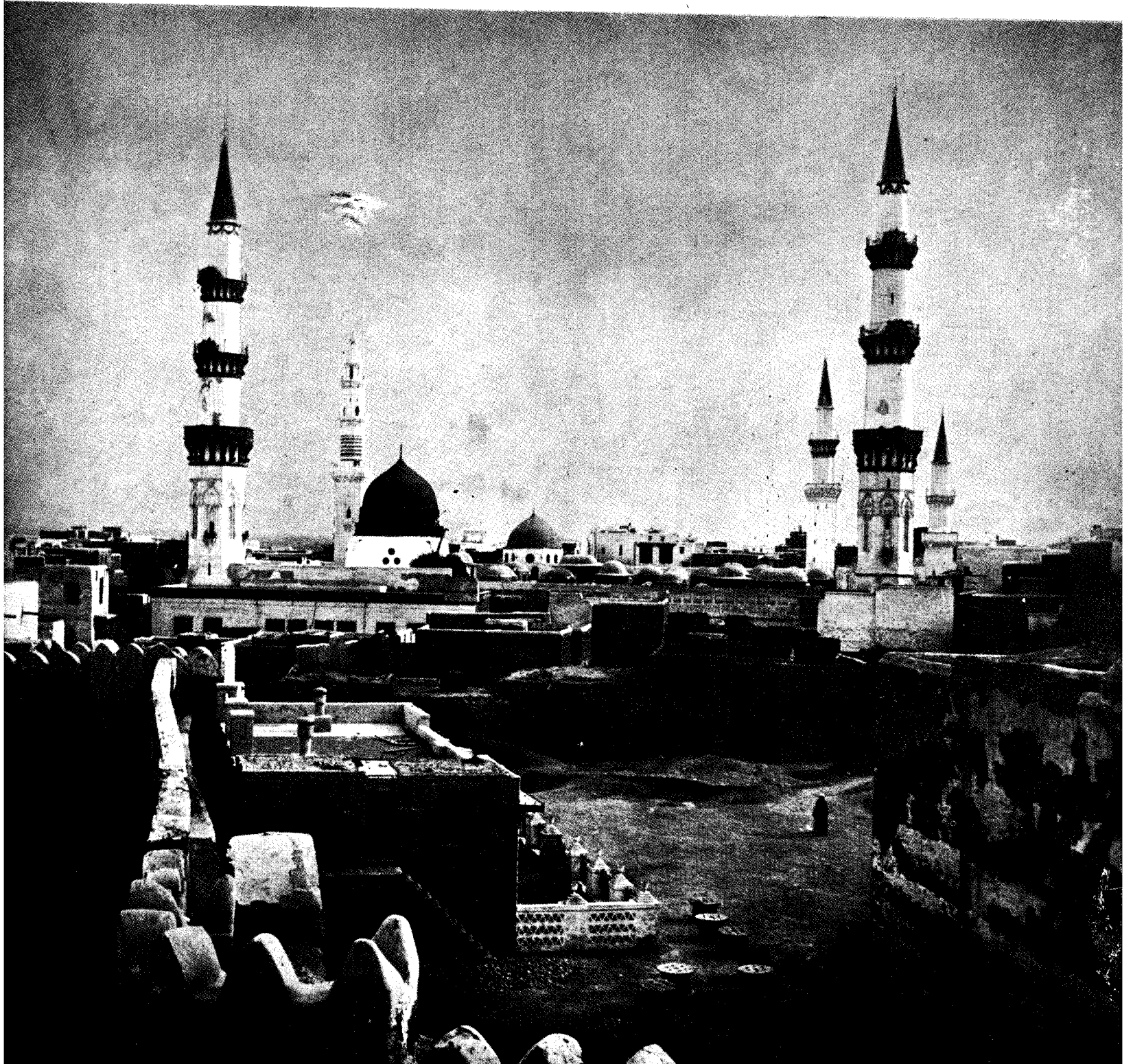


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[continued on page 2]

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

The Cover

The picture on the cover is that of the Prophet Muhammad's Mosque at Medina with its five minarets. The Shrine (*Hujra*) of the Prophet Muhammad, distinguished by its green dome, is situated in the south-eastern corner of the Prophet's Mosque. In this Shrine are buried the Prophet Muhammad and his two Companions — Abu Bakr and 'Umar the Great.

The Prophet's Mosque is in the form of a quadrangle, the length from north to south is about 380 feet. In breadth it varies considerably, as the two long walls converge upon each other as they proceed northward. At its southern end it is some 200 feet broad and at its northern end about 220 feet, the walls being 30 feet high.

In our picture the green dome is on the left-hand side, the wall in the foreground being the northern wall of the Prophet's Mosque.

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1952

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"Muhammad is....the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets.."

— THE HOLY QUR'ÁN 33:40

"There will be no Prophet after me"

— THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XL. No. 4

APRIL, 1952 C.E.

RAJAB, 1371 A.H.

AFRICA, THE FUTURE OF OUR CIVILIZATION AND ISLAM

The Importance of Race and Colour Problem

The colour and race problem is not new. Sages and prophets have referred to it in their discourses and teachings and tried to show mankind its illogical nature and futility. Confucius (551-478 B.C.) said: "The nature of men is identical; what divides them is their customs". Jesus emphasized the Fatherhood of God to bring home to mankind the fundamental equality of mankind. Muhammad said: "There is no superiority for an Arab over a non-Arab, nor for the white over the black, except by good deeds". The Holy Qur'an says: "O you men! surely We have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other; surely the most honourable of you with God is the one among you most careful of his duty; surely God is Knowing, Aware" (49:13).

Despite these grand edifying teachings of the sages of yore and the pride that we take in the conquest of the forces of nature, man's inhumanity to man, because some belong to a different race or have a different complexion, continues. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that it is on the increase, for some races have created advantages and material benefits for themselves which they are loth to surrender. The race or colour prejudice has even provided them with an excuse or rationalization for economic exploitation or political domination of the less materially developed peoples.

The importance of the solution of the race problem

The race and colour problem is perennial. It keeps rearing its ugly head every now and then in one form or another here and there. At the present moment it is assuming frightening proportions that do not bode well for the future of mankind in the continent of Africa. For the races in control of this continent do not show any signs of improving their behaviour towards those who have come under their domination. They are deprived even of their elementary civic rights. It would seem the tragic experience of mankind of Nazism and Fascism seems to have made no difference to them in their decisions and deliberations. They persist in their oppressive aims and policies despite the fact that it is realized on all hands that the future of mankind depends to a large extent on the eradication of racial myths and prejudices. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has published a series of brochures — *Racial Myth, Race and its Psychology, The Roots of Prejudice, Race and Culture* — which explode effectively the mythical claims of race superiority.

Moral and religious considerations apart, one would have thought that the growth of the population of the world would make us think in the interests of our own economic future. In fifty or sixty years the population of the world will have increased by 1,000,000,000 at the present rate of 20,000,000 a year. This is enough to make us understand the ever-increasing importance of bringing about a harmonious relationship between the various races of the world. The issue before us is quite clear. Either we destroy the millions by atomic weapons and famine or survive peacefully by means of increased production in countries like Africa, whose development because of its potential food-producing capacity is vital to the future of our civilization.

These considerations make it abundantly clear that the future structure and pattern of civilization in Africa cannot be based on the

South African Union's policy of racial segregation and also that the "white" civilization cannot survive in the Union for long, even though she is trying to expand her territory and thereby her racial policy. She incorporated South-West Africa in defiance of the United Nations Organization and now has her eyes on the adjoining territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. The Prime Minister of the South African Union, Mr. Malan, in a speech at Cape Town on March 4, 1952, said: "We have a duty — our future depends on it — to maintain Western Christian civilization in the Union, and I think this is also the aim of the two Rhodesias, at least of the European people there". What is meant by "Western Christian civilization" by Dr. Malan is not quite clear. But it seems pretty certain racial discrimination is its chief plank. How he can call it "Christian" passes our understanding. A picture of "Western Christian civilization" can be well imagined when we remember that in the Union of South Africa four-fifths of its population are represented by three white members of Parliament — the House of Assembly — of 150 members, the remainder represent the white one-fifth of the population! In justification of this policy the South African Government maintains that as the whites have furnished the initiative, skill, intelligence and money for the formation of modern South Africa, they must remain supreme and they must conserve their racial purity by segregating the natives to Reserves in which they must live in accordance with their culture.

Islam not content with Scientific Theses

In all the religions of the world, the thing of the greatest importance — the most valuable asset bestowed upon the world and its politics — was the ideal of race equality bestowed by Islam. If it be asked which religion it is that teaches the equality of mankind, each individual will reply that it is that which he himself professes. But if the form of the question be changed and we enquire, "What is that religion which has adopted the means for effecting equality and has shown it in action?" then there can be but one answer. Every religion talks platitudes when preaching equality, but not every religion has adopted the means for translating its teaching into practice, and no religion but Islam has tackled the race problem effectively; for as is recognized on all hands, Islam is a religion that affects the individual not only in his religious life but in his social life as well, and to our way of thinking this, i.e., the social life, is the most important aspect of the life of man. A religion which does not apply to our social life and which has no guidance to offer us in our daily life and which does not regulate the ties of nations cannot possibly be a religion for us who have to live in a world growing ever smaller. Religion devoid of these essentials is reduced to mere sentimentalism.

Scientific theses serve a useful, though limited purpose. They engender healthy ideas in the minds of men. But experience has taught us that ideas alone are not enough; what mankind wants is a system to work those ideas. Islam's political genius is unique in this respect. Not only does it inculcate the equality of mankind, it also shows its adherents the way by practical institutions to materialize the idea in their daily behaviour.

By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith

Islam and its Respect for Knowledge

By SAYYID SADR al-DIN BALAGHI

“The death of a tribe is less of a catastrophe than the death of a savant” — Muhammad

The Qur'an on knowledge

We read in the Qur'an:

“Those of His servants only who are possessed of knowledge fear God” (35:28).

It is an undeniable fact that in social organizations, old and new, and in all religions and faiths, there is none which accords a greater measure of respect for knowledge and a higher degree of importance to it than the religion of Islam. Islam, in contradistinction to all other religions and social orders, has encouraged its followers to draw from the well of knowledge. In the Qur'an we read:

“God will exalt those of you who believe and those who have been given knowledge, in high degrees” (68:11).

Knowledge, as viewed by the Prophet of Islam, is valued so much that the Prophet Muhammad has said:

“The death of a tribe is less of a catastrophe than the death of a savant!”

In *Usul Kafi* it is mentioned that the Imam Muhammad Baqir said:

“A scholar who makes his knowledge profitable is of greater value than seventy thousand worshippers”

Only the learned can appreciate the grandeur of the creation of God

In the Qur'an God addresses special words to scholars. He says:

“And (as for) these parables, We set them forth for men, and none understand them but the learned” (29:43).

It is thus the learned who, by their learning, appreciate the mystery and greatness of the creation, thereby accord to the Almighty the fear and respect which He deserves of His servants.

Again, God says in the Qur'an:

“Do you not see that God sends down water from the cloud, then We bring forth therewith fruits of various sorts: and in the mountains are streaks, white and red, of various hues and (others) intensely black?” (35:27).

The appreciation of these fruits bestowed by God comes to those who have learned His teachings. The famous Persian poet, Sa'di, in one of his well-known poems, says:

*Barg-i-Darakhtan-i-sabz dar Nazar-i-Hoshyar
Har Waraqe Daftarest Ma'rifat-i-Kirdigar.*

“Every single green leaf of a tree is in itself, in the eyes of those who think, a whole book that speaks loudly of the greatness of God.”

This is why God, by pointing out His greatness to mankind, says that:

“Those of His servants only who are possessed of knowledge fear God” (The Qur'an 35:27).

It is therefore clear that by the term “those possessed of knowledge” God means those who appreciate the great mystery of the creation and its secrets, and who therefore accord humility to the Master of the Creation, and develop a sense of fear and respect mixed with love and devotion to Him. Both love and fear in this case are the by-products of the proper understanding of this mystery. That is why we find that those deficient in mind have not such deep fear or love for God because they do not understand or appreciate His greatness.

It was as a result of this encouragement of the people to acquire knowledge and learning, to be found in the words of

the Almighty in the Qur'an and in the examples set by the Prophet Muhammad, that the early Muslims went to great lengths in their pursuit of learning. They went to such lengths in this respect that they frequently sought contacts with the learned of other nations in order to gain knowledge from them; and those Muslims of olden times valued greatly the friendship of these non-Muslim scholars. Abu 'l-Hasan Muhammad, known as Radhiy, a great Persian Muslim scholar (959-406 A.H. — 969-1015 C.E.), called Abu Ishaq, a notable scientist and mathematician of that era, his “spiritual brother” — although the latter was a non-Muslim! When Abu Ishaq died, Radhiy wrote a poem eulogizing him and lamenting his loss. In these poems he called Abu Ishaq (among other things) “a burning flame and a brilliant light that has unfortunately faded!”

Such words, spoken by a Muslim of a non-Muslim, are abundant proof of the fact that the Muslim who follows faithfully the teachings of his faith should accord every respect to men of knowledge and learning, irrespective of their race or religious belief.

The story is told that Radhiy always dismounted from his horse whenever he passed by the grave of Abu Ishaq, as a mark of his deep respect of him. When people criticized Radhiy for this practice, saying that it was not appropriate that a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad such as himself, and possessed of such a high degree of learning, should accord such a measure of respect and humility to a non-Muslim, Radhiy retorted: “I shall always accord my proper respect to knowledge and virtue . . .”

Some sayings of the Prophet Muhammad on knowledge

The Prophet Muhammad says:

“He dieth not who giveth life to learning.”

“Whoso honoureth the learned, honoureth me.”

“Philosophy is the stray camel of the Faithful; take hold of it wherever ye come across it.”

“The knowledge from which no benefit is derived is like a treasure from which no charity is bestowed in the way of the Lord.”

“To spend more time in learning is better than spending more time in praying; the support of religion is abstinence. It is better to teach knowledge one hour in the night, than to pray the whole night.”

