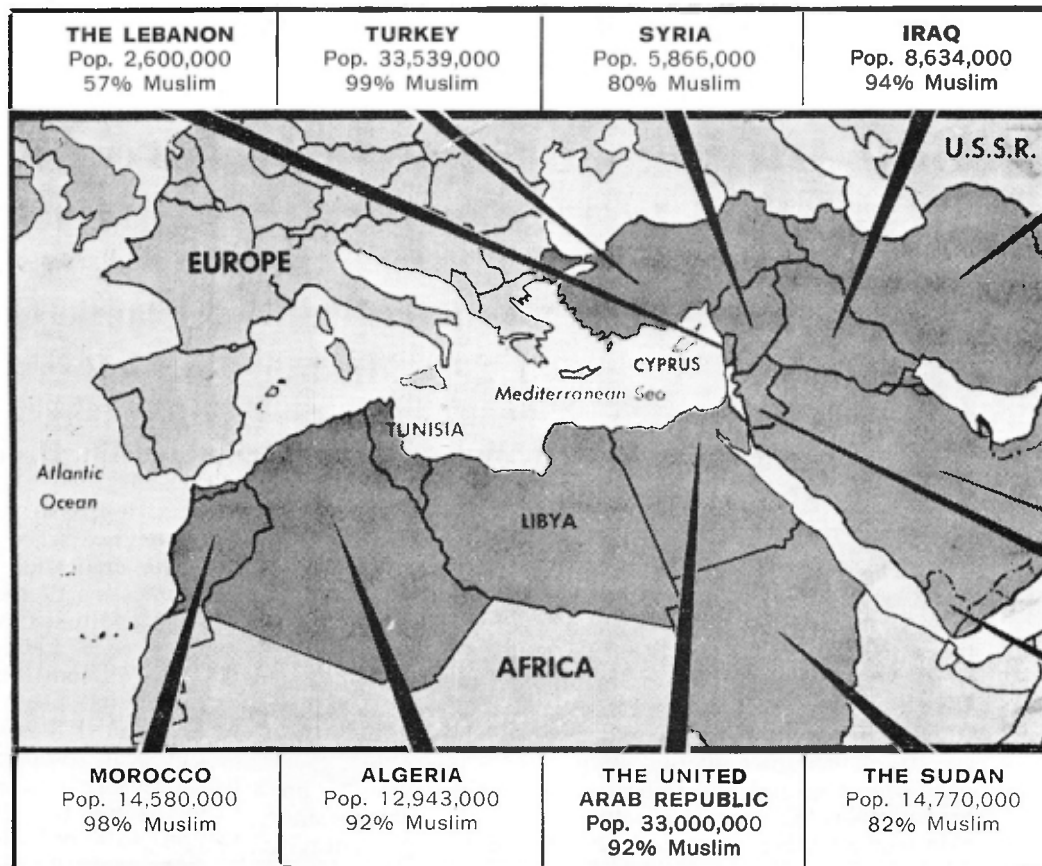
The Socialist countries, on the other hand, have a similar grouping called "The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.)", mainly devised, under this name, to subserve their political ends. The Socialist plan is declared to be in the interest of the common man and his economic uplift but, in reality, it is motivated by the clandestine desire and intention to take into its grip the whole world.

The conflict between these two Blocs is one of ideologies which may be reconciled through the mediation of Islam with its emphasis on the interests of mankind as a whole. Islam is an all embracing universal religion. It is neither racial nor national. Its appeal is to the mankind as a whole, and this is evident from the Qur'anic verse:

"O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you" (49:13).

And according to the Prophet "an Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab, nor a non-Arab over an Arab; neither does a white man possess any superiority over a black one, nor a black man over a white one, except in point of righteousness". Islam never thinks in terms of race and nation except righteousness, which is the only criterion to judge the greatness of man. Its preachings are, in short, a code of right conduct and of peace for humanity.

The Muslims, invariably, are a community standing midway between these two extremes and justly balanced, and in the words of the Qur'an "a people of the middle path



who steer a middle course in life avoiding the extremes on either side”:

“Thus have We made of you an Ummah justly balanced that ye might be witnesses over nations, and the Messenger a witness over yourselves” (2:143).

Muslims are, therefore, just witnesses to curb the evils resulting from injustice.

“Ye are the best of peoples, evolved for mankind enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in God” (The Qur’án, 3:110).

As a logical conclusion Islam is a non-sectarian, non-racial universal religion and the Muslims (if they are true to their religion) are an example for others in the matter of right and wrong.

THE TASK AHEAD

Organisation:

The task to be undertaken by the Muslims is to organize themselves so as to be a living force to combat the evils of nationalism and establish peace on this earth. The cause of unity and peace is crossed neither by Capitalism nor by Communism, but by the consolidation of the separated Muslim countries into one brotherhood, to be the peace-makers within themselves and the world around them.

Example of the Prophet Muhammad

The outstanding example of peace-making can be found in the towering personality of the Prophet who organized the warring tribes of Arabia into a peaceful State of Medina. He gave them the sense of the unity of God to express itself

in the Unity of Man. His primary concern was to develop the personality of the individual and equip him with the love to live in peace with himself and in peace with his external world of relations. And this was done in the sure confidence that the creation of this type of individuals is bound to evolve itself in a political structure of peace and prosperity.

The Muslims have, therefore, to follow in his footsteps and create an association of Muslim states and give them to understand the meaning of Islam, which is but peaceful co-existence—live and let live. In order to rally the Muslim countries round a centre they have to think of a common factor which has got the force of welding them together into a compact whole. Nothing except their religion has this magnetic power, for whatever the evils to which the present day Muslim may be subject, he feels an innate attachment to the Qur’án and to the traditions of his Prophet and nothing is likely to succeed with him unless it is an ultimate reference to them.

Islam is an actual reality and a living organism, and in the name of Islam alone the Muslims will rally and form an association of the Muslim states, whose representatives express their desire to live in peace with peoples who are not hostile to them; announce their determination to safeguard the freedom, religion and civilization of their peoples, fight poverty and raise their standard of living; declare their willingness to resolve their differences and unite their efforts in economic co-operation and for collective defence and for preservation of peace and security. Now the question is: What should be the pattern of this Commonwealth?

Before we proceed to suggest the pattern of Commonwealth we have to take into consideration the number,

IRAN
Pop. 28,150,000
98% Muslim

AFGHANISTAN
Pop. 16,113,000
99% Muslim

PAKISTAN
Pop. 118,830,000
88% Muslim

MALAYSIA
Pop. 9,000,134
51% Muslim

INDIA

CHINA

Pacific Ocean

PHILIPPINES

The Compact Islamic World

Indian Ocean

THE YEMEN
Pop. 6,000,000
99% Muslim

JORDAN
Pop. 2,200,000
91% Muslim

SU'UDI ARABIA
Pop. 6,000,000
100% Muslim

INDONESIA
Pop. 118,000,000
94% Muslim

numerical strength, strategical position and topographical conditions of the Muslim countries. They are 36 in number. The Muslim countries:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, The Federal Republic of Cameroon, The Central African Republic, The Chad Republic, Dahomey, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kuwait, The Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauretania, Morocco, Nigeria, Niger, Pakistan, Su'udi Arabia, Senegal, The Sudan, Syria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Upper Volta, The U.A.R., The Yemen.

In all these countries the Muslims are in majority, which is evident from the following percentages:

Afghanistan 99, Albania 73, Algeria 92, The Federal Republic of Cameroon 55, The Central African Republic 60, The Republic of Chad 85, Dahomey 66, Guinea 95, Indonesia 94, Iran 98, Iraq 94, Ivory Coast 55, Jordan 91, Kuwait 99, The Lebanon 57, Libya 100, Malaysia 51, Mali 90, Mauretania 100, Morocco 98, Nigeria 75, Niger 89, Pakistan 88, Su'udi Arabia 100, Senegal 95, Sierra Leone 56, Somalia 100, The Sudan 82, Syria 80, Togo 55, Tunisia 90, Turkey 99, Tanganyika and Zanzibar 60, Upper Volta 55, The U.A.R. 92, The Yemen 99.

In addition to the above population, the Muslims are scattered all over the world in the form of minorities, and their population on the whole is more than 650 million. It may also be noted here that out of 113 members of the U.N.O., the Muslim states represent about one third of its membership as they are 36 in number.

The voice of the Muslims is the voice of over 650 million and their habitat extends from the Atlantic to the

Pacific, a gigantic belt stretching across the two continents, Africa and Asia, and possessing both economically and politically an immense strategic importance.

But far-flung as the Muslim countries are and representing as they do the different geographical nationalities and cultural groups with varying political status attached to them, it becomes more difficult to be united under a rigid form of association. Even a confederation, therefore, cannot be suggested at this stage.