“Whoever seeketh knowledge and findeth it, will get two rewards; one of them the reward for desiring it, and the other for attaining it; therefore, even if he do not attain it, for him is one reward.”

“That person who shall die while he is studying, in order to revive the knowledge of religion, will be only one degree inferior to the prophets.”

“One learned man is harder on the devil than a thousand ignorant worshippers.”

“That person who shall pursue the path of knowledge, God will direct him to the path of Paradise; and verily the superiority of a learned man over an ignorant worshipper is like that of the full moon over all the stars.”

“He who knoweth his own self, knoweth God.”

“To listen to the words of the learned, and to instil into others the lessons of science, is better than religious exercises.”

“The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr.”

“He who leaveth home in search of knowledge, walketh in the path of God.”



THE INTELLECT AND RELIGION

By AHMED HAMDI AKSEKI

“If mind fails to receive light from the messengers of God, the true recipients of the divine light and inspiration, the last stage of humanity and the civilization would be on the level of bestiality. Humanity can exist only with religion, where there is no religion there is no humanity”

The emphasis of the Qur’an and the Hadith on the importance of intellect

Man is a miniature universe who is born with an unlimited capacity for development. The Owner and Creator of absolute power has given man instinct, a scientific term, which is in religious terms called divine revelation or simply inspiration. Apart from this, God has endowed man with intellect, whose element is in the heart and in the spirit, and its light is originated in the mind. Instinct is shared both by animals and by human beings, but intellect with the full implication of the meaning, is a gift of God bestowed on mankind. Intellect is the reliable faculty which guides humanity, whenever the internal and the external sense organs fail to function properly. Intellect is the precious element which elevates man to the highest level in creation.

Assisted by the powerful light of this guide, man is capable of administering the forces of nature as he wills and of subordinating these forces to his own service. Man is enabled to grasp the meaning of things which are abstract. To think is to build a link between the cause and the effect or *vice versa*. Therefore, Islam attaches the greatest degree of importance to the intellect. God’s messages are for those who possess intellect. There can be no interest in religion, where there is no intellect. There are hundreds of Qur’anic verses and Hadiths emphasizing the importance of the intellect.

However, it must be pointed out that where the intellect fails to take advantage of religion, the general needs of humanity cannot be properly estimated. Religion as a modifying force of human thinking and action must necessarily find its roots within divine revelation and, through its original and pure preservation, guide itself to its true destiny. Perhaps from a materialistic point of view, this statement might not convey any meaning, however we believe that it is the very reality itself.

The real human values cannot be known merely by intellect

We admit that advancement in modern science is made to-day without the assistance of the Old and the New Testament and the Qur’an. However, we are forced to ask whether advance-

ment in science alone is the real object of civilization and humanity? Are we satisfied to boast of our success in breaking up the elements or by bringing them together, finding a new instrument or a novel amenity, which after all exist within the natural essence of things before their discovery?

Scientific advancement may give us unlimited power over natural forces. The underground railways and the ordinary railways, the submarine and the surface vessels, aircraft, which have literally nullified the meaning of time and space, and many other wonderful means of communication, excite our interest. We already envisage intercommunication with other planets, and the possibility of establishing relationship with the creatures of other planets. These we imagine, and according to the Qur’anic injunction they will some day become a reality (42 : 29). To-day the means of destruction on a very large scale is within human reach, as we have seen some cities with populations over 200,000 completely devastated, and colossal armies wiped out of existence. These are ordinary facts to-day, and in their realization the main factor is the mind. Without mental power humanity could have made no progress at all.

However, it must be admitted that the appraisal of the material aspect of things without a proper estimate of the real owner of the magnificence and the profundity of everlasting existence will not give us the real human values.

Why Revelation from God came to man

Indeed, man could have never properly evaluated his relationship with the Creator, if God Himself through His messengers had not communicated His laws and the duty He bestowed on man. Surely, man could never have recognized God by his mind alone, if God desired not to be recognized by man.

In the past centuries many sages meditated on the nature of the Supreme Being and made right or wrong statements on their conception of God. Among these the French philosopher, Descartes, in the 16th century demonstrated the existence of the Supreme Being through scientific thinking. However, it must be brought to mind that all these sages expressed themselves after the advent of the messengers of God. God-consciousness in man



*The late Ahmed Hamdi Akseki (d. 1951)
He was the Head of the Religious Affairs of Turkey
The inkstands on the desk come from the days when Turkey
had the religious dignitary known as the Shaykh al-Islam*

begins after the creation of this consciousness in man through His messengers.

Without the conception of God, the conception of humanity would not have existed now. The conception of the divinity as well as humanity is not the product of the mind alone. The mind is in absolute need of the guiding light above its limitations. There are many obstructions in the way of mental functioning.

The proverb: "Man is a man's worm", attributed to the English philosopher Hobbes, conveys a great truth. A worm is a creature which consumes everything to whet its appetite. Similarly man as a worm, without due regard for the rights of others, seeks simply to serve his own selfish interests. Morality and selfish interests never compromise and as long as an individual has no regard for the rules of the law, he may consider himself quite justified in transgressing the rights of others. In this case, banditry and thieving would not be considered as crimes. Impunity in the commitment of such crimes automatically eliminates the rules of morality.

Mind is not a sufficient guide nor an absolute authority

Therefore, we may conclude that mind alone is not sufficient even for the short span of a human life. Mind alone is not a sufficient guide nor an absolute authority. Now if, even for a while, we accept mental power as the final authority, an individual may find incest natural without moral consideration. For a religious individual, not only the actual existence of such perversity but even its imagination would be unbearable. Human recognition of good and evil is through the establishment of moral principles over several centuries. Irreligious and atheistic persons who recognize moral values and who view perversities with disfavour are, of course, under the influence of the divine religions. However, as this influence decreases, they are certain to find themselves indifferent to evil.

Indifference to moral values leads finally to animal behaviour, where the conception of humanity fails to exist. Insistence on bestiality will replace to-day's well known and very widely

recognized virtues and good conduct with vice and scandal. Of course, the degradation of humanity to such a low level would be a catastrophe.

If mind fails to receive light from the messengers of God, the true recipients of the divine light and inspiration, the last stage of humanity and the civilization would be on the level of bestiality. Humanity can exist only with religion, where there is no religion there is no humanity.

The fundamental elements of that reality which mankind has striven to discover all down the centuries, rests within the religion which is incorporated in the holy books. Mankind has learnt the basic facts of social unity through these sacred volumes. They have arrived at their present status by their development of faculties by the light received directly from the books of God.

Religions have created civilizations

The history of religions shows that the nations who recognized the principles of the divine religions and practised them were successful in creating civilizations of law and order, and thrived in knowledge and social and political unity. The ancient Indian and Chinese civilizations owe their establishment to religion. Judaism and Islam, which are based on holy books with their main principle of unitheism, have been successful in binding into social and political unity as one indigenous group peoples who were previously of different groups and of varying cultures.

These peoples have successfully assumed the leadership of humanity in creating a real civilization. Civilizations are brought into being by nations through their religions. History gives sufficient evidence of this solid fact. Every existence in the universe owes its existence to a previous being. Therefore every material and spiritual being is linked together in accordance with the law of cause and effect. The disestablishment of a connecting link in this law would greatly upset the whole structure. A stonemason can give any shape he desires to an ordinary piece of rock, but he can never rob the rock of its original elements. If he were to do this, the rock would lose its original identity. Materially speaking this is true, in spiritual terms the same rule works just as well.

As I have pointed out all moral and social institutions are the outcome of religion. From the very first messenger to the last, the fundamental elements of the religions were the same. They have changed in appearance according to the times and circumstances, but their essence has remained the same for ever. As all the religions have one common source, they are essentially and fundamentally the same. None of these established religions ever attempted to sever relations with its divine origin.

From time to time as somebody has remarked, some persons appeared who attempted to sever relationship with the source and who wished to interfere with the system with mental abstractions. However, each attempt was doomed to failure, because these principles cease to function on the human level as soon as the divine element is eliminated from moral, social and spiritual institutions.

Such conceptions as duty, rights, the society, the family, the mother, the father, the son will preserve their identity as long as they are related to the divinity. The relationship between the father and the son ceases to exist as soon as their identities are eliminated, likewise as soon as the relationship of the above conceptions with the Godhead disappear, these conceptions also will cease to exist. We are obliged to state that any other way of thinking in this field would be futile and should be recognized as perversity and mental bankruptcy. As long as the identities of all known moral values retain their relationship with the Supreme Identity, they will have their influence on the individual and on society.

MI'RAJ

OR THE ASCENSION OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

By MUHAMMAD 'ALI, M.A., LL.B.

"And when We said to thee: Surely thy Lord encompasses man.

"And We made not the vision which We showed thee but a trial for men" (The Qur'an 17:60).

The reference here is to the vision of Ascension or the *Mi'raj*,¹ which was really a prophecy of the ultimate triumph of Islam. There has been a difference of opinion among the learned as to whether the Prophet Muhammad's Ascension was bodily or spiritual; the majority adhere to the first view, but among those who hold the latter view there are personages of sound opinion, such as 'Ayesha and Mu'awiya. In view of the plain words of the Qur'an, however, which refer to the Ascension as being "the vision which We showed thee", the opinion of the majority must be rejected. The sayings of the Prophet Muhammad support this view. Thus in a report it is stated that the angel came to him "on another night when his heart saw, and the Prophet (peace be on him!), his eyes slept but his heart did not sleep; and such are the prophets, their eyes sleep but their hearts do not sleep, then Gabriel accompanied him and he carried him to heaven".² The concluding words of another report which speaks of the *Mi'raj* (Ascension) are: "And he awoke and he was in the Sacred Mosque".³ In another report the words describing the condition in which he was at the time of the Ascension are, "while I was in a state between that of one sleeping and one awake".⁴ In fact, it is quite true that he was not asleep — he was in a vision, but at the same time it was not a corporeal Ascension. He was actually carried to the Holy Presence, and he was shown great wonders, but it was in spirit that he was carried, and it was with the spiritual eye that he saw those wonders, not in body and with the physical eye, for things spiritual can only be seen with the spiritual eye.

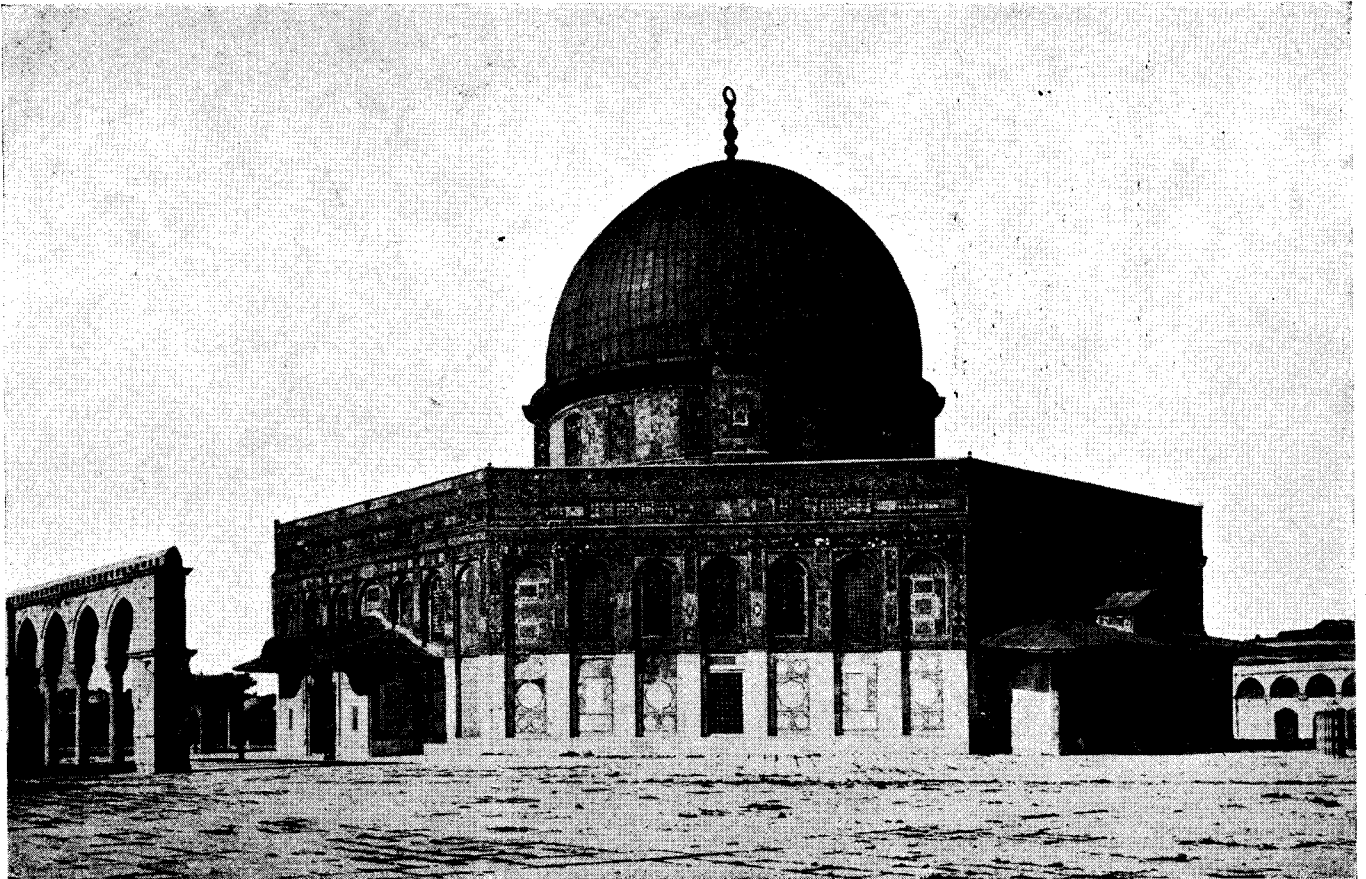
And this vision had an important significance. He saw it at a time when his condition was, to human seeming, one of utmost helplessness, and he was shown that a great future lay before him. His opponents, as usual, disbelieved in such visions, and laughed at him.

Another verse concerning *Mi'raj* is:

"Glory to Him Who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Mosque, whose precincts We blessed that We might show him of Our signs! Surely he is the Hearing, the Seeing" (The Qur'an 17:1).

The carrying by night of the Prophet from the Sacred Mosque at Mecca to the Remote Mosque at Jerusalem is in reference to the Prophet's reported Ascension. Though *Bukhari* (63:41) speaks of *Isra* and of *Mi'raj* in 63:42, yet elsewhere it speaks of "the prayers being made obligatory on the night of *Isra*", and then goes on to narrate the hadith which speaks of *Mi'raj* and of the prayers being made obligatory in *Mi'raj*.⁵ *Isra* is, in fact, the first stage in *Mi'raj*, as before his Ascension to heaven, the Prophet was taken to the Remote Mosque, or the Temple at Jerusalem. That the Ascension was not a translation of the body, but the spiritual experience of the Prophet Muhammad, is shown above, where it is expressly called a *ru'ya* or a vision. As the significance of the Ascension was the spiritual eminence of the Prophet Muhammad and indicated his triumph in the world, his being carried to the Temple at Jerusalem signified that he would also inherit the blessings of the Israelite prophets.

¹ *Bukhari* 63:42. ² *Ibid* 61:24. ³ *Ibid* 98:37. ⁴ *Ibid* 59:6.
⁵ *Ibid* 8:1.



The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem to which a reference is made in the Holy Qur'an (17:1)

Liaquat 'Ali Khan Triumphs Still in Death

By M. RAFIQUE KHAN, B.A. (Hons.)

“Islam never had a truer servant, for it was Liaquat 'Ali Khan who, by proving the intellectual equality of the Pakistanis, demonstrated that Islam alone can solve some of the most complex of the world's social problems to-day”

The success of Liaquat 'Ali Khan was due to his grasp of the spiritual side of his task

Six months have passed since the tragic death of Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the *Qaid-i-Millat* — “the leader of the nation”, as the Pakistanis love to call him — the first Premier of Pakistan. The interval has been long enough to provide a testing time for the task Liaquat 'Ali Khan accomplished during his four years' tenure of office. There can be only one verdict: the structure which he built has not merely survived, but has proved firm and true in every detail from its foundation to its highest storey. Liaquat 'Ali Khan has succeeded in giving the world a new and united nation and in planning its enduring strength and its increasing influence.

Let us consider the things to which that success was due. Supreme among all the virtues of this grand Muslim of modern times was Liaquat's grasp of the spiritual side of his task. He seemed to know by instinct that he had to achieve something more than to establish a State on a basis of economic solidarity; he had to give Pakistan a heart, a soul and an outlook, as well as a material façade. A Muslim by birth, a Muslim at every phase of his life and work, and a Muslim at the very moment of his death, reciting the sacred *Kalima*¹ as his life-blood flowed from the wounds the assassin's bullets had made, it was impossible for such a man to be imbued by any thoughts except that Islam should be the foundation, the framework and the roof of his country. The last words he ever spoke were his

prayer: *Pakistan ki Khuda Hifazat kare* (God protect Pakistan!). Love of God and love of country thus effaced even his own physical suffering.

It had ever been thus with Liaquat 'Ali Khan. Born of a royal line, which came from Iran about 500 years ago, descendant of Anushirvan the Just, the famous Iranian king, Chosroes I, Liaquat 'Ali Khan inherited the personality if not the outward symbolism of royalty. Yet throughout his life, while knowing instinctively how to consort with the greatest on the earth, he possessed a natural bent for simplicity in his own life and a trend towards socialism in his practical politics. All his great qualities — his personal mildness, his self-control, his coolness, his breadth of vision, his solicitude for the weak and the poor, his self-sacrifice—all come from the one source, namely, the purity of his Islamic faith and upbringing. As someone has remarked, Liaquat 'Ali Khan “lived a *Mujahid*² and died a *Shahid*³”. No wonder Pakistan holds his name in the highest honour, and the whole world has acclaimed him as a leader of men.



The late Liaquat 'Ali Khan with his wife

The Begum Liaquat 'Ali Khan not only shared the glory of her husband's achievements but by her grace and charm and by the wonderful leadership she showed in her work for the advancement of the women of Pakistan, she added lustre to her husband's name

¹ *La Ilaha ill 'l-Allah, Mubammad al-Rasul Allah* — There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His Messenger.

² One who strives in the way of God.

³ A martyr.



A view of the mammoth meeting held at Karachi, Pakistan on the 21st of October, 1951, to mourn the tragic loss which Pakistan suffered in the death of the late Liaquat 'Ali Khan

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, al-Hajj Khwaja Nazimuddin (standing on the dais) is addressing the meeting

There was little in Liaquat 'Ali Khan's early life to indicate the greatness to which he was destined. He did well at his books and at games while at school, took his degree at the Muslim Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, India, and then entered Exeter College, Oxford, just after the first world war. Until then he appeared to be just an average bright Muslim youth. As sometimes happens to men of his age, suddenly the serious side of Oxford entered into his soul and his intellect, and he found his maturity there in the midst of a post-war atmosphere of exuberance. At the University he also had his first real taste of public life, for he took an active part in the Indian Majlis⁴ there and became the Treasurer of that Society. His studies at the Inner Temple sharpened his natural logical mind and he cultivated early the gifts of debate and partee.

Liaquat 'Ali Khan enters public life

It was a profoundly changed Liaquat 'Ali Khan who returned to India in 1923. The first shock he gave his family came in the form of his refusal to accept a career in the Indian Civil Service. He prepared to serve his country in other ways, and chose politics, education and social service as the method of his service. In 1926 he was elected to the United Provinces Legislative Council, where he retained his seat for 14 years, six of them as Deputy President and Leader of the Democratic Party. In 1940 he entered the Indian Central Legislature, where he immediately became Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party under the late *Qaid-i-azam* Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. It was not a new partnership between these two great men. Already in 1937 Liaquat 'Ali Khan had become Honorary General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. The idealism and patriotic fervour of the poet, Muhammad Iqbal, had by then entered into Liaquat 'Ali Khan's soul, and along with Mr. Jinnah he was one of the first to grasp the potentialities of the notion of Pakistan as a Muslim State. His natural socialistic leanings, arising out of the Muslim concept of the equality and brotherhood of mankind, soon brought him to wider public notice, for in 1946, when he became the first Indian ever to hold the office of Finance Member of the Government of India, Liaquat 'Ali Khan produced his famous "Poor Man's Budget", which, through a Capital Profits Tax, made the war profiteers part with some of their wealth for the benefit of their poorer compatriots.

Not many months later, the dreams of Mr. Jinnah and Liaquat 'Ali Khan took material form in the creation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim country. The time for justifying their belief in the "two-nation theory" had come. Mr. Jinnah as first Governor-General of the newly created country became the

logical rallying-centre of Muslim idealism, and he was now free to concentrate on spreading the doctrine of "unity, faith and discipline" throughout Pakistan. He was fortunate in having as his right-hand man so steady, cool and experienced a colleague as Liaquat 'Ali Khan, upon whose shoulders (as first Prime Minister) fell the tasks of day-to-day administration. It was an ordeal well calculated to put to the severest test any man's courage, for the birth of the new State was attended by unique difficulties. The massacres which attended the partitioning of India; the mass movements of millions of emigrants and refugees; the unfair division of economic resources between the two countries, the splitting of Pakistan itself into two great territorial halves separated from each other by a thousand hostile miles; the terrible anxieties over the future of Kashmir, Hyderabad and other Muslim States; the lack of trained staffs and technical experts in all departments of public life — these and many other perplexities would have made the strongest minds quail. But Liaquat 'Ali Khan never flinched, never wavered. His mind was clear and he had complete control over himself and over his helpers. From the outset his motto became: "Pakistan has come to stay". And so, while all the world watched and wondered, Liaquat 'Ali Khan set out to show that Muslims knew how to run a State and that they had the right kind of spirit and the resources to do so.

Liaquat 'Ali Khan counselled peace, work and prayer to his people

The first requisite, Liaquat 'Ali Khan realized, was peace — not peace at any price, but peace through the calm handling of the difficult relations with two such excitable neighbours as India and Afghanistan. The organization of Pakistan's defence was thus his first concern, and, undertaking this portfolio in person, he soon laid the foundations of military security by collecting and reorganizing the army, the air force and the navy, providing them with supplies, bases and ordnance factories, training their personnel and finally placing them on a self-sufficing footing. There were repeated threats of clashes with India over Kashmir, over Hyderabad, over Junagarh. War at that early stage would have been a disaster; at any stage it would have been a dire tragedy, not only to Pakistan and India, but to all Asia. The fate of over thirty million Muslims marooned in India would also have been jeopardized. To hotheads urging war, he counselled patience. More than once he asked: "What good will a war do to Pakistan? All I want is five years of peace to build up my country. It would be senseless to fight India."

His good sense prevailed, and Pakistanis realized that their first duty was to establish economic strength, from which all

⁴ *Majlis*, an Arabic word, means society.



A memorial meeting in honour of the memory of the late Liaqat 'Ali Khan was arranged by al-Jaliyya al-pakistaniyya (The Pakistan Association) of Cairo on the 19th of October, 1951

In the group taken on the occasion can be seen in the midst of the members of the Association (from left to right) his Excellency Muhammad 'Ali Allouha Pasha (fourth) and the then Mufti of the Kingdom of Egypt, the Shaykh 'Allam Nassar. At the extreme right is the Honorary Secretary-General of the Association, Mr. Hamid Hasan Khan, B.A.

else would flow. They already had the common heritage of cultural and religious solidarity, and it was to these assets that Liaqat 'Ali Khan rightly felt he could appeal. He understood, for example, that Pakistanis, however hotly they resented the unfriendliness surrounding their borders, had their national pride and a real determination to prove that Islamic ideals were right and potent factors for the benefit of mankind. His people quickly responded to his plea for no retaliation against Afghanistan and for "peace by negotiation" with India, using the interval to strengthen their own country's resources.

The call that Liaqat 'Ali Khan made was, in other words, not a call to arms, but a call to work and prayer. He did not call in vain. An amazed world watched a strong administration set up from scratch. The people rallied round the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and Liaqat 'Ali Khan in a manner which filled every Muslim, in all lands, with pride and thanksgiving. Pakistan set up new world markets for herself, created new industries and banking systems, improved her agricultural output, provided herself with more motive power, enlarged her ports, spread her schools, trained her doctors, gave full scope to the talents of all her citizens, irrespective of age, sex and religion, and set up a system of social justice and toleration which is an example to the world.

From the first year of her existence Pakistan has had a balanced budget and a favourable trade balance. Despite floods and earthquakes, she has shrunk from no task of nation-building, and the history of her first four years has been a long narrative of triumphs and successes. The people themselves supplied by far the bulk of the money required for the gigantic projects of agricultural and industrial growth. It was perhaps the vastest voluntary effort the world has ever known, for there was no

element of compulsion in their giving. In return the Government gave them a better standard and kept the cost of living under control. In the midst of all this Liaqat 'Ali Khan remained the guiding mind. His whole life and leisure were given to the details of his gigantic task.

Liaqat 'Ali Khan puts Pakistan on the map

Nor were his activity and his genius confined to Pakistan's own limits. Again and again Liaqat 'Ali Khan found time to engage upon a still greater mission. Having set up an Islamic democratic system in his own land, he saw how vitally important it was to tell the whole world about Pakistan and its success. And so he went abroad. There were friends he had to make, and cultural ties which he had to strengthen. He went to Iran and Syria, Iraq and Egypt. He had the pleasure of welcoming the Shahinshah of Iran to Pakistan. Then off again to London, to meet the Premiers of the British Commonwealth of Nations. At last to the United States, where he could proudly tell President Truman and Congress about the greatness of Pakistan's efforts. Thence to Canada to win still more influential and helpful friends. What finer ambassador could Pakistan have had among the nations? Here was a scion of ancient kings treading and talking with self-confidence and modesty on equal terms with the world's leading personalities, ever proving that Pakistan had grown militarily, morally and socially strong, yet himself a man of the simplest habits, a man with a loving heart for his own family, a boundless love for his people and an unshakable faith in God. In the six months since his death, never for a moment has panic seized the Pakistanis. They have remained united and disciplined, and have continued with the utmost resolution the tasks of nation-building.



The late Liaquat 'Ali Khan is moving the historic Objectives Resolution in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly at Karachi, on the 7th of March, 1949

The Objectives Resolution lays emphasis on the principles of Islamic democracy and ensures that the constitution of Pakistan now being framed will be constructed with the fundamental principles of Islam as their basis

There is no doubt that in the last quality lies the key to Liaquat 'Ali Khan's greatness. If ever there was a triumph of faith, it has never shone brighter than in the life and achievements of this man. What is so remarkable is that he sought nothing for himself; on the contrary, he gave all — his wealth, his genius, his strength, and finally even his lifeblood.

Liaquat 'Ali Khan spared himself no sacrifice. He was at one time wealthy; he died completely poor. When he left India to come to Pakistan, he abandoned all his property and managed to live on his limited salary as Prime Minister. Nor did he ever attempt to regain his lost possessions. There came a time when, under an agreement with India, he could have claimed financial restitution. He was often urged to do so. Always he insisted that his should be the last claim to be dealt with; not until every Muslim refugee had obtained compensation would he ask for similar justice for himself.

In all his work, he had at least one consolation — the magnificent support of his wife, the Begum Liaquat 'Ali Khan, who, with two young sons, survives him. She not only shared

the glory of his achievements, but by her own grace and charm and by the wonderful leadership she showed in her work for the advancement of the women of Pakistan, she added lustre to her husband's name.

Such, then, was the spirit of this grand Muslim patriot, who was both man of the world and saint; both leader and follower; who believed in the potentials of his people and led them to success; who effaced himself, even while to the rest of the world he appeared as the prototype of all that is finest in the Pakistani character; who stood cool and firm when war threatened, giving his famous "clenched fist" gesture which made India recede after having reached the limits of prudence; who by his policy of peace gained time for his people to grow strong. All honour, too, to the true son of Islam whose breadth of vision included the picture of all Muslim countries as limbs of the same body.