THE PATTERN OF COMMONWEALTH

Flexibility:

To start with, it is not advisable to adopt a rigid form of association demanding sacrifice of sovereignty of its members, as no country, particularly of the temperament of Muslim countries, would like to part with its sovereignty at the outset. So the Commonwealth that we propose now cannot be of the rigid form. Flexibility is what we require so that the sovereignty of member states be not impaired and, indeed, it must be left unimpaired or else no state will be willing to join such Commonwealth. It must be formed in a spirit of co-operation for the general good of its members and of the world at large and, as such, we point to a loosely knit association of the type of the British Commonwealth.

This is a loosely knit group of countries, also called the Commonwealth of Nations, representing the latest stage in the evolution of the British Empire. The gradual passing of Colonialism, the advance of industrialization, the extension of rapid communications with the farthest corners of the earth and the spread of education have all combined to alter the relationship of Great Britain to the nations and territories which made up the Empire. Since the enactment

of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, which gave formal recognition to the increased autonomy of the individual members of what was then still generally called the British Empire, the evolution towards a looser association has been going on at an ever increasing pace.

It is now an institution with neither a central government nor a constitution. It has no defence force nor a central judiciary, and its members have no rigid obligations nor commitments. It does not conform to the federal pattern, nor is it a confederation or an association comparable with the United Nations.

This association, as it stands now, consists of fully sovereign member nations. Each sovereign member determines its foreign, domestic and fiscal policies, defines its citizenship and immigration regulations, negotiates and signs treaties with other nations, maintains its own diplomatic service and decides for itself the issues of peace and war. It is an institution shared by its members, because history has provided them (as Islam provides the Muslims) with a common heritage and common interests, objectives and loyalties. The foremost principles on which the Commonwealth association has been built include freedom, co-operation and tolerance. Only by deliberate adherence to those principles has the Commonwealth been able to accommodate not only a diverse group of people of different races and colours in different stages of economic and cultural development, but also different political systems ranging from republics to primitive autocracies.

The Commonwealth Relations Office in London is the main Channel of Communications between the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth members. It is a clearing house of information; for it gathers and transmits information on the matters of mutual interest or works closely with the U.K. Foreign Office on foreign policy matters. High Commissioners represent the Governments of the Commonwealth countries in the capitals of other Commonwealth countries, performing functions generally similar to those of ambassadors, with whom they have equal status. The High Commissioners meet frequently in London for consultation. Commonwealth Conferences are held at irregular intervals to discuss common problems. In recent years, conferences have been held by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Finance Ministers and Defence Ministers.

Members of the Commonwealth grant tariff preferences to one another. Basically, this preference represents the difference between the duty charged on imports from Commonwealth countries and the higher duty charged or imposed on imports from the non-Commonwealth countries. The rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), of which most Commonwealth countries are members, have permitted the retention of existing preference, but forbid the granting of any additional ones. The United Kingdom, however, has been allowed to increase preferences on imports from those Commonwealth countries which are heavily dependent upon the British market.

After a survey of the Muslim countries it may safely be said that no pattern other than that of the British Commonwealth will suit the Muslims at present. It has to be borne in mind that by suggesting the British Commonwealth as a suitable pattern, we do not mean that it should be adopted in all its aspects; for certain adjustments shall have to be made in consultation with the representatives of the Muslim countries. We have proposed this pattern because of its unique form among all other forms of associations in this world. Unlike other associations which are either based

on federation or treaties and pacts alone, it has the benefit of both. Federation and treaties may have a common interest or purpose, but not the common heritage and loyalties as the Muslims have in the form of their religion which binds them together just as the common heritage and loyalties have a binding force between the members of the British Commonwealth, though it has neither a constitution nor a central government, nor defence force, nor even a central judiciary. This is the distinguishing character which makes it prominent among all other patterns we seek to adopt.

The above pattern has been suggested as a first step mainly devised through easy membership to create a favourable atmosphere for further collaboration in economic and political grounds and, then to amend or alter it according to the needs and requirements.

To some it would appear that our plan does not point to the centre of the Commonwealth and the leadership under whose able guidance to resume the onward march and achieve that form of unity which guarantees not only the welfare of the Muslim countries, but also contributes largely to the peace and prosperity of mankind as a whole. We, therefore, suggest a centre.

The Centre:

Islam lays great stress on a centre as a mark of Muslim unity, universal brotherhood and mutual co-operation. The Islamic brotherhood is, in fact, established with a definite centre. A common direction is, therefore, prescribed for the Muslims in their daily prayers. In the early days, before the Muslims were organized into an *Ummah* (or independent people), they faced the direction of Jerusalem in their prayers, a city sacred to them and sacred both to the Jews and the Christians. But when the Muslims were persecuted in Mecca and migrated to Medina, the Prophet Muhammad organized them according to the Divine plan under the Divine guidance. At this stage the Ka'bah at Mecca was established as their *Qiblah*, or the direction towards which they turned their faces to offer their supplications to God.

Thus they went back to their earliest centre or the Ka'bah, which was re-built by Abraham and his son Isma'il (Ishmael) before the city of Jerusalem came into existence. The Ka'bah is thus a sacred sanctuary and a symbol of Islamic unity, and Mecca (where the Ka'bah stands) is a fit place to be the centre of the Commonwealth of Muslim countries. Especially so, because every Muslim turns his face towards it five times a day in his prayers, and there assembles a great concourse of Muslims from all over the world every year to perform the Hajj or pilgrimage. This provides the Muslim world with a common forum and a platform to meet thereon and draw up plans in mutual consultation and to re-build up its lost position and rehabilitate its prestige, to be a force for itself and a force for the well-being of humanity.

Here, it will, perhaps, be profitable to note that even Jeddah may serve the purpose of a centre, as it is the only sea- and air-port within a short distance of Mecca.

LEADERSHIP

The Present Conditions:

It is always said that the Muslim Community must have a leader. A leader is, no doubt, absolutely needed to lead them to their noblest destiny, but how to find such a leader when the life of the Muslims has descended to a low ebb in morality? There is a lag between the life as enjoined on Muslims by the Qur'an, and the life they have carved for themselves. There is a lag between the purpose of the present

day Muslims and the purpose of the Qur'án—the Islamic Brotherhood.

The Caliphate:

If we trace the history of Islam we find an ideal leader in the dynamic personality of the Prophet Muhammad. After him it was Abú Bakr, his companion, on whom the choice of people fell for their leader. He was a man of great piety and well-known for his affection and close intimacy with the Prophet. He was asked by the Prophet, before his death, to lead the prayers, so he was considered by the public to be a fit person to lead them in the worldly affairs also.

On the death of Abú Bakr, in 634 C.E., there followed in succession 'Umar, 'Uthmán and 'Alí, who are all called *al-Khulafá al-Ráshidún* or the rightly guided Caliphs. This bright and brilliant period of Caliphate ended with the death of 'Alí in 660 C.E. After 'Alí, the Caliphate which had started as an elective institution soon transferred itself into a dynastic monarchy. It passed on to the Ummayyads and then to the Abbasids and after many deviations came into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in the 16th century, and the Muslims began to look to the Ottoman Sultan as their leader and defender of faith.

From the above it may be seen that in the early epochs of Islamic history the Caliphate continued to be a great cohesive force for the Muslim world, but as the years rolled by and the Ummayyads formed themselves into a monarchy, it weakened yet it remained as a symbol of Muslim unity. But that symbol was also swept away in the aftermath of World War I, as the Ottoman Turks were forced to retire from the scene. The Muslim world was, thus, deprived of its leader. Under the circumstances, the best leader for proper guidance is the Qur'án and the traditions of the Prophet which can lead humanity to its noblest destiny. It is said of the Qur'án that "it is a guidance sure, without doubt, to those who ward off evil" (2:2). To be rightly guided the Muslims have carefully got to avoid evils and live in conformity with the laws of God. "Help ye one another in righteousness and piety," is the call of the Qur'án (5:3). And righteousness consists in self-sacrifice and service to humanity, and in this way alone can the separated brethren be united together.

UNITY

The Cable of God:

"And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of God and be not divided" is the Qur'anic verse (3:301).

The "cable" here is the law of God which aims at the integration of society; for union is strength and "united we stand; divided we fall". Much stress is, therefore, laid upon congregational prayers five times a day and a bigger congregation once on each Friday, while the biggest one every year on the occasion of the Hajj is at Mecca. All this is contrived to create an atmosphere conducive to unity which can guarantee the welfare of the community.

In the absence of unity we carry no weight and our voice is no better than a cry in the wilderness. Let Muslims, then, pledge themselves to cast off infirmities, sink their differences and resume their onward march towards peace and prosperity, holding fast to the "cable of God." Animated with this spirit alone can they recapture their position, regain their strength and play the role of a balancing power between the unbalanced ones and save humanity from the horrors of war.