Islam never had a truer servant, for it was Liaquat 'Ali Khan who, by proving the intellectual equality of the Pakistanis, demonstrated that Islam alone can solve some of the most complex of the world's social problems to-day.

The Meaning of the Word *Zaboor* in the Holy Qur'an

The higher criticism of the Bible supports the Qur'anic use of the word *Zaboor*

By S. MAQBOOL AHMED, B.A.

The word *Zaboor* in the Holy Qur'an with reference to the Psalms of David is very strange. The word for Psalm, or for Psalter, for that matter, in Hebrew and Arabic, is *Mazmoor*, plural *Mazamir*. The word *Zaboor* was never used for the Psalms of David, nor did the Jews use the word in that connection. Why is this word used in the Holy Qur'an when it was not known to the Jews? The Psalms of David in the Old Testament are composite, dating from the time of David or even earlier, from the captivity of Israel in Babylon. Some of these songs

might be attributed to David, but not all. There is, however, a direct quotation from the Psalms of David in the Qur'an:

"And already have We written in the Psalm Book after the reminder that my righteous servants will inherit the earth" (21: 105).

This is found in Psalm 37: 29. So, the word *Zaboor* in the Qur'an applies to the Psalms of David, or at least to some. Then why has the Qur'an invented the word *Zaboor* for *Mazmoor*?

The oldest fragment of Old Testament literature is probably

the "Song of Deborah and Barak" (Judges V), which is 11th century B.C. The next oldest are the "Sword Song" (Gen. 4), the "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. 49), the "Red Sea Triumph" (Exod. 15), the "Song of Moses" (Deut. 32), and the "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 30), all of which are 9th to 8th century B.C. Some or all of these must have been transmitted orally, the Jews having no writing before 900 or 800 B.C. The Psalms belong to the latest of Old Testament books. Some Psalms are of the Greek period. These include 150 songs by various authors used as hymns in temple services, attributed to David, Solomon, Aasph, Ethnan the Ezrazite, Moses, and the sons of Korah. Some Psalms belong to Maccabean times. Not until late in Jewish history was David supposed to have left any religious poetry behind him, and none can be attributed to him. The Babylonians possessed penitential Psalms far older than any in the Hebrew Bible. The Jews, being largely under the Babylonians, probably imitated these Psalms.

"The Song of Deborah" is now proved by the higher criticism of the Bible to have originated in the time of David, and it is this "Song of Daborah" which the Qur'an refers to as

the *Zaboora* of David. It is not as the Bible says the song attributed to the prophetess Dhaburah, but the "Song of Zaburah", as its date coincides with the time of David, was the song sung by David inspired by God, and some of these are included in the Psalms, of which one at least could safely be attributed to David, and that is what has been quoted in the Qur'an.

It is very strange indeed that no English translator of the Qur'an ever took notice of the word *Zaboora* and went on translating and confusing it with the Psalms, a confused collection of which is found in the Old Testament. The Qur'an has thus anticipated the higher criticism of the Bible and instead of falling into the common mistake of confusing it with the so-called Psalms or *Mazamir* of David, a fabricated composition of national songs of the Jews from the time of David to the time of Alexander the Great, with the real inspired songs of David called exclusively *Dhaboora*, a word known to the Jews but forgotten in respect of its contents and origin and restored only by the Qur'an.

A PERSIAN DYNASTY IN NORTH AFRICA

The Rustamids (776-909 C.E.)

By DR. A. FAROUGHY

"Abd al-Rahman had reached the end of his ten years as 'Ibadi Imam and also the end of his much agitated career. Faithful to his conviction and following the example of 'Umar, the second Caliph, he nominated six electors to form an electoral college and choose one of themselves as their Imam. However, unlike 'Umar, he did not expressly forbid the election of his own son"

Introduction

The name Rustamid is given to a series of hereditary Imams of the 'Ibadi branch of the Kharijites¹, a political section of Islam who ruled in North Africa from the year 761 C.E. until the end of the first decade of the 10th century.

Their capital, Tahert, the site of which was about five miles to the west of the present town of Tiaret, Province of Oran in French Algeria, was the seat of a kingdom stretching over a great part of what is to-day Western Libya, Tunisia and Algeria.

At the height of their power they possessed or controlled such metropolises as Tripoli, Kairawan, Ghabes, with the mountainous country of Jebel Nefusa and the oasis of Wargla (in Berber: Isderaten).

The founder of the dynasty, 'Abd al-Rahman, was born in Iraq, the name given to the western provinces of Persia by the Arab writers. The historian Ibn Khaldun gives him a royal ancestry (*min Nasl al-Kisra*) and makes him the son of Rustam, the general who commanded the Persian forces at the battle of Kaadisiya. Since that was fought in the year 637 C.E., the son of the Persian general must have been over 150 years, which is very unlikely. 'Ibadi sources speak of his father as "having died on his way to the west", probably in the Hejaz. It would be more logical to assume that 'Abd al-Rahman was the grandson of the witty but not altogether very brave Persian general. We do not know how much Saasanian blood ran in Rustam's veins, but undoubtedly he must have been of the nobility, since no commoner under the rigid social formation of the Persian Empire could have commanded the corps of cavalry formed by the noblemen (*al-Sawari*).

We have no information either concerning 'Abd al-Rahman's father, but we may safely assume that his financial condition in Persia left much to be desired, since he undertook

the perilous trip to the Maghreb in company with his wife and young son. The newly-opened West offered better chances of success, but destiny had decided otherwise, as he died in Mecca, leaving his wife and son without support. What could a widow do to support herself and her child but find a husband? Soon the young woman was asked in marriage by a man from Kairawan. Kairawan² was far off, not a place for a Persian princess to live in, but anything was better than starving. She consented to the wedding, and the newly-married couple with 'Abd al-Rahman went to settle in their new home.

'Abd al-Rahman, whose early life was influenced by the Kharijites, leaves for North Africa

'Abd al-Rahman spent his early years in that city, and when he was of age to go to school was given the best of teachers. Studies were confined in those days to the writing and reading of the Qur'an, and after this elementary schooling the children of good families would go to Arabia to finish their education. From the beginning, 'Abd al-Rahman developed a preference for the Khariji teaching, through the influence of his teacher or perhaps by his step-father. A Khariji doctor gave him an

¹ The Kharijites are the constitutionalists of Islam. They rightly believed in an elected government rather than the one headed by an hereditary chief. They came into existence in the very early history of Islam about 685 C.E. They hold that every Muslim is eligible as Caliph and that an evil-doing Caliph can be deposed. The Khariji were divided into three principal schools. The followers of 'Abdallah ibn 'Ibad are called the 'Ibadiya, and those of his cousin, 'Abdallah ibn Sufyar, the Sufriya. The third branch of Kharijism, the Azrakites, had almost no followers in North Africa.

² Kairawan was founded in the year 671 C.E. by the Arabs as a military post for the protection of their caravans. Its name seems to have come from the Persian word "Caravan".

introduction to Abu 'Ubayd Allah Muslim, and said to him: "Young man, to satisfy your appetite for knowledge, go to Abu 'Ubaid and in his company you will find what you are after."

Soon we see him studying in Basra at the school founded by Abu 'Ubaid. However, that school was not an ordinary one; it was a kind of underground training centre for the Khariji propagandists and agents. Frequently the Khariji agents from all parts of the empire gathered in the cellar of the school to communicate with each other and deliberate on the policy to follow. During such gatherings, the entrance to the cellar was watched by a slave, who at the approach of strangers gave the alarm by shaking a chain and making noises.

Several years passed, and by now 'Abd al-Rahman had become a handsome and charming young man, eager to learn. Slowly and surely, guided by his old teacher, he was introduced in the inner circles of the Kharijite school and initiated into the secrets of that movement. Once his training and indoctrination were completed, 'Abd al-Rahman, in company with four other classmates, was sent to North Africa. These Khariji missionaries were to co-ordinate and direct the forces of the Berbers who had revolted against the Caliph's authority. In case of success, one of the missionaries, Abu Khattab, was to become the Imam, Beni Derrar the Supreme Judge; the other three had no specific duties to perform. But 'Abd al-Rahman had chosen the right path:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.
Omitted, all the image of their life
Is bound in shadows and in miseries."

(Shakespeare: *Julius Caesar*.)

The time was ripe for action. The struggle between the founder of the Abbasid Caliphate and the last of the Umayyads had plunged the entire Islamic world into a state of turmoil.

The Governor of Africa and Spain, Ibn Habib, had recognized the new Caliphate, but soon changing his attitude he denounced Abul 'Abbas as a tyrant, and from the heights of his preaching chair withdrew his allegiance by pronouncing the classical formula: "I cast him away from me as I would these sandals." Then joining action to words he kicked the sandals over the heads of the faithful gathered for their Friday prayers.

But if the ambitious Governor by a stroke of his sandals had withdrawn his allegiance from the Abbasids, he was in no mood to restore to power the former Caliphs. He proved this by massacring the Umayyad princes, his parents by alliance, who had taken refuge in Kairawan. This treacherous act started a series of family feuds. Ibn Habib was assassinated by his own brother, who succeeded him. In turn, the latter was assassinated by Ibn Habib's son, whose forces captured the capital city. To further complicate the matter, the third brother of the former Governor took refuge with the Berber tribe of Warfajuma and led them to victory against his nephew. In this fashion, the Khariji tribe of Warfajuma became masters of Kairawan.

The Kharijite missionaries create trouble in North Africa

While these events were taking place at Kairawan, our Khariji missionaries had not been inactive. They were successful in ensuring the loyalty of the eastern Berbers who had embraced their cause, and under the guidance of the newly-elected Imam, Abu Khattab, they had attacked Tripoli.

Unable to take this heavily fortified city by arms, the Khariji found it necessary to resort to a stratagem. They entered the town disguised as merchants, and Abu Khattab himself led the caravan, bringing with him his soldiers, who were sewn up in bags, which were carried on the backs of the camels. When the caravan reached the centre of Tripoli, the men freed them-

selves and attacked the garrison, which was taken completely by surprise, and as a result the town was captured without great resistance. The whole of North Africa now seemed to be in the hands of the Khariji.

But soon differences arose between the 'Ibadiya of Tripoli and the Khariji of the west. The forces of Abu Khattab chased the Warfajuma from the town of Kairawan, the Government of which was given to 'Abd al-Rahman, son of Rustam.

But despite its rapid expansion, the 'Ibadi empire was short-lived. The troops of the Caliph of Baghdad invaded Libya. Abu Khattab was killed, Tripoli taken, Ghabes fell, and Kairawan opened its gates to the imperial force. 'Abd al-Rahman was now a fugitive in Kairawan, a city he had ruled almost three years.

"Fortune is made of brittle glass; when it shines the most, it is shattered" (Publius Syrus).

'Abd al-Rahman was not a man to be easily discouraged. He managed to escape, and with his son, 'Abd al-Wahhab, and his faithful slave, he packed his meagre belongings on the back of a borrowed horse and took the road to the west, the road which would soon lead them to freedom and fame.

The journey through country controlled by the enemy was extremely arduous. They had to travel at night, many times changing their course. To be detected would only mean torture and death. So when their horse died, the fugitives had to spend several hours burying the body in the sand. To make the situation more miserable, 'Abd al-Rahman became sick, and his companions had to take turns carrying him.

Finally the worst lay behind; the trip was nearing its end. They had reached Suf al-Jaj, a mountain hiding place and easy to defend. There they were joined by other refugees from Tripoli, and soon their number increased to about 70. This handful of men was able to defeat the forces of the Governor of Kairawan sent to pursue them.

Tahert is chosen as the capital by the 'Ibadites

Thus the mountain fortress became the rendezvous of the escaped Khariji, and also a training centre for their forces. But the proximity of Kairawan exposed it to constant raids by Arab forces, and the barren mountain could offer few resources for the increasing population. As a result, 'Abd al-Rahman and his followers decided to try their chances still farther to the west.

It was probably about this time that the 'Ibadiya felt the necessity of electing a spiritual and temporal leader, an Imam, to look after the ever-increasing problems of their community.

However, the selection was not an easy one, as several chiefs of tribes were aspiring to the position. Despite their integrity and the fulfilment of other requirements, the choice of any of the leaders would have given his faction an advantage over the others, thus upsetting the precarious equilibrium of forces inside the tribal confederation. And too, what was the possibility of removing the Imam from the office if he proved to be unworthy of the people's trust? In the case of a tribal chief, his own tribe was bound to defend him with arms in hand. The danger of a civil strife was more than a theoretical possibility.

Someone put forward the name of 'Abd al-Rahman as a possible compromise solution. His integrity and justice were beyond question, his fidelity to the Berber cause was well known, he was brave, well versed in the science of religion, and he was the only one living of the five original 'Ibadi missionaries. His Persian origin was no handicap, since the Khariji doctrine recognized to all Muslims, regardless of birth, colour, race or family, the right to become the Caliph of Islam. Furthermore, 'Abd al-Rahman did not have a family or a tribe to defend him, and therefore could easily be removed if he proved unsatisfactory

to the faithful. The Moving Finger had written that a descendant of the Persian kings should become an 'Ibadi Imam in North Africa :

"The Moving Finger writes ; and having writ,
Moves on ; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it."

'Omar Khayyam (Fitzgerald's translation).

By this time, the scouts who had been sent west had come back with their report, and all indicated the neighbourhood of Tahert as the best site for a permanent settlement. This region, the southern slope of the Jebel Juzula, in constant communication with the steppe, is the ideal summer resort for the tribes of the Northern Sahara. The soil is rich, the water plentiful, and its climate, cold in winter,³ is very pleasant during the hot months of the year. A small prosperous town was already there, but its Berber inhabitants were friendly enough to enter into contract with the 'Ibadiya. The agreement provided that the 'Ibadiya could get as much land as they could cultivate, but half of the produce of these lands was to be the property of the first owners.