Self-Sacrifice:

Unity can not be achieved by doing lip-service to it; for it demands sacrifice on our part. Sacrifice, the very essence of righteousness, is to give (freely) of that which we love (the Qur'án, 3:92). And this the Muslims shall have to do, as did the Prophet and his companions, to win the separated brethren and the down-trodden humanity to their side.

If we take stock of the present situation we find most of the Muslim countries in a state of bankruptcy; their debts are mounting high, their currency losing in value. Though politically independent, they are yet economically dependent and look to some or other countries for financial aid to develop their resources. Undeveloped, as their condition is, they are forced to beg or borrow to build up their means of subsistence and survival in this world. And, as such, they become pliable in the hands of those who supply them with the necessary funds.

If we put together all that we have learned from anthropology and ethnography, we come to know that the first task of men is to live and whoever affords them a living wins their favour. Hence, mere talk of unity will not cut much ice. A glance at the activities, in the past, to unite the Muslim countries proves the fact that no amount of efforts in this direction can be successful unless some material help is forthcoming.

Much is spoken of the pan-Islamic movement. It is, no doubt, an ideal embodied in the efforts of Muslim leaders during the 19th century to revive Muslim power and bring about unity. It originated partly in Islam's own realization of its decadence, but mainly as a result of European encroachments on Muslim lands. Efforts were made to bring the Muslim countries into closer union with each other, rallying all the Muslim peoples at the same time around the Ottoman Sultan as their spiritual head. Jamáluddín Afghání and his disciple 'Abdúh struggled hard to bring unity to the Muslim world, and also formed a pan-Islamic society in Mecca to achieve their object, but all this ended in smoke. Many other attempts, in this regard, of notable persons and institutions failed to bear fruit. Why? Because they preached mere spirituality and tried to build the edifice of unity on it alone. Should we then adopt secularism?

Secularism cannot endure for long without some spiritual basis to it. That basis will have to be supplied by religion. Else, secularism divorced from spirituality will multiply the evils emanating from nationalism and vitiate human life still further. The dilemma can be solved if we analyse religion and understand the meaning of secularism.

Secularism is the doctrine that morality should be based solely on regard to the well-being of mankind in the present life, to the exclusion of all considerations drawn from belief in God or in a future state. It is, thus, entirely materialistic, whereas the religion of Islam is a harmonious blend of the spiritual and the material. These two are the correlatives, and no plan for the Commonwealth of Muslim countries can be successful unless it is broad-based upon them both.

Mutual Help:

In this respect the Muslims have again to follow the example which the Prophet Muhammad has set by joining the different tribes of Arabia into one brotherhood that formed the State of Medina. The document which forms the basis of this State begins in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. In its body is the stress laid on the monetary help and the believers are enjoined not to leave anyone

destitute among them. The authenticity of this document is proved beyond doubt and it dates back to the first year of the Hijrah.

Here it may be recalled that the Prophet being persecuted in Mecca (his birth-place), decided to migrate to Medina as he was invited by the people of Medina. They promised to give him moral and material help, and on this assurance he undertook a long journey to Medina accompanied by his close friend and companion Abú Bakr. This migration is called *hijrah* and marks the beginning of the calendar year of Islam. The people of Medina are called *ansár* or helpers; for they gave the *muhájirs* (those who forsook their homes and property in Mecca in their voluntary exile to Medina in order to assist their beloved leader, the Prophet) protection and every kind of moral and material help.

The Prophet established a bond of brotherhood, or *mu'wákhát* in Arabic, between the people of Medina and the Immigrants or *muhájirs*. It was a brotherhood based upon the sacrifice of the *ansár* or helpers of Medina who entertained the Prophet and all the Immigrants, and preferred them above themselves though poverty became their own lot (the Qur'án, 59:9).

Had it not been for this material help and sacrifice, no brotherhood could have been possible, let alone the state.

From the above statement it becomes clear that mere talk of spirituality will not do; material help must also be added to it; for both are essentially required and must go together to form an association of the type of the Commonwealth of the Muslim Countries. And, as such, the rich or the well-to-do among the Muslim countries have to make sacrifices and render moral and material help to others who are in need of it. This can easily be arranged if the oil-rich countries, instead of investing their surplus in foreign lands, employed it in developing the resources of their brethren in Islam, i.e. other Muslim countries. It is not without profit. Such sacrifice should be most welcome to the investors; for it serves the dual purpose of yielding large profits to them and also develops at the same time the resources of their brethren in need.

Further, the investors run no risk in such pursuits; for the Muslim countries are rich in their natural sources and can be still richer if they get proper financial help. Here is a brief account of the exports of a few Muslim countries to give an idea of their potentialities and natural wealth:

Aden: Coffee, hides, tobacco, fish, salt, petroleum.

Afghanistan: Karakul, wool, fruits, carpets.

Algeria: Petrol.

Bahrain: Petrol, pearls.

Indonesia: Rubber, petrol, copra, tin, tea, spices, tobacco, palm-oil.

Iran: Petrol, cotton, wool, fruits, carpets.

Iraq: Petrol, dates of many varieties.

Jordan: Copper, artificial fertilizers, tobacco.

Kuwait: Petrol.

The Lebanon: Fruits, cement, wool.

Libya: Petrol, dates.

Malaysia: Rubber, tin, coal, iron ore, bauxite.

Mali: Nuts, rice, gum, cattle.

Morocco: Phosphates, manganese.

Mauretania: Iron ore.

Muscat: Dates, fish, fruit.

Nigeria: Cotton, hides, skins, nuts, cocoa, rubber, timber, palm-oil, coconut.

Pakistan: Jute, cotton, yarn, salt, fish, tea.

Qatar: Petrol.

Su'údf Arabia: Petrol, dates.

The Sudan: Cotton, oil-seeds, gum, ground-nuts.

Syria: Olive and fruits.

Tunisia: Iron ore, phosphates.

Turkey: Fruit, tobacco, iron ore, chromite, manganese, copper.

The U.A.R.: Cotton, yarn.

The Yemen: Coffee.

Zanzibar: Cloves, coconut.

From the above it is quite evident that Muslim countries are not lacking in the potential which can bring them to the forefront of the advanced countries, but they lack funds to develop these resources. The funds are, therefore, to be supplied and can be supplied most efficiently by establishing the Muslim World Bank on the pattern of the present World Bank. This, and this alone, seems to be the effective way of giving birth to the Commonwealth of Muslim countries and to impart it a permanent character; for the economic hold is the strongest of all and can keep the members of the Commonwealth tied together. Herein lies the long cherished unity which, once established, shall enable the Muslims to strengthen it further and realize all their aims. It is the key to their progress and prosperity, and to their subsistence and survival.

MUSLIM WORLD BANK

The Muslim World Bank may very well be established on the pattern of the present World Bank. We, therefore, give, in some detail, its basic constitution, functions and the procedure it follows in advancing loans.

The object of the Bank is to aid reconstruction in countries ravaged by World War II, and to promote international flow of all types of long-term capital for productive purposes. It was established in 1944, together with the international Monetary Fund by 44 important nations, following the Bretton Woods Conference in the U.S.A. These two international institutions are considered necessary to restore and expand international trade and to secure development of war-damaged and backward countries.

The capital of the Bank was raised by subscription from each member country according to its size and importance. The Bank rarely makes loans directly out of its funds. It may, however, issue its own bonds and use the proceeds to make loans. The functioning of the Bank is calculated to diminish the wide diversity of rates charged in different parts of the world and to put international lending on a sounder and less discriminatory basis than in the past.

The paid-up capital does not provide for all the loans. The Bank issues debentures from time to time, in various countries to raise money for relending, guaranteed by the security of the Bank's capital. Thus the Bank may be regarded simply as a mechanism whereby private funds may be made available for reconstruction and development in other countries, with the normal risk of international investment minimised through the Bank's management and supervision and the guarantee furnished by capital subscriptions of its members.

The Bank's authorized capital is the equivalent of \$21 billion, of which the equivalent of approximately \$18.5 billion has been subscribed. Only part—about one tenth of this—is paid in. Much the greater part of the Bank's capital remains subject to call by the Bank only if required to meet its obligations arising out of borrowings or guarantees.

The Bank is managed by a full time President and staff, who derive their authority from 12 Executive Directors

(out of whom five represent members with the largest capital subscription, viz. the U.S., the U.K., Nationalist China, France and India). The Executive Directors are a sort of an inner council appointed by the Board of Governors to which each member country sends one representative.

To avoid the risk of defaults in payments of loans advanced by the Bank, it has been provided that the loans must be for productive purposes and, except in special circumstances, must be to finance the foreign exchange requirements of specific projects of reconstruction and development. The merits of all such projects are carefully studied and the most useful and urgent projects are dealt with first.

In order to borrow, it is not required that the borrower should be a member government. Persons other than members may apply for loans under the guarantee of the member government in whose territory the project is located.

Procedure for making and administration loans:

In making advances the Bank prefers to have informal exploratory discussions with prospective borrowers before a formal application for loan is made. This is to know whether the project is of the type for which a loan may be granted. In general, the actual procedure of a loan request falls into two parts: a preliminary one, in which the Bank reviews the economic situation and prosperity to the borrowing country and the relation of the project under consideration to its economic needs and potentialities, and then more technical and critical examination of the engineering, financial and other aspects of the project and of the appropriate conditions for a loan. These two stages of investigation may proceed more or less concurrently or they may be successive, depending upon the circumstances.

The preliminary investigation is to satisfy the Bank that the borrower can repay the loan and the project will make a significant contribution to the economy of the borrowing country. If the project is in a country with which the Bank has had no previous experience, the Bank seeks to acquire a comprehensive picture of the structure and development of the economy. It, therefore, begins its study with such fundamentals as a review of the country's agricultural, mineral and industrial resources, the state of basic facilities such as transport and power, the amount and quality of man power resource, the pattern of the external trade and payments, and the condition of internal finances. If the Bank has previously made a loan in the country or has otherwise become familiar with its economy, this preliminary comprehensive review is dispensed with and the inquiry is confined to an intensive study of recent economic developments and prospects.

Being satisfied with the preliminary investigation the Bank starts the second and more detailed investigation. Staff specialists or consultants are called in to make a thorough examination of the technical plans for the project. A similar examination is made of the plans for financing that part of the cost of the project which is not expected to meet out of the Bank's loan. It may be necessary to check the market survey made by the borrower or, if none has been made, to assist the borrower in making one. It is also necessary to examine in detail and sometimes to suggest revisions in the administrative and managerial arrangements by the borrower to carry out and operate the project.

Methods of Investigation:

Much of the work of these two investigations takes place at the Bank's headquarters. Here the Bank studies all

available information about the country and the project. In addition to its own files, the Bank takes advantage of the large reservoir of the source material which is made available to it by many other institutions, national and international, public and private. Information from all these sources is supplemented by information specifically requested from the borrower.

No study in the Bank's headquarters, however, can yield the benefits of investigations on the spot. Therefore, the Bank usually sends one or more missions to the borrowing country to familiarize itself with the project and with the economic conditions. The mission may consist of one or two persons or half a dozen persons of various qualifications. The members of the mission are normally drawn from the Bank staff, but, since the Bank cannot keep on its permanent staff experts in each of the many fields which it may be called upon to examine, it frequently employs independent consultants for specific short-time assignments, or borrows technical experts for this purpose from member governments, other international agencies or private firms.

It is only when the technical investigation has been satisfactory, the Bank advises the borrowers that it is ready to begin formal negotiations for a loan. Such negotiations are with the object of reaching an agreement with regard to the project and the terms and conditions of the loan. The loan and guarantee agreements and all supporting documents are presented to the Executive Director, together with the recommendation of the President, for their approval.

After approval by the Board of the Bank and signing of the loan agreement, it usually takes a period of several months before the agreement becomes effective. The coming into effect of the loan agreement generally depends upon the fulfilment of certain prescribed conditions. Only after the agreement has become effective can disbursements be made.

Disbursements are made by the Bank according to the progress of the work and the satisfactory reports on it. These reports show that the goods and services to be financed are covered by the loan agreement and that they are reasonable in cost and of proper quality. In addition, periodic visits are paid to the project by the Bank staff to examine the site of the project and the progress of the work, and to scrutinize the accounts of the borrower.

It is the Bank's practice to maintain a close relationship with its borrowers throughout the life of each loan. There are two main aspects to this continuing relationship. First, the Bank checks to assure that loan funds are expended only for authorized goods or services and closely follows the progress of the work. Secondly, the Bank keeps in touch during the entire life of the loan with economic and financial developments in the borrowing country through information submitted by the government, periodic visits to the country by Bank officials, and consultation and exchange of views with the government's representatives. In short, the Bank takes all such measures which "a prudent man needs in controlling his own affairs".

Here it may be mentioned that the World Bank has its affiliates. International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) is one of them and membership of the Fund is pre-requisite to membership in the World Bank.

International Monetary Fund:

The Fund's main concern is the problem of international payments. The members subscribe to the Fund, partly (75%) of their own currency and partly (25%) in gold and dollars

according to their quotas. The quotas are based on their average volume of foreign trade. The members then could buy foreign exchange from the Fund, as and when they need it according to a prescribed procedure. A member country can obtain from the Fund in any one year foreign currency in exchange for its own 25% of its quota.

The Fund provides for (1) short-term credit to countries to help them over temporary difficulties in their balance of payment position, (2) mechanism of adjustment to improve the long-term balance of payment position of member countries, and (3) continuous machinery for international consultation and for research.

The par values of the currencies of all the member-countries are expressed in terms of gold. After consulting the Fund, a member-country may change the parity of its currency (if this is necessary to correct disequilibrium) to the maximum extent of 10% even without approval of the Fund. A further change in the par value of the currency may be granted by the Fund by a majority vote. The object of this plan is to promote reasonable stability of exchange rates.

The chief object of the Fund is to secure a stable relationship as between the rates of exchange of different foreign currencies so that international trade may be revived and expanded. It stands for the removal of foreign exchange restrictions that hamper the world trade.

CONCLUSION

It must have been clear by now that the Muslim countries urgently need a financial institution of the type of the World Bank to render monetary aid to the development of the resources of Muslim countries, and also an organisation in the form of a Monetary Fund to surmount difficulties in securing foreign exchange.

As a first step in this direction, the Muslim World Bank should take the form of a loan advancing union represented by all Muslim countries on its Board of Directors who shall elect a full time president from among themselves. The President in his turn shall form an Executive Council composed of the representatives whose countries subscribe the largest capital and pay it in foreign exchange. The capital of the Bank is, therefore, to be subscribed in proportion to the direct revenue which a Muslim country receives in the form of foreign exchange. Thus, foreign exchange difficulties may be solved for the present.

By "foreign exchanges", we think of a system by which the obligations arising out of commerce and other international dealings are discharged. It is, in fact, a mechanism by which the money of one country is converted for this purpose, into the money of another country. Easy convertibility of money and its transferability are, therefore, chief points to be considered.

To attain this object, the Muslim countries shall have to take further steps as our Bank develops. The par values of currencies of all the Muslim countries shall have to be fixed in terms of gold and be linked to the Dínár as the standard unit of the Islamic monetary union. This will be a sort of Dínár area similar to that of Sterling and Dollar areas. And free convertibility and free transferability of money may be established within this area to promote trade and industry between the members of the Commonwealth with Dínár as their standard monetary unit. I may be quoted as a fixed or fluctuating unit, whichever suits the purpose in relation to the currencies of foreign countries. All other problems may be conveniently solved by mutual consultation

as the Directors of the Board shall meet together when confronted with emergencies or at least once a year.

As to the method of advancing loans, priority must be given to the development of natural sources in which a Muslim country is in an advantageous position over others. This will pave the way for economic internationalism which, as opposed to economic nationalism (a potent cause of the World War II), shall contribute largely to the peace and prosperity of the world.

In banking there is a problem of interest. How to solve it? The answer may be sought in *mudrábah* or a contract whereby loan is advanced on the basis of sharing in the profit according to the specified terms. This form of contract is permissible under Islamic Law and can conveniently be adopted as the loan transactions will be limited in number, and the borrowers being States may be trusted and relied upon.

The establishment of such institution will not only serve to unite the far-flung Muslim countries, but also stem the rising tide of Communism which threatens to engulf the Muslim States. Further, it would yield profit to the investors, help develop the resources of its members and provide funds to meet its expenses and of all other organizations in the furtherance of the cause of unity and welfare of the community.

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Ibn Jinni's *Commentary* on Mutanabbi's Poetry

A Lost Ms. recovered and published ten centuries after its author

By Dr. S. A. Khulusi

Part I

It is one of the ironies of fate that the *Commentary* which provided all later commentaries with abundant information should remain until summer 1970 C.E., in obscure manuscript form. That is partly because it was believed, until recently, to be irretrievably lost, at least the unabridged version, and partly because it is not an easy commentary to edit and publish; and also because it is full of linguistic intricacies and digressions from the main points of the *Diwán*.

It first occurred to me to publish it in 1960 C.E., but it was not an easy task to find a reliable *Ms.* (copy), which would be the basis for the separate volumes of other copies that Brockelmann claims to be scattered in the British Museum (London) and the Escorial (Spain), in Leningrad (Russia), Cairo (Egypt), etc. . . .