The leader of the 'Ibadites, 'Abd al-Rahman, works like an ordinary workman

With their contract in hand, 'Abd al-Rahman and his followers started to work. There is no path of flowers leading to glory, and the life of the colonists was not an easy one. The land chosen was semi-jungle, full of dangerous snakes and ferocious beasts. It was necessary to clear it first, and although it was easy enough to chop trees and set fire to bushes, how to get rid of unwelcome roots? Here Persian ingenuity played its part. Lettuces were hidden in the ground beneath the roots, and when night fell, the wild boars, attracted by the smell of lettuce, played the part of small bulldozers. By morning the roots were cut to pieces and could easily be pulled out and new fields cleared up.

Nothing stands in the way of faith ; the wilderness was conquered. When they had cleared enough land, they started to build a mosque and houses. This new agglomeration became known as New Tahert, to distinguish it from the old Berber town.

While the work of construction and organization was pushed on feverishly at Tahert, the news of the election of a new Imam was sent to the Khariji centres throughout the Islamic empire. Despite their own difficulties, the Khariji of Persia and Bahrein managed to send money, "three camel-loads," as their contribution to the common cause.

But a Khariji is not a trusting soul, and the men in charge of carrying it to Tahert were instructed to make sure before parting with the money that the Imam was a man worthy of his reputation. So the men took the road to Tahert, and when they reached the outskirts of the city they tied their camels and hid the charges before entering the town. They were surprised at the manifest activity of what could be called the main street. They inquired for the Imam's house, and were directed to it. There they saw a modest cottage built of sun-dried brick ; nothing could distinguish it from the other houses in the town. In front of the house a negro was busy mixing the earth and passing it to a man repairing the roof. They told the negro that they wished to see the Imam, and were let in. In a short time they were introduced to the Imam, who was seated on an animal skin which was stretched over the straw mat covering the floor. Immediately they recognized him as the man who was repairing the roof. The only other furniture in the room was a cushion

on which the Imam had placed his sword, and in the corner, standing against the barren wall, was his spear. In another corner of the house a horse was tied up.

Soon it was meal time, and the Imam's party was served several warmed-up loaves of stale bread, melted butter, and a small amount of salt to enhance the importance of the occasion. After dinner the guests took their leave without revealing the real object of their visit.

The next day they returned with the money and found the Imam in the mosque, directing his daily prayer. The Imam, however, did not accept the money until he had referred the matter to his Council of State. The money was divided into three parts : one-third was to be spent in purchasing arms, one-third for the purchase of horses, and the remaining third divided among the poor.

Thanks to this financial aid, the 'Ibadiya were able to carry on their work of construction, to embellish their city, and develop their agriculture. From every corner of the Islamic Empire, and particularly from Southern Persia, rich merchants came to settle at Tahert. These newcomers brought with them their wealth, their knowledge and their commercial contacts. They built houses, markets, bazaars, public baths and palaces. Tahert rapidly became the emporium of the entire West.

When three years later the same 'Ibadiya envoys came back bringing another gift of money, this time "fourteen camel loads," they hardly recognized the town. Castles had been constructed, beautiful gardens created, windmills erected, the city was now provided with permanent fortifications, bastions were full of soldiers, and the streets regularly patrolled. But despite all the apparent changes of life at Tahert, they found the old Imam "as humble and simple" as they had left him three years before. However, this time the people of Tahert did not need help ; 'Abd al-Rahman refused to accept the gift, and sent it back to be divided among the poor of the Eastern communities.

'Abd al-Rahman was fortunate enough to see all his efforts crowned with success. He could repeat without any false modesty what thirty-six centuries before him an Egyptian king had written for posterity :

"My images are among the living ; and my achievements are among men."⁴

He had reached the end of his ten years as Imam and also the end of his much agitated career. Faithful to his conviction, and following the example set by 'Umar, the second Caliph, he nominated six electors to form an electoral college and to choose one of themselves as their Imam. However, unlike 'Umar, he did not expressly forbid the election of his own son.

The son of 'Abd al-Rahman elected Imam

Now the Rustamid were no more without a family or faction. Ten years of the Imamatus had earned them many friends. 'Abd al-Rahman had contracted clever political alliances : his daughter, 'Urva, had married Midrar, the son of the Sijilmasa chieftain ; the mother of his son and successor, 'Abd al-Wahhab, belonged to the Beni Iefren, sub-division of the all-powerful Berber tribe of Zenata. And above all, the Persian elements in Tahert would undoubtedly cast their entire vote in favour of their racial kingship.

³ The cold climate of Tahert had given rise to a number of amusing stories. The following is one: "An Arab of Tahert visiting the tropics looked at the sun and addressing it said: 'Surely you seem very proud over here, but I saw you pretty small at Tahert!'"

⁴ Instructions of Amenemhet, king of the 12th dynasty (2778-2748 B.C.).

The question of succession became highly debated, but 'Abd al-Wahhab, the son of the deceased Imam, was finally elected. A motion to oblige the Imam to rule by the advice of a council was also defeated. It was a triumph of the hereditary principle over the elective system of government. Those 'Ibadiya who were opposed to the hereditary principle refused to recognize the new Imam; instead they formed a new party (*Homriya*) and separated from the 'Ibadiya. The new party became known as the *Nokkars* (the Challengers).

The schism would have been indeed a fatal blow to the Rustamid hegemony had it not been for the strong personality of the new Imam. 'Abd al-Wahhab united in his person the intellectual quality of his father's Persian blood with the tenacity of the Berber's from his mother's side. He was brought up at the school of his father, whose fortune and misfortune he had shared. He was soon able to hold in his firm grip the unruly tribes, and with the help of other Khariji Berbers, his forces captured Tripoli.

But in order to protect himself from the Eastern Caliphate, he sought and cultivated the friendship of the Umayyad Caliphs of Spain. A mission from Tahert obtained a memorable reception at the court of Cordova, where a Rustamid exercised the function of Vizir.

Despite his military and civilian preoccupation, 'Abd al-Wahhab remained before all a religious leader. His book, *The Problems of Nefusa of the Mountain*, where he answered the questions sent to him by the people of Jebel Nefusa, formed the basis of the Rustamid 'Ibadi school.

After almost 40 years of office, 'Abd al-Wahhab died, and his son was elected in his place.

Maimun, the third Imam, favours the policy of "Divide and Rule"

Maimun (Abu Sa'id) Aflah, the third of the Rustamid Imams, ruled some 50 odd years. From the start, he distributed his power into the hands of the Persian elements, who occupied the highest ranks and filled different offices. The entire trade and wealth of Tahert was in the hands of the Persian merchants. They form a kind of separate nation within a nation. One of these merchants, Ibn Varda, had built a bazaar to which he had given his name. He had his own guards, and the authority of the chief of the police, "for deference to him," stopped at the gate of the bazaar.

In the field of culture, Persian influence was also paramount. At Tahert, one could study as easily astronomy or profane literature as the science of religion. A Persian, Abu Sahl, had composed in Berber twelve books of poetry, with subjects ranging from love stories to proverbs and ancient history. These books were so popular that despite their destruction by fire, many centuries later twenty-four chapters could be reconstructed from the verses memorized by the story-tellers and troubadours.

In political matters Aflah also relied mainly on Persian advice, and his motto was "divide and rule". By bestowing or withholding his favour, the Imam was able to control the tribes, and to borrow a colourful expression from Ibn Saghira, to "lie quietly on his back and stretch his hands and feet without being bothered".

However, if Aflah could enjoy by this method the peace and the luxury of his palace, already dangerous waves of destruction were battering the Rustamid ship of state. The antagonism between Persians and Berbers grew more and more, and owing to a wrong philosophy of government the Imam and his people were drifting apart. Wine, women and the lust for power hastened the work of the internal corrosion until in the year 909 C.E. the Ketamah tribes, led by a Persian, 'Abdallah al-Sufi, captured Tahert.⁵

Then the ruling Imam, the last of the Rustamids, Ya'qub, and his followers, abandoning for ever their cherished city, took refuge in the oasis of Wargla and the natural fortresses of the Jebel Nefusa. Africa, and later Egypt, soon became the hunting ground of the Fatimids, descendants of a genial but unscrupulous Persian potter from Ahwaz, 'Abdallah ibn Maimun.

However, the *Nokkars*, led by their coloured Imam, Abu Yazid, nicknamed "The Man on the Donkey", were successful in holding back the Fatimid expansion for a while. In the end, Abu Yazid was defeated, taken prisoner, and skinned alive. His skin, stuffed with straw, was put in a cage along with two monkeys, and paraded through the streets of Kairawan. The Fatimids were in Africa to stay.

Ya'qub, impressed by the example of the *Nokkars*, put an end to the "state of defence" by refusing to reconstruct the Imamate, and ordered the 'Ibadiya to go underground. The Rustamid dynasty had come to an end. It had taken Persians to beat the Persians.

The end of the Imamate did not mean the end of the 'Ibadiya creed. With an unshaken faith in their destiny, they set about creating a new community. But again the judgment of Fate proved to be merciless. Wargla, attacked by the forces of Almoravid, obliged the Rustamids once more to leave their homes behind and flee before the invader. They wandered for some time until they finally settled down in the territory known to-day as Mzab.

When the Rustamids came to live there "the country was like the inside of an immense earthen pot, dry as a bone". To dig down to water level, it was necessary to excavate by hand wells of sixty to one hundred, or sometimes three hundred, feet. Despite this, Persian genius went to work, and in a short time the country "dry like a bone" became a luxuriant oasis. Towns were founded, and to-day the "Seven Cities of Mzab" are among the most prosperous oases in North Africa.

Nearly a thousand years of isolation from the rest of the world has not changed the high standard of their morals. A 19th century traveller calls them "Muhammadan Quakers", and writes: "Integrity is the characteristic feature of their commerce, truthfulness marks their conversation, and morality their domestic life."⁶

What was true in 1870 is true to-day. Despite the vicissitudes of the French and Italian invasions and interferences, the 'Ibadiya of Mzab and their brethren of Jebel Nefusa kept intact their social institutions and their racial features. Persia is proud of its children.

The 20th century upheaval, the Turkish-Italian wars, the conquest of Libya by Italy, the declaration of the Libyan Republic and the return of the Italians, were costly events to the 'Ibadiya inhabitants of Jebel Nefusa. Most of their populations were massacred, and their cities destroyed.⁷ Now that Libya has become independent, it is hoped that the 'Ibadiya minority will continue to enjoy all political rights.

⁵ 'Abdallah, a Persian from Ram Hormuz, near Ahwaz, and a former inspector of weights and measures, had become now a propagandist for the Fatimids.

⁶ Dr. Napegyi, *Ghardaia, Ninety Days in the Desert*, 1871.

⁷ Al-Baruni, one of their foremost leaders, died in exile in India in May, 1940.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 مُحَمَّدٌ بَدِيعِ

(There is but One God and Muhammad is His Messenger)

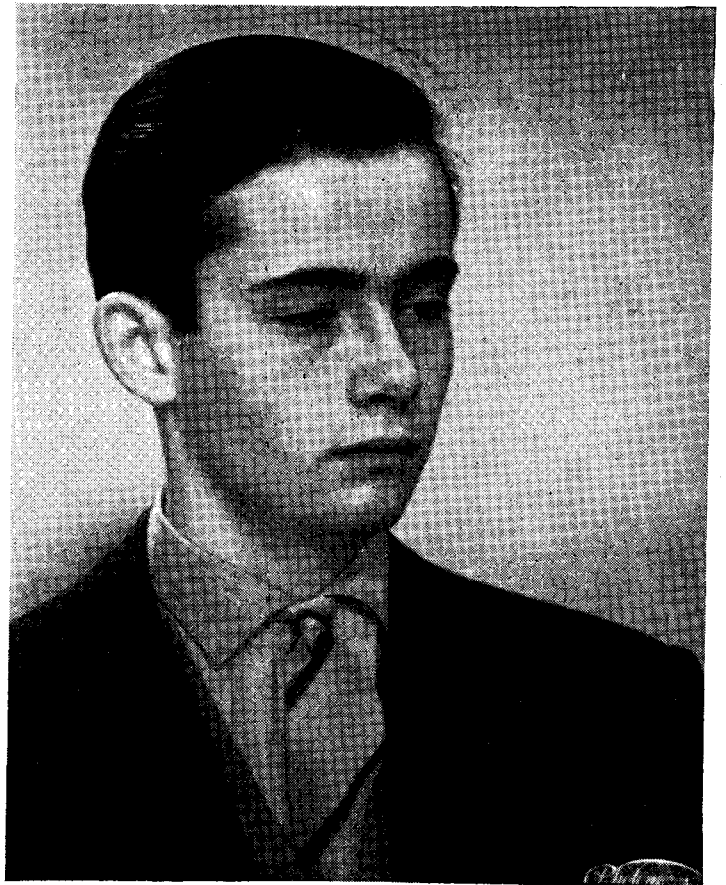
WHY I CAME TO ISLAM

By LEWIS ORVIS HASAN EVANS

After passing through the stages of childish atheism, agnosticism, half-hearted Christianity, and after having been tempted by and bitterly disillusioned by Roman Catholicism, I discovered Islam. The day I began to study Islam was the end of the beginning. I found in Islam a religion of simplicity and great beauty, a religion at once different from the so-called Christianity and its pessimist outlook on man by its burning optimism, a religion that appeals, as does no other, to man's reason. After studying Islam, with the kind help of the Woking Muslim Mission, I came to the conclusion that I had always been a Muslim. I felt that by joining the Islamic Brotherhood I was not so much becoming converted as realizing to the fullest what I had always believed in. . . .

I decided to become a Muslim. But this is not quite true. Actually, one night, as I thought about Islam, it was as though the hand of God had touched my mind and I was a Muslim ; it was more than the mere act of decision. My feelings when I was actually a Muslim were twofold primarily. On the one hand I felt a supreme peace which I had never experienced before. I felt as though I was basking in peace. On the other hand I felt the joy of having acquired legions of friends and belonging to something much greater than myself. To quote one of my former professors, I had achieved "psychic certainty".

My first visit to the Mosque at Woking confirmed this feeling of friendship. I arrived at the Mosque feeling a certain disquietude over my reception. But my cares were groundless. I was received like a long-lost son by friends at the Mosque. The even more remarkable thing was I felt completely at ease myself, which is just short of remarkable in a self-conscious person.