Fortunately the Iraq Academy in Baghdad volunteered to undertake the task of providing me with microfilm copies of all the accessible copies throughout the world, but many of the copies provided, and to which Brockelmann alluded, were neither the large nor the abridged versions, but merely the poetry of al-Mutanabbi arranged in the alphabetical order suggested by Ibn Jinní.

The only copies that were worth considering were those of:

(1) Qonyá (Turkey), which is the unabridged version and the only extant copy. So I had to consider it the mother copy in my edition of the book.

(2) The British Museum copy is in one abridged volume. It was not of much help except in very few cases. Unlike the three-volume Qonyá copy it is written in a comparatively good legible Naskh handwriting with dots and hamzahs that are missing in the Turkish *Ms.* Few vowel signs are inserted in both copies.

(3) The Egyptian copy: this is even shorter than the British copy (Or. 3895), and it is really of not much use. There is only a microfilm copy of it at the *Ma'had al-Makhtútát* (The Institute of MSS at the Arab League), Cairo. It is kept under No. 526 (*Sharh Diwán al-Mutanabbi*), written in 581 A.H. by Hibatulláh Ibn 'Abdulláh Muhammad Ibn Abí al-Hasan 'Alí al-Qurashí. It is purely linguistic.

(4) The copy in the Escorial: This consists only of vol. II, which is written in Maghribí hand. It is entitled: *al-Daftar*

al-Thání min Kitáb al-Faṣr li Ibn Jinní fi Sharh Diwán al-Mutanabbi, or The Second Part of the Book of *al-Faṣr*, elucidating Mutanabbi's *Diwán*. Two proper names appear on the fly-leaf: that of al-Násirí, who apparently was one of the owners, and that of a certain Muhammad Ibn 'Ad al-Rahmán al-'Alqamí. Whether he is the descendent of the last Abbasid vizier al-'Alqamí is uncertain, but the name suggests that the Spanish copy was transcribed from a copy found in the library of the great Vizier in Baghdad.

Going back to the main copy, viz., that of Qonyá, we find that it carries an old number 5984/27-22 and a new one 5490. The ink and paper used together with the style of binding indicate that the *Ms.* is from the Saljuqid period. At the top of the first page is the following remark: "This book is a religious endowment (*Waqf*), made by the Shaykh Sadr al-Dín Muhammad Ibn Isháq (may God be pleased with him!) to the building next to his grave. He stipulated that it should not leave the building (on loan) save under condition of providing reliable surety." The Shaykh referred to here is the famous Súfí Sadr al-Dín al-Qonyálí.

At the end of the third volume, which is the concluding one, the copyist says:

"This is the end of the third volume of the poetry of Abú al-Tayyib Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn al-Mutanabbi, with the *Commentary* of Abú al-Fath 'Uthmán Ibn Jinní, the grammarian, and the revision (lit. improvement) of al-Wahíd Sa'd Ibn Muhammad al-Azdí, the poet. The letter (*Há'*) (the hard Arabic H) at the beginning of certain paragraphs is his sign. And this is the end of his poetry with the praise of God and His assistance. May God bless our leader Muhammad, his family and Companions, and bestow peace upon them all!"

What augmented the value of the Qonyá *Ms.* is the critical comments of the poet Sa'd Ibn Muhammad al-Azdí, known to fame as al-Wahíd (the Unique). His biography is in *Yátimah al-Dahr* of Tha'álíbí (vol. III, p. 115). He is also referred to by Ismá'il Pashá al-Baghdádí in *Hadiyyat al-'Arifin fi Asmá' al-Mu'allifin wa Athár al-Musannifin*, or "The Gift to the Learned concerning the Names of Authors and the Works of the Compilers," vol. I, column 384. Wherein he says:

"Al-Wahíd — Sa'd Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Alí Ibn al-

Hasan Ibn Sa'īd Abū Tālib al-Azdī — known as al-Wahīd, died in 385 A.H. He has written a *Commentary* on the *Diwān* of Mutanabbī.¹

It is highly probable that the commentary alluded to is none other than his criticism of Ibn Jinnī's *Commentary*, al-Wahīd himself is a poet of no mean standing. Extracts of his poetry are shown in Chapter IX of *al-Yatimah*.¹

There is no doubt that Ibn Jinnī's *Commentary* on Mutanabbī's *Diwān* is, at least from the linguistic point of view, the best. Mutanabbī himself is reported to have said, "Ibn Jinnī is a better authority on my poetry than myself."

Nevertheless, it must be added in all fairness that Ibn Jinnī's explanation of some of Mutanabbī's verses sound quite naïve and even inaccurate. The trouble with his is that he is a linguist more than a poet or a *litterateur*. Whenever his explanation is objected to he would say: "Thus it was explained to me by Mutanabbī himself, or let me refer to my larger *Commentary* to verify the point, or this is just one of the peculiar meanings of the poet."

He often digresses and deals with many irrelevant anecdotes and historical and linguistic points of interest. This is, of course, only in the unabridged version. The abridged one, on the other hand, is too abridged to be of much use.² In it there are many verses left unexplained.

A close comparison of Ibn Jinnī's *Commentary* with the

famous commentary of al-Wahīdī and al-'Ukburī showed how much these two are indebted to Ibn Jinnī. They have taken a good deal of his explanations and linguistic fineness verbatim, or with some modification. Maybe this is one of the reasons why Ibn Jinnī's *Commentary* remained unpublished and believed until very recently to be irretrievably lost. All those who borrowed from him attacked him scathingly and considered the *Commentary* childish and trivial. Al-Wahīdī, who was the greatest borrower from him was his bitterest critic. "As for Ibn Jinnī," says al-Wahīdī, "he was one of the prominent men in the art of syntax and accidence, and one of the best compilers in both, but when he tries to explain the meaning of verses he is like a stupid ass that stumbles. In his book (*al-Faṣr*), he has become a target for blemishes; for he has filled it with many needless examples and questions of grammatical intricacies that are quite dispensable for those who do not care much for parsing. An author should devote his work to the subject he is

1 See *Diwān Abī al-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī* with the *Commentary* of Ibn Jinnī, known as *al-Faṣr*, edited and annotated by S. A. Khulūsī, al-Jumhūriyyah Press, Baghdad, 1970, Vol. 1, u. 125, footnote 10.

2 The copy we have goes back to 17 Ramadān, 1045 A.H., written by Mansūr Ibn Salīm Ibn Hasan al-Damawī al-Azhari.

The Qonya Manuscript



الورقة الأولى من نسخة قونية (بتركيه) ويدل نوع الحماة والورق والتجليد على أنها من العصر السلجوقي ولي اعل الورقة الملاحظة الثانية : : وفي هذا الكتاب الشيخ صدر الدين محمد بن اسحق رضي الله عنه على البنية عند قرقه وشروط الواصف الا يخرج منها الا برمن وليق والمقصود بالنسخ هنا هو : : صدر الدين الطوسي :

The first folio of the Qonya Manuscript, which dates from the Saljuqid Period (1037-1300 C.E.)

dealing with and all that is relevant to it without digressing to needless points.

"When he (Ibn Jinní) comes to the elucidation of a meaning, his lengthy speech becomes short and mentions impossibilities that are full of mistakes and inaccuracies."

We think that Wáhidí is not altogether free of exaggeration in those statements. If Ibn Jinní has no other merits than to draw the attention of scholars to the grammatical side and some of the peculiarities of Mutanabbí's poetry, then that should be in itself a worthy achievement. Moreover, his *Commentary* was the starting point that kindled the sparks in the minds of other commentators who benefited a good deal by their critical study of Ibn Jinní's *Commentary*. Foremost amongst those was Ibn Furrajah,⁴ who wrote two volumes as a commentary on the *Diwán*. The titles read: *al-Tajanní 'alá Ibn Jinní*, or "Unfair Criticism laid at the door of Ibn Jinní", and *al-Fath 'alá Abi al-Fath*, or "The opening of the Arena before Abú al-Fath".

Hájji Khalífah believes, however, that Ibn Jinní "devoted his book to the explanation of the vocabulary and busied himself with the introduction of many versified supporting grammatical quotations and peculiar questions of syntax, so much so that his book embraces most of *Nawádir Abi Zayd*, or the "Anecdotes of Abú Zayd," the verses of Sibawayh's Book and most of its questions, and about twenty thousand archaic verses. He also stuffed it with cold anecdotes which are irrelevant to the *Diwán*.

Ibn Jinní's *Commentary* was abridged by Abú Músá 'Isá Ibn 'Abd al-'Azíz (al-Barbari) al-Jazúlí (who died in 607 A.H.).⁵

Brockelmann says that there are copies of Mutanabbí's *Diwán*, Ibn Jinní's version, arranged alphabetically (not chronologically as Wáhidí's, nor according to the subjects dealt with as some of the recent collections) . . . and these are not the *Commentary*.

As for the *Commentary*, it is embodied in three volumes and it is longest of all commentaries . . .⁷

There is still another *Ms.* which was of some help to us, viz., that of Fort William College, 1825, an India Office Library *Ms.* (Loth. 807), consisting of 154 folios in clear Nasta'liq, dated 20th Dhú al-Hijjah, 1017 A.H. "It was copied," as it is stated at the end of the *Ms.*, from two copies: one of them in the handwriting of Rajá Ibn al-Hasan Ibn

3 Al-Wáhidí, *Sharh Diwán al-Mutanabbí* (Ditrici's ed., Berlin, 1861, p. 4). See also Hájji Khalífah, *Kashf al-Zunún*, Turkish ed., 1941, Vol. 1, Column 810, where the text is slightly enlarged upon.

4 Abú al-Fath Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, known as Ibn Furrajah, was a grammarian. He died sometime after 437 A.H. According to another authority; he was still alive in 455 A.H. Notice how he adopts the sobriquet, "Abú al-Fath" like Ibn Jinní!

5 i.e. Abú Zayd al-Ansári, the grammarian.

6 *Kashf al-Zunún*, Vol. I, Col. 811.

7 Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (Arabic translation by the late Dr. 'Abd al-Halím al-Najjár), Vol. II, pp. 88-89.

The Egyptian (Arab League) Manuscript



ورقة نموذجية من النسخة المصرية وقد احتفظ بمايكروفيلم لها في معهد المخطوطات بالجامعة العربية تحت رقم ٥٢٦ (شرح ديوان المتنبي) كتبت في سنة ٥٨١ هـ بخط هبة الله بن عبد الله محمد بن أبي العباس علي القرشي ، وهي - كما يرى - مستمرة ليس فيها غير شرح لفوي بسيط ، وتبدو أكثر إعجازاً من نسخة المتحف البريطاني المرقمة OR. 3895

A folio of the Egyptian Manuscript of The Commentary on the *Diwan* of Mutanabbi in the Institute of Manuscripts of The Arab League, Cairo, Egypt

al-Marzubán, which was corrected after collating with several other copies, one of which was read out to al-Mutanabbí by Ibn Jinní with corrections in his own hand. The other is approved by Mutanabbí himself, who put the word "correct" in his own hand against each poem and stanza . . .

Reference was also made to a copy in 'Ukburi's hand. At the outset of which there run the following words: "Alí Ibn Hamzah said, 'I asked Abú al-Tayyib Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn al-Mutanabbí about his birth;' he replied: 'I was born in Kúfah in 303 A.H., which is approximate, and not an exact date.'"

This statement by Mutanabbí gives us the right to make a slight correction in the date of his birth. Probably he was born a little after 300 A.H., which would make his age at the time he claimed prophecy 20 instead of 17, which is more credible.

Yáqút al-Hamawí claims that Ibn Jinní never read out the *Diwán* to Mutanabbí, because he had too high an opinion of himself to do so,⁸ whereas Ibn Jinní himself says in his *Commentary*:

"And I will mention the discussion that took place between him and myself at the time I read the *Diwán* out to him."

Now a meticulous calculation shows that Mutanabbí's *Diwán* comprises 5,173 verses, distributed as follows:

(1) Shámiyyát: Those composed in Syria	2,352	verses
(2) Sayfiyyát: Eulogies of Sayf al-Dawlah	1,540	"
(3) Káfuriyyát: Eulogies of Káfur the Ikhshidite	528	"
(4) Fátikiyyát: Eulogies of Fátik al-Majnún	357	"
(5) Sh'ráziyyát: Those composed at Shiráz	396	"
Total	5,173	

Mutanabbí's *Diwán* is considered the most fortunate in all Arabic literature, because it has been explained and commented on by so many celebrated scholars. Apart from Ibn Jinní's there are the following commentaries: by al-Ifilí (d. 441 A.H.), two by Abul 'Alá al-Ma'arri (d. 449 A.H.), al-Wáhidí (d. 468 A.H.),¹⁰ al-Tabrizí (d. 502 A.H.), al-'Ukburi (d. 616 A.H.)¹¹ and others by Ibn al-Mustawfí, al-Khuwarazmí, al-Barquqí, al-Yázijí and 'Abd al-Wahháb 'Azzám.

It is no wonder that Ibn Jinní's *Commentary* should have a grammatical bias. A general survey of his works shows that his main line was grammar and philology. The most famous of his works are:

(1) *al-Khasá'is fí al-Lughah*^{11a} (The Characteristics of a language): It is a book on the principles of syntax (*Nahw*). It is at the same time a study of the philosophy of the language based on the principles of dialectics and theology.

(2) *Sirr Siná'at al-I'ráb* (The Secret of the Art of Parsing): It includes treatises on the analysis of words inasmuch as sounds, pronunciation of letters and vowel signs are concerned.¹²

(3) *Sharh Tasrif al-Mázini* (Commentary on The Accidence of al-Mázini): Ms. copies are found in the Rághib Páshá and Cöpurulu Libraries, Istanbul.¹³

(4) *Mukhtasar al-Qawáfi* (An Outline of Rhymes): Ms. at the Escorial, Spain.

(5) *Kitáb al-'Arúd* (The Book of Prosody): Mss. at Leiden, Vienna and Berlin.

(6) *al-Lumá' fí al-Nahw* (Flashlights of Syntax): It is a Ms. with many commentaries. Copies at Aya Sophia, Istanbul and Berlin.

(7) *al-Muhtasab fí l'ráb al-Sawáhdh* (The Acknowledged Forms in Parsing the Irregular Constructions): a Ms. at the Rághib Páshá's Library.¹⁴

(8) *al-Mubhij* (A linguistic *exposé* of al-Hamásah commentators).¹⁵

(9) *Mukhtasar al-Tasrif al-Mulúki aw Jumal Usúl al-Ta'rif* (A *Resumé* of the Royal Accidence or the Outline of the Principles of Conjugation).¹⁶

(10) *'Ilal al-Tathniyah* (Explanations of the Dual Form).

(11) *al-Tanbih Fí Sharh al-Hamásah* (Making Points in the Commentary of al-Hamásah).¹⁷

(12) *Al-Fasr* or The Commentary of Mutanabbí's *Diwán*, the book which we have edited. It was originally, as the author declares in his *Ijázah* or the certificate of approval reproduced by Yáqút in his *Mu'jam al-Udabá'*, in over a thousand pages distributed over three volumes, as stated by Hájjí Khilífah in his *Kashf al-Zunún*.

According to Prof. R. Blachère on the authority of al-Tibyán, Ibn Jinní compiled the work after Mutanabbí's death.

Ibn Jinní accompanied Abú 'Alí al-Fárisí the philologist for forty years. He was almost a constant companion of al-Mutanabbí as well. Tha'alibí says that he had a poetical gift, but he did not compose much poetry because he was well off and a man of respectable status.¹⁸

Many books were written in criticism of *al-Fasr*. There are, apart from what we have already mentioned, *al-Radd 'Alá Khatá' Ibn Jinní*, or A Refutation of Ibn Jinní's Mistakes, by Abú Hayyán al-Tawhídí (d. 400 A.H.), *al-Tanbih 'alá Khatá' Ibn Jinní*, or The Warning against Ibn Jinní's Mistakes, by 'Alí Ibn 'Isá al-Rab'í (d. 420 A.H.) and *Qashr al-Fasr*, or The Peeling of *al-Fasr*, by Abú Sahl Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Zawzaní, etc.

Ibn Jinní is of Greek extraction. It is highly probable that his name *Jinní* is the Arabicized form of the Greek word Gennaius.¹⁹ The man who introduced him to Mutanabbí was his Shaykh Abú 'Alí al-Fárisí at Sayf al-Dawlah's court. From that moment onwards they became staunch friends. He commented on his *Diwán* and wrote a long elegy about him after his treacherous murder at al-Sáfiyah near Samáwa.²⁰ It is reproduced in al-Qiftí's *Inbáh al-Ruwát fí Anbá' al-Nuhát*, or The Drawing of The Attention of Narrators to Informations About Grammarians.²¹ The opening line runs as follows:

8 *Mu'jam al-Udabá'*: Vol. 12, p. 102.

9 The end of folio 5/a (Qonyá's copy).

10 Published in Bombay, 1281 A.H. and in Berlin, 1861 C.E.

11 Bulaq, 1860; Egypt, 1287 A.H.

11a Published by Dár al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, Cairo. Only three volumes have appeared so far. Edited by Muhammad 'Alí al-Najjár.

12 Vol. I was published in Cairo.

13 Published in Cairo in three volumes.

14 Published in Cairo, 1386 A.H.

15 Published at al-Taraqqí Press, Damascus.

16 Ms. at Leiden.

17 Mss. Leiden and Dár al-Kutub al-Misriyyah.

18 *Yatimah al-Dahr* (1st ed. al-Sáwí Press, 1934), Vol. 1, p. 89.