Lewis Orvis Hasan Evans, an American, who has joined the world Brotherhood of Islam

Labour and Management Problems in Pakistan

By THE HONOURABLE DR. A. M. MALIK

“ We want to establish Islamic social justice and the Islamic way of distribution of wealth and economy in an age when two absolute divergent ideologies are fighting against each other and tearing to shreds the fabric of social structure. If we analyse the whole issue and try to find a solution, neither of the two ‘isms’ solves a man’s problem. We have forgotten our past and we have forgotten what Islamic principles of justice and equity were. We have forgotten the brotherhood of Islam and the equality between man and man, and what it teaches, and that is why we are like blind men searching for the solution here and there in vain. Due to the same ignorance of the power of Islamic socialism, some call it either a ‘stunt’ or a ‘bluff’ or something not understandable. But it is not so. Its injunctions are very clear and very unambiguous. It has the greatest force in placing on you a compulsion that if your neighbour, not to speak of your servants and co-workers, remain hungry, food is forbidden to you. You have to share your food, your apparel and your comfort with others, high or low. You cannot amass a bank balance if your neighbours are ill, poor and hungry. You cannot have two suits if your servants have none. So on and so forth. Can any ‘ism’ give you better principles of social conduct and stricter injunctions than this ? ”

Pakistan established not for a handful of people

The main basis of our fight was economic emancipation. Perpetually we were under the oppression of a class of people, both national and foreign, who sucked the blood of the nation in such a way that we were going down and down and there was no hope of our survival. Unfortunately, or fortunately, Muslims as a class were these exploited people. So, the cry for emancipation from economic slavery was given a communal colour by the interested people. Both the Qaid-i-a'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and the Qaid-i-millat Liaquat 'Ali Khan of revered memory and also our present leaders have always proclaimed that Pakistan was not established for a handful of people to become ministers or millionaires. In this connection, I may recall the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly where it has been laid down that Pakistan has not been established for the benefit of any group or class of people. It has been established for the good and prosperity of its general masses. The working population forms the majority of its people. Their prosperity is, therefore, the prosperity of Pakistan. We have set our heart on the establishment of Islamic socialism. It is neither the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the exploitation of capitalism. That socialism is the blending of all the conflicting interests of society in such a way that the prosperity of the largest number is achieved without the hardship and misery involved in expropriation of any group or class of its people. At the same time, heavy responsibilities lie upon the employers. They are in a privileged position and their privilege is that of discharging their duties to the wage-earners benefiting their position. So they may be described as trustees on behalf of the nation entrusted with the job of looking after the workers and meeting their legitimate needs and demands.

Relation between management and labour

We are lucky in this respect that we have not inherited any industries. We are starting from scratch. As such, we will be able to avoid evils of the capitalist system if we are to take a lesson from the experience of other nations. A contented and happy worker is not only an asset to himself, but an asset to industry as well as to the nation. We have set our hearts on bettering the lot of the common man, and this can be done only if those on whose shoulders have fallen the responsibilities of looking after labour play their part fairly and justly. There are good employers and there are bad employers. There are good

workers and bad workers, but I am sure, for a happy relation between the management and labour, it is essential that both should work not at cross-purposes but for the common object of increasing the wealth of the country and sharing it justly and equitably.

You have rightly commended some foreign employers for their fair and reasonable attitude towards their workers. From my experience, I can say that we have quite a large number of good employers among Pakistanis too. But as Pakistani employers are new in the field of industries and commerce, it is not their fault that they have not as a class appreciated the advantage of making their workers contented and happy. But I foresee a definite change on the whole in their outlook and I am sure so far as the relations between the management and labour are concerned there is a bright future before us. . . .

I regret that some of the employers of labour do not know the labour laws. If it is their job to employ labour, then it is also their job to know the regulations connected with the employment of labour. There have been instances where big employers have questioned the right of our labour conciliation machinery set up to look into grievances of workers. Such ignorance can only result in more labour trouble and less production. If one does not know the law, one might break it without knowing, and if somebody points it out to him, he might take it amiss, and thus without knowing he might be creating a situation which may go against him. Before starting to manufacture anything one should take care to know the technical side of the question as to how to manufacture the goods. Similarly, you should take care to learn the labour laws connected with the employment of workers. This is as necessary as it is to know what kind of machinery is essential for a particular kind of job. A labour problem is a very ticklish and difficult problem. It requires tactful and firm handling, and this is not possible without a knowledge of the labour laws. Before you invest your capital you must know your responsibilities towards those who will earn your bread by the sweat of their brow.

In some quarters, it has been mentioned that with the formation of a separate Ministry of Labour a filip has been given to labour unrest. Nothing can be further from the truth. Here I will give an illustration to make the point clear. Absence of a doctor or a hospital or dispensary does not mean that no one is suffering from a disease. By ignoring a disease, you cannot say that the disease does not exist. What we are trying to do is to examine the disease and prescribe the treatment. If the disease is serious and communicable we see that you take the treatment. We only insist that labour relations are based on justice and fair play. We believe that “ Prevention is better than cure ”.

¹ A number of unions consisting of the employees of the foreign concerns in Karachi held a joint meeting in Karachi on 17th February, 1952, at the Khaliqdina Hall to present an address to the Labour Minister, the Honourable Dr. A. M. Malik. This article is the text of the Minister's speech in reply to their address.

It does not depend on the sweet-will of a particular employer or a group of employers. So far there have been no systematic efforts to formulate a labour policy, nor has there been any determined effort to find out the root causes of labour unrest. A poor, discontented, dissatisfied manpower cannot build a strong Pakistan. The prosperity and health of the workers is of paramount importance to the very existence of Pakistan. This is the basic reason why we cannot ignore the problems facing the working classes. General prosperity depends on the prosperity of the workers. As the Government is determined to better the lot of the workers, it is also the duty of the workers to realize that they should not play into the hands of unscrupulous and selfish labour leaders.



The Honourable Dr. A. M. Malik, Minister for Labour in the Government of Pakistan, is addressing a meeting of textile workers at Okara, Panjab, Pakistan

Dr. Malik, in his capacity as a Minister of a Muslim Government, is working for the creation of a society, to use his own words, "where every house, every shop, every firm and every concern will be a unit of social service. According to Islamic ideology there will be people to give alms but no one to take it"

Leaders and agitators

You have to distinguish between an agitator and a leader. A leader is he who leads to the goal of satisfying faithfully your daily needs; the need for your bread; the need for education of your children, and the need for a better standard of living. This cannot be achieved by putting forward your demands to the employers and fighting with them. On the one hand, your leader should see that the conditions of your service, including wages, hours of work, leave, and other amenities,

improve and, on the other hand, he guides you on the way to balancing your income with your expenditure. The time has come when every organization must take up constructive work for their members. In this connection, I want to suggest to you that every big organization should have one co-operative society, and the smaller ones can combine together and start similar societies for supplying the consumer goods to its members at cheap prices on a "no loss no profit" basis. From my personal experience I may tell you that this has in many cases done great service to its members. This will not only help you to economise on your expenditure, but also help you in gaining experience on other matters. The real labour leader should also see that better relationship exists between the employer and the employee so that each side realises that one cannot do without the other, and each individual feels that the interest of the concern is his own interest.

We usually find that the so-called leaders hold before you rosy prospects without considering whether these are attainable or not. People generally follow them due to their alluring and sweet catchy words and phrases and, in the end, discover to their great misfortune that they have run after a mirage! Too many strikes and lockouts do not necessarily indicate a healthy trade unionism. While the workers must insist on getting better wages and better conditions of work, they must work harder to earn it. Efficiency is the keynote to success. This should go hand in hand, and it is the duty of healthy trade unionism to see that better conditions of work are followed by more production. The reverse is also true. More production should mean better wages and better conditions of work. In this connection-I would also like to tell you that I am very acutely feeling the need for trained labour leaders as well. I have seen officials of the unions ignorant about the labour laws. Due to want of such knowledge, they often fail to put their grievances correctly at the proper quarters. The result is that sometimes matters become either complicated or action is delayed. I am of opinion that there should be an institution to train the office-bearers of trade unions so that they know how to tackle the problems. These leaders and office-bearers should also take up this line with a spirit of social service, not as exploiters of the wage earners with a view to creating fields for political or other ends.

Growth of healthy trade unionism is good for management

Now I may as well give a piece of advice to the employers. Growth of healthy trade unionism is in the interest of management, as responsible trade unionism is bound to result in better relations with management. The labourer is on the horns of a dilemma at present. He suspects that he is being, on the one hand, exploited by an unscrupulous employer and, on the other, by an unscrupulous labour leader. He does not know where to turn to for genuine and honest advice. Here the employer can lay the foundation of a lasting and permanent good relationship by recognizing healthy trade unions. If he recognizes the trade union which represents the largest number of workers, this in itself will strengthen the hand of workers who want to have a normal relation with management. This will also lead to gradual elimination of that element in trade unionism which is bent on exploiting the wage earners. They should also set up works committees to bring their employees closer to them and create a feeling that the smooth running and prosperity of the concern is not only the responsibility of the executive heads but also that of everyone who is a member of the staff, however minor a position he may hold.

Coming now to the repressive attitude of the employers towards the employees, I would fail in my duty if I did not draw your attention to the general tendency of the employees and their unions to formulate exaggerated demands in season

and out, quite unmindful of the resources of the industry to meet them. This defeats our very object. The employers have, rightly or wrongly, gained the belief that a trade union is set as a rule for the sole object of squeezing out of them maximum benefits, and not for the purpose of establishing an institution through which matters of mutual interest can be discussed and decided upon. It would, therefore, be worthwhile for the union to consider that, while on the one hand they strive for the betterment of the service conditions of the wage earners, they do not become instrumental in killing the goose which lays the golden egg. We should not refuse, if wise, to be benefited by the experience gathered from such countries where they went on increasing wages without any national or international plan. It has been established fully that incessant wage increase does not solve the problem of wage-earners. It encourages inflation and adds to national miseries. More production and less cost of living is the only solution. Keeping that in view, we are to tackle all our problems. A minimum standard, of course, everyone must have. Our present struggle is limited to that end only. . .

Collective agreement

You have stated that an industrial tribunal should be established for deciding labour disputes. As a last resort, an industrial tribunal is the only means of settling a dispute, but in the interest of harmonious and peaceful relations between management and labour it is essential that as a rule workers and employers should settle their disputes by mutual negotiations without interference by a third party. We call it "Collective Agreement". It is an internationally recognized policy which has worked very satisfactorily. After all, an industrial tribunal is a necessary evil, proving to everyone that management and workers have failed to settle their disputes. It also leaves a bad taste in the mouth whatever may be the award. Our aim is not to encourage such measures, which, instead of bringing each other closer, widen the gulf. We believe in mutual understanding, fellow-feeling and goodwill. Therein lies the permanent peace and progress. However, as and when occasion arises we refer a dispute to an industrial tribunal, but we have not reached the stage where we should have a permanent industrial tribunal. When that stage is reached, the Government will certainly consider the question.

In conclusion, I must appeal to the workers, as well as to the employers, that we in Pakistan are on the threshold of industrial development. We have no industries worth the name, and the progress of industrial development will depend on the good sense of industrialists and labour leaders. Industrialists should realize that a contented and happy labour force is the greatest asset of an industry. It is even more important than highly complicated and costly machinery. It is more important than highly-paid technicians. The old days have gone when labourers were treated as slaves.

My attention has been drawn to the resolutions of the Mill Owners' Association in connection with the recent strike. I am pleased that good sense prevailed and the strike ended satisfactorily, but I cannot refrain from saying that the resolution was untimely, unkind and unfortunate. Without criticising the words and the authors, I can only request them to see the "writing on the wall". For their information, I would like to say that the demand of the Mill Owners' Association for a ban on the worker's right to strike can never be considered, since it runs counter to the provisions of the I.L.O. Convention concerning the freedom of association and collective bargaining, which, very fortunately, the Pakistan Government has already ratified. If the workers comply with the provisions of the law

on the subject, there should be no reason for depriving them of their right to strike — a principle fully recognized by all the industrialized countries. If the machinery set up for resolving the differences and disputes between the employers and employees is given a fair measure of co-operation by the parties concerned, occasions to resort to direct action should be few and far between. . .

The goal in view is the establishment of social justice as envisaged by Islam

We have a greater task, more responsibilities and insurmountable difficulties in implementing what we really believe. We want to establish Islamic social justice and the Islamic way of distribution of wealth and economy in an age when two absolute divergent ideologies are fighting against each other and tearing to shreds the fabric of social structure. If we analyse the whole issue and try to find a solution, neither of the two "isms" solves a man's problem. We have forgotten our past and we have forgotten what Islamic principles of justice and equity were. We have forgotten the brotherhood of Islam and the equality between man and man, and what it teaches, and that is why we are like blind men searching for the solution here and there in vain. Due to the same ignorance of the power of Islamic socialism, some call it either a "stunt" or a "bluff" or something not understandable. But it is not so. Its injunctions are very clear and very unambiguous. It has the greatest force in placing on you a compulsion that if your neighbour, not to speak of your servants and co-workers, remain hungry, food is forbidden to you. You have to share your food, your apparel and your comfort with others, high or low. You cannot amass a bank balance if your neighbours are ill, poor and hungry. You cannot have two suits if your servants have none. So on and so forth. Can any "ism" give you better principles of social conduct and stricter injunctions than this? But alas, what is our fate? Look at our masters, employers and elders. Do we follow these principles in life? Do we follow what we profess? Do we do as we speak? The greatest hoax of the modern age is that in our heart we feel one thing, in our head we have another thing, our tongue speaks something else and our hands do something entirely different. One belies the other. None can put faith in the sayings of such people. We are to change this terrible tide of the age. The task is great. It will take time, it will take our energies, patience, forbearance, and also many of our lives. Let us be prepared for that. Be trained to guide the nation to that goal. To abuse and find fault with others will never help us in achieving our goal. A systematic, persistent and well-planned policy with clearer visions of sufferings and sacrifices is needed. Let us search our own heart and for a moment look into it and ask how far we are prepared to sacrifice ourselves and do good for others and for the nation.

We claim that we are citizens of an independent country and must have what we want, but we do not forget to take the burden of responsibility of a free citizen of an independent State. In every sphere one can do his own bit. As you demand higher wages for yourself, you should also be prepared to pay more to your servants at home. They also expect good behaviour, good food, better wages and better amenities from you. I dream of a society where every house, every shop, every firm and every concern will be a unit of social service. According to Islamic ideology there will be people to give alms but no one to take them.

The Islamic bloc to stand between the two countries is

The Congress of the Divines of Islam (The
(Friday, 16th February, 1952)



Forty-three Muslim Divines from Iran, Syria, Sa'udi Arabia, Azad Kashmir, invitation of the Ja

A view of the dais at the Congress of the Divines of Islam. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, His Excellency al-Hajj Khwaja Nazimuddin is addressing the opening session of the Congress with al-Hajj Muhammad Amin al-Husaini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine (third from right) in the chair. To the right of the Chairman is the Minister for Kashmir Affairs, the Honourable Dr. Mahmud Husain, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, while to the left of the Chairman are Their Eminences Ayatullah Kashif al-Ghita, a Shi'a divine from Iraq and Sayyid al-'Iraqayn from Iran.

The Inaugural Address of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, al-Hajj Khwaja Nazimuddin

"It is a source of great pleasure for me to perform the duty of welcoming this unique and select gathering of the leading personalities of Islam.

"When I bid you welcome I know I am not welcoming only a few honoured personages but I am really welcoming that concept and system of life which the greatest Teacher and Guide of the world placed before a misguided humanity 1,350 years ago.

"It was a light which enabled mankind to attain its highest ideal. To-day you are its torch-bearers and of course, everyone should welcome light. To-day humanity is enveloped in the darkness of different theories and conflicting systems of life; it is in search of a light which would lead it to its real objective.

"It is my conviction and the faith of every Muslim that such light emanates from that beacon whose rays illumine your hearts and minds. If at this juncture you succeed in showing this light to the humanity which is surrounded by sorrows and tribulations then this welcome will be not only from me but from the entire mankind.

"This meeting of the leading personalities of the Islamic world is taking place to achieve the same objective for which Pakistan came into existence.

"It is a matter of great pleasure for all of us that the 'Ulama of different Islamic countries have undertaken long journeys and assembled here in Pakistan to deliberate on that ideal. In fact, it is a happy augury and a welcome step towards the unity of the Islamic people.

"The present troubles of the Islamic world have compelled the Muslims to consider this matter in all seriousness and to try to overcome the obstacles in this behalf by suitable measures. So far as Pakistan is concerned, its existence has brought the unification of the Muslim world and the cohesion of the *Millat* within the pale of possibility.

"I hope that this assemblage of the 'Ulama and the thinkers will be able to translate such proposals into practice which will embrace all aspects of the welfare and prosperity of the Muslim people."



The Shaykh al-Islam of Pakistan, (d. 1950), to commemorate the session of the 'Ulama of Pakistan convened the session of the Shaykh Ahmad al-'Usmani worked

The Demand for

The Grand Mufti of Palestine in the unity of Islamic States into a comp

He said: "Modern scientific research in these circumstances even the most isolation. Even Great Britain, with all to ask for help from the United States

"Blocs are being formed to-day in the world. On the one hand there is the Anglo-American bloc believing in Communism are forming a bloc. Our country is joining one bloc or the other

"Only the Muslims in the face of the world have failed to form themselves into a permanent powerful bloc to-day.

"Muslim unity is demanded of Muslims to form themselves into one U

"Therefore, it was our duty to reconsidering ways and means of uniting the Muslims between the 'Ulama of the world, popular life, and replacing the modern laws in

warring blocs of the West and Communist taking shape

al 'Ulama al-Islam) held at Karachi, Pakistan

— Sunday, 18th February, 1952)

y, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia,
ia, Algeria and Ceylon responded to the
at al-'Ulama of Pakistan



late 'Allama Shabbir Ahmad al-'Usmani
death anniversary of whom the Jami'at
gress of the Divines of Islam. The late
ughout his life for the upliftment of the
of India

Unity of Islamic States

residential address made a strong appeal for
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ed to the call of the 'Ulama of Pakistan for
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ng Islamic culture, jurisprudence and way of
slim countries with Islamic laws."



While at Karachi, the Muslim Divines took the opportunity of visiting the Mausoleums of the Founder of Pakistan, the Qaid-i-d'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, and the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, the late Qaid-i-Millat Liaqat 'Ali Khan. Our picture shows the Iraqi and Irani Divines reciting the Fatiha (the opening chapter of the Holy Qur'an) by the side of the grave of the late Liaqat 'Ali Khan

Objects

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Honourable Dr. Mahmud Husain, explaining the aims and objects of the Congress, said:

"... It is not a secret that the Islamic world is passing through an ordeal which challenges our civilization, our policy, our society, our culture and our very existence so that we find ourselves helpless and look to others for support. . . Now when the population of Muslims has swelled to several millions . . . we find ourselves helpless, down-trodden, humble and in the throes of a life and death struggle, we find the culture and ideals of others attractive and view with scepticism our own ideology and our own culture. We ask ourselves why our past is so different from our present and why we have fallen so low.

"As everyone knows, this can only be attributed to our deviating from the path of righteousness. We ceased to practise the precepts and the teachings handed down to us by our Prophet (peace be on him!). We lack the character which we should have as Muslims. We pay lip service to God Who we say is One, but in our minds we tremble before several gods, we bow down in homage before thousands of gods. We call ourselves promoters of truth and justice which are nowhere near us. To regain our lost status in the world we must follow "the Islamic faith" and develop the "true Islamic qualities".

"A united and concerted effort in this direction is essential. We will have to organize a movement to achieve this end and the Muslim divines alone can organize such a movement better than any other body of men because on the one hand, on the basis of their profound learning and knowledge of religious affairs they would be able to propagate and explain the Muslim viewpoint.

"It was therefore decided to invite Muslim 'Ulema from all the countries to sit in a conference and chalk out a practical programme which may prove helpful in the dissemination of true Islamic ideals. Thus among the aims and objects of *Ihtifal 'Ulema al-Islam* it has been included that this organization will unite the Muslims from all parts of the world and will infuse them with that spirit of brotherhood which is the ultimate object of Islam. It will arrange for the establishment of an inter-Islamic *Bait al-Mal* and promote the interest and welfare of Muslims. . ."

THE MILLENNARY OF AVICENNA — the Mountain-peak of Oriental Speculation

(370-429 A.H. — 980-1036 C.E.)

By PROFESSOR FRANCESCO GABRIELI

“Avicenna represents the most powerful intellectual effort ever made at reconciling Aristotelian thought to the climate Arab-Islamic civilization”

Avicenna's memory sacred even to those who are not Muslims



In 1950 a thousand years had run their course through the Muslim calendar since the birth of Avicenna (370—1370 A.H.). The discrepancy between the lunar method of reckoning the years in the Muslim calendar and the solar method means that for Europe this millenary, which the Muslim East, above all Iran, celebrated in 1951, should not fall, strictly speaking, for another thirty years, that is, not until 1980. Yet fifteen years ago, in 1937, other Eastern countries such as Turkey and Afghanistan commemorated according to

the Gregarian calendar the ninth centenary of the death of the great scientist who — let us fix our ideas amid these shifting dates — was born in the year 980 and died in the year 1036 of the Christian era.

We can rejoice at this opportunity for double commemoration, if it gives us occasion to return more often in thought to the great spirits of the past against whom we certainly do not sin out of excessive remembrance and honour. And that Avicenna, the most famed doctor and philosopher of the Muslim Middle Ages, is in the ranks of that noble band, sacred even to the admiration of those of a different faith and culture, we are assured by the very words of him who saw him on the green and pleasant meadow, between Hippocrates and Galen, with at least two other companions of his own civilization, Averroes and the lonely Saladin. A name set in the gold of one of Dante's verses cannot be foreign to us Italians or to any cultured Western mind.

For this reason, as well as for other more profound reasons of an historico-cultural nature, Avicenna is, in fact, no stranger to us. Indeed, he was incorporated into our Western science and culture, through a process of assimilation which it will be a joy to re- evoke, before that science and culture had soared to the wonderful heights it attained in the Renaissance and left far behind its Eastern sister, from whom, nevertheless, it had drawn upon and learned so much in the Dark Ages.

It is only to-day, indeed, with the excessive trend towards specialization of contemporary learning, that one has to seek out an Orientalist, an Arabist or Islamist to come to speak on the Arab-Muslim Avicenna. Yesterday, that is, as late as the 15th and 16th centuries, our forefathers, the physicists, doctors, philosophers and alchemists now resting in the naves of the churches or under the arches of the cloisters at Florence, Bologna, Padua and Rome, would have spoken of him as one speaks of a well-known genius. He was one of their masters, one of the pillars of their science, one of the sages of their faith — it mattered little that Muhammad should be there to divide them from him. Advantages such as a more detailed historical perspective, a more accurate fitting of the man into the picture

of his age and civilization, advantages which we may obtain to-day from the words of a specialist, do not, I think, compensate for what our fathers alone would have given us: the echo of a vital daily practice, the feeling of having direct experience with certain problems — in a word, a certain atmosphere of spiritual kinship, albeit only that of followers towards a master, the “Master of Masters” of medieval science, and that not only in the territory of Islam. But since the world has chosen to give itself into the hands of technique, you must content yourselves with what a technician can tell you of language and culture and forego any study of those specific medical and philosophical disciplines in which Avicenna was great (and here we witness the first defeat of technique in its arrogant claim to dominate through a narrow particularism the infinite wealth of reality).

Men like Avicenna above the ethnical considerations of language and culture

I have spoken of language and culture. For us, language and culture are still too closely associated with an ethnical concept, with ideas of blood and race. Of what race was the “Arab” Avicenna? Certainly not of the Arab race, just as Arabic was not, in all probability, his mother-tongue, born as he was near Bukhara (to-day he would be a Soviet citizen of Uzbekistan), a native of what is now the Afghan city of Balkh. In the memorable millenary celebrations of 1937, both Afghanistan and Turkey claimed him as a national hero. The former's claim was based on purely geographical grounds, the latter's on the historical fact of strong Turkish racial influence over the originally Iranian territories of Transoxiana, an influence that had been active since the 7th and 8th centuries. And, in fact, in this nationality dispute, Iran, the promoter of the present-day (1950) celebrations, can boast the best qualifications, for the blood of Avicenna must in fact have been essentially Iranian, Iranian his tongue or mother dialect, and in neo-Iranian or modern Persian he wrote a minor part of his works. But like so many other of his compatriots, in particular his great contemporary and scornful neighbour, al-Biruni (d. 1048 C.E.), he thoroughly absorbed the Arab-Muslim language and civilization. These Iranians, Turks, Arameans, Greeks and Copts might well have said — and indeed did say in their different tongues — *Fecisti Patriam diversis gentibus unam* to the language and faith of the Prophet of Mecca. And if there were reactionary trends towards cultural revendication and political affirmation on the part of the non-Arab nationalities inside Islam, it was not with these that the greatest representatives of Islamic science — an Avicenna and a Biruni — are associated. For they remained enlightened champions of the universality of the Arab-Muslim tongue and culture—medieval men, even in the highest sense of that international brotherhood

¹ Being the text of a lecture given on the 5th June, 1950, at Florence, Italy. Courtesy, the Editor, *Oriente Moderno*, for July-September, 1950, Rome, Italy.

of the spirit known to the Western and Eastern Middle Ages, with which (such is the irony of history) the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization would feel a greater affinity than with the exasperated cultural nationalisms of the present day. The spectacle of diverse peoples to-day contending for the name of Avicenna, although on the one hand a testimony of the homage rendered from many quarters to true greatness, cannot but remind us of what was once said of another great spirit striven over by citizen factions :

e patria ei non conosce altra che il cielo
(He knows no other native land save Heaven)

that heaven towards which every sovereign spirit from the days of Homer to those of Avicenna, Dante and Goethe has ideally fixed its gaze as upon its first fatherland.

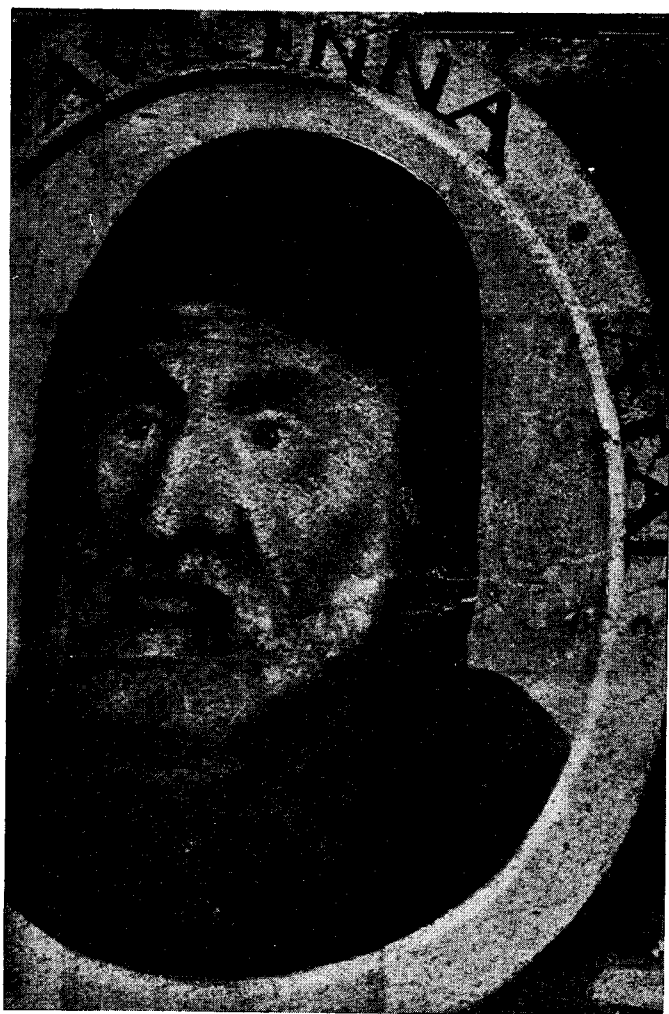
The main features of the life of Avicenna

The main events of the life of Avicenna are well known to us, primarily through an autobiographical fragment jotted down in his own hand and later continued by his loyal disciple, al-Jurjani.² It was passed entirely in those Eastern regions of Persian and Transoxiana where for some time past all effective authority had ceased to be exercised by the Caliphate of Baghdad, and where local Iranian and Turkish dynasties — the Samanidi of Bukhara, the Buwaihidi of Hamadhan and Isfahan, and an entire constellation of minor emirates — succeeded one another in turn, bound by a formal bond of vassalage to the Caliphate. Among these different courts our scientist-philosopher passed his colourful hectic life. He was a court physician, for a short while a Minister of State, then a prisoner, then an academic counsellor — the scientific and intellectual dictator of those groups of vagrant philosophers and men of letters who would gather in the shadow of every great personality. Side by side with his thirst for knowledge there was in Avicenna a robust, perhaps even excessive, taste for material pleasures, the pleasures of wine and women ; and many wakeful nights, prolonged until an early hour in scientific discussions and lectures, ended in orgies from which whether the Eastern philosopher managed to emerge with the unblemished freshness of Socrates returning from Plato's *Symposium* we do not know. These abuses undermined his constitution and brought him to a premature death before he had attained his sixtieth year. But what an immense intellectual achievement this pleasure-loving man of the world left behind him at his death !