19 Dr. Shawqí Dayf, *al-Madárís al-Nahwiyyah*, Dár al-Ma'árif, Cairo, Egypt, 1968, p. 265. Ibn Jinní himself admits that he is of Greek origin (cf. Ibn al-Qiftí, *Inbáh al-Ruwát*, Vol. II, pp. 335-6):

"If I became without a genealogy," he says,

"Verily my wide erudition amongst the people is a genealogy. Nonetheless, my descent goes back to noble heads, great masters.

They are Caesars. If they speak, calamitous Fortune would keep its peace!"

20 About 150 km. south of Baghdad.

21 Ed. Muhammad Abú al-Fadl Ibráhim, Cairo, Dár al-Kutub, Cairo, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 338-9.

The well of poetry is dry
And the lustre of the garden of literature is no more.
The tremendous tree of culture
That was once succulent and fresh,
Is dead!

His relation with Abú 'Alí al-Fárisí made him quite welcome at the court of the Buwayhids.

He has written no less than fifty works; the most important ones we have already mentioned above. He has more than one commentary on Mutanabbí's *Diwán* and the defence thereof.²² He is considered one of the founders of the Baghdad School of Grammar. He selected what pleased him most in both schools of Kúfah and Basrah with a special bias to the latter. This was the trend of his Master Abú 'Alí al-Fárisí and his pupil al-Zajjájí, the same trend that became popular in the second half of the Fourth Century A.H./ 10th Century C.E.²³

Apart from *al-Fasr*, his most important achievement is his formulation of the laws of *al-Ishṭiqāq al-Akbar*, or The Greater Derivation, and *al-Tadmin*, or The Saturation of one meaning with another.

By the first law, it is meant to change the arrangement of the letters of the trilateral words in six ways, deriving each time a special shade of meaning from the original basic root, so you would derive from the trilateral root: B-H-R the following words:

- (1) Bahr: sea
- (2) Habr: A religious man with wide knowledge
- (3) Ribh: profit
- (4) Rahb: Wide; spacious
- (5) Harb: war
- (6) Barh: Strong pain; departure

In all those six derivative words there is the implicit sense of width and intensity. *Ribh*, for instance, means wide gain, and *harb*, large scale fighting, as compared with a single duel.

As for *Tadmin*, it means the saturation of a word with the meaning of another, be it a verb or a verbal noun. In this case, the so-called saturated word is given all the grammatical function of the other one, e.g. the verb *dakhala* is an intransitive verb, so you have to say: *dakhala fī al-bayt* (he went into the house); but if you saturate the word *dakhala* (to enter into) with the meaning of the verb, *balagha* (to reach), you would say, *dakhala al-bayta* (he entered the house). Thus the intransitive verb *dakhala* becomes transitive, taking the direct object, *al-bayt*, for the simple reason that it is saturated with the meaning of the transitive verb, *balagha*, which takes a direct object.²⁴

With this survey in view, we shall not be surprised to find the bulk of *al-Fasr* on the grammatical side. It was all due to Ibn Jinní that later commentators devoted part of their commentary to *Mufradāt* (vocabulary) and part to *I'rāb* (parsing), leaving only a third for *Ma'ná* (meaning or explanation of the verses). This is very clearly shown in 'Ukburí's *Commentary*.

We should, however, have a short pause before the name of the *Commentary*. *Al-Fasr*²⁵ means elucidation, explanation or the unravelling of obscurities. But the word seems to vary from one source to another.

It is at times *al-Nashr*²⁶ (the Publication), at others *al-Sabr*²⁷ (Patience), but very frequently *al-Fasr* (the Explanation), which is the most acceptable version. The strangest of all is perhaps *al-Sabr*, because it has no bearing on the subject. *Al-Nashr*, however, is explainable on the ground it means to popularize what the verses may contain in the way of meaning and the diction in the way of eloquence and all that is connected with it linguistically, grammatically and

literarily. There is also the possibility that *al-Nashr* is a corrupted form of *al-Fasr*, since both words in the Arabic script are so close to each other.

The main problem to solve is whether the smaller version is an abridgement of the larger, or whether both copies were written independently. After close scrutiny it became apparent that the latter is the case. One evidence in support of it is what Ibn Jinní has written in his licence for al-Shaykh Abú 'Abd Alláh al-Husaynī Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nasr, which is reproduced by Yáqūt in his enumeration of his works with the number of folios they contain, exactly as they are given out by his pupil 'Abd al-Salám al-Basrī. When he refers to the *Commentary* of the *Diwán* he says, "My book in explanation of Mutanabbí's *Diwán* consists of over a thousand folios, and my other book explaining the meaning of it consists of 150 folios." This shows that both volumes were independently written. Furthermore, al-Badí'í in his *al-Subh al-Munbī 'An Haythiyah al-Mutanabbí*, or The Informative Morning concerning Mutanabbí's Reality (p. 60), has the following to say, "Ibn Jinní was the first to write a commentary on Mutanabbí's *Diwán*. He has in actual fact written two commentaries: the Large and the Small. The latter is the only extant one." Here al-Badí'í was wrong, because the Large is still extant. We have discovered it in Qonya (Turkey) and started publishing it in separate volumes. Vol. I appeared in August 1970.

A close comparison between the facsimile pages reproduced on pp. 389 and 399 of our published volume well show the difference between the Qonyá and the Egyptian copies which are the larger and the smaller *Fasr*.

The importance of Ibn Jinní's *Commentary* lies in the fact that it is the first and oldest *Commentary* by a man considered the philosopher of the Arabic language and the close friend of the great poet. Mutanabbí realised his erudition and treated him with respect. "Here is a man," he would say. "Not many people have realized his status!"

Whenever al-Mutanabbí was asked about the niceties of his poetry he would say, "ask our friend Abú al-Fath; for he knows what I know and what I do not know about my poetry." Sometimes he would refer to him endearingly as "the one-eyed grammarian!". He was also in the habit of saying as we have already mentioned, "*Ibn Jinní d'rafu bi-shi'ri minni*" (Ibn Jinní is a better authority on my poetry than myself!).

He met him first at Aleppo, then in Baghdad after his escape from Káfúr. He stayed there for a year during which period Ibn Jinní copied all the poetry he had composed before and after his clandestine departure from Egypt. He discussed it with him and read it out to him.

Then he met him at the court of 'Adud al-Dawlah in Shíráz, so he was able to collect all his poetry and annotate it in collaboration with him.

After Mutanabbí's murder, Ibn Jinní got into contact with 'Alí Ibn Hamzah al-Basrī, in whose house al-Mutanabbí

22 Shawqí Dayf, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

23 *Ib.* p. 268.

24 For further details of the subject, see Ibn Jinní, *al-Khasā'is* (The Characteristics), Vol. II, p. 308 ff. Ibn Jinní sets forth some Qur'anic verses to exemplify the idea of *Tadmin* or Saturation, e.g. *Man ansári ilá al-Láh?* (Who are my supporters with God?) Here, according to Ibn Jinní, the preposition *ilá* (to) is saturated with the meaning of *ma'a* (with.)

25 *Tafsir* is derived from the same root, but is used for Qur'anic Exegesis.

26 Ibn 'Imád al-Hanbalí, *Shadharát al-Dhahab*, Vol. III, p. 420.

27 Ibn Khallikán, *Wafayát al-A'yán*, Vol. II, p. 385; Ibn al-Qiftí, *Inbáh al-Ruwát fī Akhbār al-Nuhāt*, Vol. II, p. 336; Ismá'íl Páshá, *Hadiyyah al-'Arifín*, Vol. I, p. 652.

resided during his stay in Baghdad. 'Alí himself was one of the compilers of Mutanabbí's poetry. He provided Ibn Jinní with lines that were missing in his *Commentary*.

Another important aspect of the present *Commentary*, is the philological one where Ibn Jinní gives the syntax, parsing and meaning of obscure phrases, which at times Mutanabbí deliberately introduced them into his poetry. Many poets did the same, because they liked to make their poetry the subject of lengthy studies and hot arguments. Mutanabbí is a classical example in this respect; for he would intentionally change the order of words in his verses and break the rules of grammar and prosody. He would not hesitate even to use the words the way he liked, a thing no other great poet like Abú Tammám, Buhturí and Ma'arrí would dream of! He was, as a scholar had rightly put it, like a mighty king who would attack and appropriate whatever he wanted, not taking heed of the consequences, thus leaving the grammarians in a commotion, in their attempt to find a reasonable way out. Some would side with him; others would criticize him bitterly. So to this he refers when he says:

"I sleep soundly concerning its obscurities,
Whilst people spend sleepless nights
Fighting about them."

Ibn Jinní in most of those occasions was on his side. He put his wide knowledge of rare expressions at his disposal, to save him from his slanderous critics. His method was based on bringing forth quotations from ancient poetry, which was, on the whole, rare or archaic. That is why he filled his three-volume book with quotations that amount to 20,000. We have counted in the part published so far 784 in support of 631 verses. It was all to justify the breaking of grammatical rules by his friend; but he has overdone it to such an extent that it is considered one of the blemishes of the book.

In spite of all that, and in spite of the existence of many other commentaries of the *Diwán*, Ibn Jinní's remains the best, because Wáhidí's, which comes next, does not care much for the vocabulary and parsing of verses, and it is not free of inaccuracies and distortion of words.

Almost the same can be said about 'Ukburi's commentary published at Búláq, 1840 C.E.

Although Yázi's *Commentary* is good, as far as grammatical points are concerned (which are incidentally borrowed from Ibn Jinní Wáhidí and 'Ukburi), it fails to grasp the niceties and rhetorical sides of the verses, al-Barquqí, in his *Commentary* has set forth examples of these shortcomings, yet Barquqí's *Commentary* itself falls short of the needs of specialists and research scholars, though it is ideal for university students, and in my opinion it is the best of all later commentaries of the *Diwán*.

There remains one more commentary to which reference must be made here. It is Ma'arrí's. I saw one volume of it in Istanbul. It was too succinct and short to be compared with Ibn Jinní's. In other words, Ibn Jinní's is better. One expected Ma'arrí's to be the best, because he was such a great admirer of Mutanabbí and his poetry. He studied him thoroughly and tried to emulate him.

Ibn Jinní's *Commentary* has led during the last thousand years or so to many literary battles, and acted as an incentive for the rise of fifty other commentaries or more, but most of them are unfortunately lost. They have all relied on and borrowed from Ibn Jinní with one exception, viz. that of 'Alí Ibn Hamzah, who was the only compiler who met him eleven days before his murder. It was he who asserted that the K-rhymed poem was his last one. "I wrote it," he said,

"together with the poem immediately preceding it from his dictation at Wásit on Saturday, thirteen days (lit. nights) before the end of the month of Ramadán in the year 354 A.H. (i.e. 965 C.E.). He left it as his last poem and departed to be killed shortly afterwards by the Banú Asad. With him was killed his son and his slave boy. The murderers took his property on Wednesday, a couple of nights before the end of Ramadán. The man who killed him was Fátik Ibn Abí al-Jahl Ibn Firás Ibn Bízár. "Fie to this beard," he said to him. "O curser!"; for Fátik was a relative of Dabbah Ibn Yazíd al-'Utbi, whom Mutanabbí had satirized in a poem beginning thus:

"People have not been fair to Dabbah,
And his short fat mother!"

It was one of his flimsiest poems, but it was the cause of his death. His blood was never avenged.²⁸

'Alí Ibn 'Isá says that Hamzah states in another copy that he left 'Adud al-Dawlah with choice horses and beasts of burden, heavily laden with gold, silver, excellent dresses, quaint curiosities and exotic things, galloping fast with his slaves, the eyes of his enemies watching him all the time carefully. The news of his journey preceded him to all towns and cities. On reaching Mount Sáfiyyah on the West of the plains of Baghdad, Fátik Ibn Abí al-Jahl al-Asadí confronted him with a number of his companions and killed him, together with his son Muhassad and his slave boy Muflih, and took all that he had with him six days (lit. nights) before the end of Ramadán, 354 A.H. It is reported in 'Alí Ibn 'Isá's copy that Abú al-Tayyib Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn al-Hasan al-Mutanabbí was born in Kufah in the Kindah quarter in the year 303 A.H., approximately and not precisely. He was brought up in Damascus and the neighbouring desert. He composed poetry in his youth. One of his earliest poems which was copied out of his collection and read out to him, was the one that begins with the words: "Love wore out my body with sorrow on the day of separation." Subsequently, he was once passing by two men who had killed a field rat and were showing it to people amazed with its enormous size. So he said addressing them:

The assaulting rat has been ensnared by death
Made captive by fate;
Both the Kananite and the Malikite had a shot at him
And turned him over, face upwards, just as the
Arabs would do
Both of you, men, have undertaken his murder.
But tell me, which one of you got possession of the
noble booty?
And which one of you assailed him from behind,
For I see a bleeding bite in his tail?"

This is one of the humorous pieces we come across in Mutanabbí's *Diwán*, which goes to show that the man was not solely characterized by bombastic zealous poetry. He had also his relaxed and humorous side.

'Alí Ibn 'Isá, however, never mentioned those lines.

A salient feature of Ibn Jinní's *Commentary*, as we have already stated, is the abundance of quotations it contains. Some of them differ from what is mentioned by other sources. Two explanations can be offered in this respect: either Ibn Jinní did not get them from written works, and some words were altered by a slip of memory, or else he had them from other sources that are lost to us now. Moreover, there are verses attributed to well known poets which

28 Neither Sayf al-Dawlah nor 'Adud al-Dawlah made a move, though he immortalized both of them in his poetry. It is probable that the murderers were instigated by Káfúr, the Ikhshidite.

we could not trace them in their collected poetical works. These can be safely added to those works, because they are in all probability from older *Mss.* that are no longer extant. Ibn Jinnī was a reliable authority, who would not quote a verse without being absolutely sure of it.

* * *

It is advisable here to translate the first two pages of the part we published recently to throw some light on the work.²⁹ "You have asked (may God continue to guide you aright and give you an abundance of the best favours!) that I should collect for you the poetry of Abū al-Tayyib Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn al-Mutanabbī, elucidating its meaning, pointing out the verses that are alike, explaining the difficult parts of their parsing, introducing the quotations which support its unusual words and phrases. I thought of responding to your demand, because I hold your pleasure high and consider your favour keenly sought after, and because of the firm affection and strong relation that was between us.³⁰ I have not seen a poet that had attained his conceptions of meaning, or covered the distance he did. In his laborious method and in his following the way of the learned in whatever he said or imitated, he was on the soundest possible track and the best demeanour, though in some of his diction he digressed from the right path of the art of parsing, by using the irregular and committing himself to the rare usage, not on account of ignorance or inability to choose the right form. This gave an occasion to some people, who had no knowledge of Arabic, to argue solely about the apparent side of his diction, because they had no knowledge of his inner side.

"Truly I say, I found his character as such that seldom it is so perfect in others, save in an accomplished scholar

"As for his discovery of various shades of meaning, his penetration through them and the purification thereof, they cannot be denied but by an opponent, and no one would deem this opposition right but a rival.

"I don't think that I ever met a man denying his excellence for sometime, but he would recant his unfavourable views and become one of his admirers and partisans afterwards. That is because of the meritorious opening and closing

lines of his poems and the richness of the material he uses."^{30a}

This is Ibn Jinnī's view of his great friend, al-Mutanabbī. Let us listen to the views of his contemporary the poet Sa'd al-Azdi who claims to have met Mutanabbī and commented on his poetry and Ibn Jinnī's *Commentary*:

"This (Ibn Jinnī's) statement is that of a bigoted man who set himself against obstinate adversaries. The obstinacy shown to him and the attack launched at him concerning his position in the art of poetry is equally unjust, but we shall leave the bigotry of this and the obstinacy of those and follow the path of justice, seeking the truth and setting the scales for and against him in all fairness, so that we would restore to him what this man (Ibn Jinnī) deprived him of and demand from him all that is required from a lofty figure in this art . . . We would say, first of all, he is a poet with a profuse output, long breath, great prowess, well built phrases and an admirer of hyperbole. These are his merits. His demerits, on the other hand, are his long windedness and lack of revision of his verses. He would use many verbs used by ordinary bedouins and leave out the clearer ones. He was one to use the low and discard the high forms of speech, seeking thereby the strange and wild diction for his poetry, repeating himself verse after verse, obscuring the meaning by cutting off his phrases in such a way as to demand a long explanation, which is a great blemish. He would also plagiarize, borrowing meanings that are well known to all and sundry, so much so that hardly a poem of his is free from many usurped meanings. Likewise, none of them is above linguistic and grammatical mistakes.

"We can adduce the necessary evidence, from his poetry, about all that we have said. We will also emphasize his excellence wherever we come across it and give him his due, saving him from his Commentator; for he has been most unjust to him in many parts of his book."

29 The person addressed here is *Bahā' al-Dawlah*, the Buwayhid.

30 Meaning Mutanabbī and himself.

30a Ibn Jinnī's *Commentary*, pp. 20-1.

(To be continued)

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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 of God; (4) Messengers from God; (5) the Hereafter; (6) the Premeasurement 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 Hell—a life incapable of appreciating heavenly bliss, and of torment—in order to get themselves purged of all impurities and thus, ultimately, 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 neither believes in Fatalism nor Predestination; he believes in Premeasurement. 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 to 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 fibre, 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 even 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.

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