Avicenna in relation to Isma'ilism and Greek philosophy

The main interest of the autobiographical fragment dealing with the years of Avicenna's youth and adolescence which I have referred to above lies in the description it gives us of his intellectual formation, and in the varied experiences of men and beliefs that he encountered. He began by receiving the traditional course of instruction in the Qur'an and in grammar and the calculus. Later on, in his father's house, he listened to the first disputations of a philosophical-religious nature, evoked by the propaganda of certain Isma'ilite emissaries. Isma'ilism, the great heterodox, political, religious and scientific movement which in the 10th century, the very period of Avicenna's youth, was at the height of its growth supported by the political power of the Egyptian Fatimids and an imposingly organized network of propaganda, diffused itself both positively and negatively into almost every branch of the intellectual life of the Islam of the time. Traces of Isma'ilism, which combined remnants of Hellenistic Gnosis and neo-Platonism with the most unbridled Oriental intrigue, have been perceived even in the work of poets such as al-Mutanabbi and of thinkers like Abu l-'Ala al-Ma'arri (d. 1057 C.E.). It is not surprising, there-

² *c.f.* Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah II, 1-20



Avicenna

This picture is taken from a photograph of a painting of Avicenna in the Bodleian, the University Library at Oxford, England. It was discovered in 1950 when the inner covering of the ceiling of the Library was removed for renovation along with another 200 paintings of various scientists. This painting of Avicenna dates back to 1602 C.E., when Sir Thomas Bodley founded the now world-famous library

fore, that such traces have also been pointed out recently in Avicenna, mainly in reference to his Persian verses, to which we shall return. But that the philosopher, in his youth at least, remained obstinately opposed to joining Isma'ilism, is something which he himself bears out in his autobiography. Politically speaking, he always remained within the orbit of the orthodox or Sunnite dynasties such as that of the Samanids, or, even if Shi'ite, such as Buwaihidi, dynasties of a moderate unorthodoxy very far from the Isma'ilite extremism. Intellectually speaking, his adhesion to the peripatetic doctrines was certainly contaminated by elements of neo-Platonism, a general phenomenon of Muslim philosophy. But this thought cannot be considered for this reason as representative of Oriental neo-Platonism, more or less Isma'ilite in character. And if Avicenna moved away from orthodoxy (and, as we shall see, he certainly did move away from it), this was not due to any initiation into the medieval freemasonry of Isma'ilism but, if at all, on account of his having become reunited, rationally, to the logic of Greek thought, however imperfectly known and

interpreted this latter might be. He had his first introduction to Greek thought when, little more than a child, he studied the Arabic translation of the *Isagoge*, the *Organon* and the *Almagest* of Euclid. Having devoured Aristotle's *Logics* and *Physics*, he battered long and in vain, so he tells us, against the *Metaphysics* which lay across his path "like a huge boulder". He read it and re-read it until he had learned the text by heart, but he was unable to enter into its spirit until an introductory essay written by al-Farabi, the "Second Great Master" of Muslim scholasticism (a typical representative, we would add, of the fusion between Platonism and Aristotelianism so peculiar to this scholasticism) opened his eyes and, as he tells us, "I was filled with joy, and on the morrow distributed bountiful alms to the poor in thanksgiving to the All-Highest".

Avicenna as a public man

Contemporaneously with his close symbiosis of philosophy and experimental science, inherited from antiquity, broken in the West only two or three centuries ago, Avicenna acquired a profound theoretical and practical knowledge of medicine, which made him, at still a very early age, the esteemed

physician of the Samanid Emir of Bukhara, in whose magnificent library he was able to quench fully his burning thirst for knowledge. At twenty the formation of his intellect could be considered as already complete. All the great achievement which was to follow would be nothing else but the systemization and elaboration of the scientific patrimony acquired over those years of "mad and most desperate study" — *di studio matto e disperatissimo*—as he might have said with another great spirit who was to come eight centuries later. We shall not, of course, go in search of Leopardian³ romanticism in a Muslim scientist of the first millennium who slaked only too well his thirst for love, or for that which might pass as such. But, if there is a link between these two far-renowned figures, that link lies in this "natural thirst" after knowledge, thirst that is never quenched except with a water which the parched lips of the Italian poet

enjoyed not one single drop and the Oriental sage had only an occasional hint through mystic life—glimmerings, however, that were stifled by the overweening force of his intellectualism.

Thus Avicenna lived intensely, as a man of public affairs and a thinker, through a day that was by no means too long. (Here we are reminded of another Olympian, of Goethe, who knew how to descend from the peaks of speculative thought and art to ordinary duties of administration in the service of his prince at Weimar.) When he closed his eyes in death, worn out by the strain of this double endeavour, his body was buried amid the roses of Hamadhan, there, where even to this day his tomb is pointed out and where a worthy monument is now being prepared for him, while the immortal part of him began perhaps at that moment to live its true life.

Avicenna — a universal mind

As is evident, even from these brief biographical allusions, Avicenna's was a universal mind, whose scientific interest embraced what for us to-day are most disparate fields of knowledge ranging from philosophy, considered strictly as logic, psychology and metaphysics, to the physical and natural sciences, to mathematics and astronomy. The great Greek model, Aristotle, both in his original works, already, for two centuries past, accessible to the Arabs, and in an entire tradition which from late antiquity died in the medieval East without a solution of the problem of continuity, determined the breadth of this universal vision of Avicenna. There was only one element in it totally foreign to the historical model, although not to the mediatory Greco-Oriental tradition. That element was mysticism. When we speak of "universality" we are well aware of giving a definition that may have a merely quantitative meaning and may correspond to a total absence of originality and worth in a qualitative sense. Such is the case with a good deal of medieval encyclopaedism, both Eastern and Western. Such also in a measure that only specialists might be able to determine for us from time to time, must be the case of portions of Avicenna's work itself. But in two fields at least, those of medicine and philosophy, he left a mark of his own, and became in his turn a model to the generations that succeeded him. Our changed conception of science, with, to a certain extent, our own incompetence, oblige us to-day to break the vital link which once bound these two branches of knowledge together, and to create a dichotomy which neither Avicenna nor the many generations of his disciples would have approved of.

Italian scholars of the Middle Ages made Avicenna's Medical Canon known to Europe

For an Italian to speak, if only superficially, about Avicenna's greatest work on medicine, the *Qanun fi 'l-Tibb*, or the "Medical Canon" — a work that remained a classic of this art right up to the dawn of modern science — is a source of legitimate pride. For the part played by Italian culture in making this work known not only in the West but also, as I am just about to show, in the Arab East itself, has been of vital importance. Little more than a century after Avicenna's death his *Canon* was introduced into Western culture from Spain by a modest and eminent scholar, one worthy of being far better known than he is, and a magnificent representative of that thirst for knowledge so characteristic of the "obscurantist" Middle Ages. Gherardo da Cremona did not only reveal the masterpiece of Avicenna to the West, when in the first half of the 12th century he left his native Lombardy for Toledo — a city which had returned to Christianity only a few years previously and was still thoroughly imbued with Arab-Islamic culture — but he there translated from Arabic into Latin, among many other scientific works, the *Almagest*, the works of Alfraganus

³ Leopardi, the famous Italian poet of the first half of the 19th century.



Avicenna as imagined and drawn by Professor Dr. A. Subeyi Unver of the University of Istanbul, Turkey

(Arabic: al-Farghani), of Alhazen (Arabic: al-Haytham), and of al-Khwarizmi. To gain some idea of the success of Gherardo's European version of the *Medical Canon* is enough to recall that no fewer than fifteen editions of it were made available between the 13th and 15th centuries. It was in the 15th century that another Italian, the Venetian physician Andrea Alpago — equally learned in medicine and Arabic through long residence in the East — carried out a fundamental revision of the work, and it is upon this that the numerous other editions that followed were based. But even the Arabic text itself of the *Canon* was to come out in its first printed edition in Italy, in Rome.

This edition was issued by the will of Pope Gregory XIII in elegant type from that Oriental printing press known as the "Tipografia Medicea" on account of its having come into being under the patronage of one of the Medici Cardinals who later became Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Medici Avicenna did not remain to adorn solely the libraries of Italy and Europe. My friend, the physician and Arabist Tommaso Sarnelli, who could have spoken here on the physician Avicenna in a far worthier manner than I can, saw a copy of it in an entirely Arab environment at San'a, in the Yemen. That copy was worn out by use, torn, and with the pages lying open in disorder. It had been treated not as a bibliographical curiosity but consulted as a living handbook on the traditional native science.

For where European medicine is hardly taking more than its first steps amid difficulties and self-distrust, Avicenna is still considered the great *hakim* (which in Arabic means man of learning, philosopher and physician all in one), and his *Canon* is always, as it were, the Bible of accepted medical practice. You will not expect a humble philologist like myself to expound to you the scientific originality of this famous work rooted in an earlier, Greco-Syrian tradition, and based upon the author's own personal experiences over a period of active practice as a Court doctor — one who, if we are to believe the Eastern sources, had known the most brilliant successes in diagnosis and therapy. Certain details given us by biographers on the last illness and death of Avicenna reveal him as being somewhat inclined towards energetic measures rather than towards the mild methods of homoeopathic treatment, and it was by these former measures that he is believed to have hastened his own death. And thus, even in his case, the ironical verses about the doctor who could not cure his own illness and save himself from death — verses contained in two of his most noteworthy philosophical works, *Healing* and *Salvation*, do not fall beside the mark. These form part of the age-old satirical literature directed against physicians; and it would be arbitrary were we to deduce from it, here as elsewhere, any positive data. We will only add that Avicenna, like the truly learned man of the medieval Orient that he was, condensed his medical lore even in the form of a short didactic poem, and that those verses (may Heaven forgive him them!) commentated by his later colleague in philosophy and medicine, Averroes, were also translated into Latin and served as memoranda to generations of the medieval followers of Aesculapius.⁴

⁴ In Greek mythology the god of medicine.

⁵ The famous Italian Orientalist.

⁶ (Reference overleaf) Gabrieli, like all other European Orientalists, fails to understand that the Qur'an nowhere talks "of the gross material delights of the Muslim Paradise". European scholars, it would seem, are incapable of getting rid of grotesque ideas about the Islamic conception of the life after death. Ideas, like habits, once formed, move of their force and take time to die.

European scholars are in the habit of borrowing from each other on views held by their predecessors who inherited hundred and one misconceptions about Islam from the systematic false propaganda against Islam carried on for centuries. They seldom take the trouble of referring to the Qur'an and the Hadith. Ed., *J.R.*

Avicenna as a philosopher

Let us now consider Avicenna as a philosopher, a matter where we may deceive ourselves by believing that we are treading on ground less unfamiliar to us. Leaving aside his various encyclopaedias — the best known being the two earlier mentioned, that is, the *al-Shifa*, or the "Healing from Error", and his compendium, *al-Najah*, or "Salvation", together with the much-discussed *Hikmah mashriqiyyah*, or "Oriental Philosophy" — leaving aside, I say, those sections of his work devoted to the physical, mathematical and natural sciences, music, astronomy and meteorology (what did they not know, or strive at least to know, these men of the Middle Ages!), let us restrict ourselves to logic and gnoseology, metaphysics and theology to philosophy properly so-called, the philosophy of the present-day professors of that subject. What does Avicenna, that mountain-peak of Oriental speculation, represent in its eyes? He represents, to put it in a few words, the most powerful intellectual effort ever made at reconciling Aristotelian thought to the climate of Arab-Islamic civilization, an Aristotelianism not known in its pure essence but strongly alloyed with neo-Platonism. And this involved on the one hand reconciling it with orthodox Muslim theology, and, on the other, reconciling it with mystical demands wherein elements deriving from late antiquity and native Eastern trends were mingled. An integral and genuine knowledge of the Greek peripatetic doctrines was not granted to medieval Muslim thought. It inherited and carried on the harmonizing activity of neo-Platonism, the effort to fuse together Aristotle and Plato, an effort in which it was encouraged by such false textual attributions as that of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* which was in reality a compound of extracts from Plotinus.

Even those who, like Averroes, aimed at interpreting pure Aristotelianism in the strictest manner, criticizing Avicenna for having failed to observe such complete fidelity, really only knew an Aristotle who had passed through the hands of Themistius, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Giovanni Filopono — an Alexandrian and "Neo-Platonized" Aristotle. But unlike Averroes, Avicenna did not even, perhaps, propose to himself an Aristotelianism without compromises; and together with doctrines believed to be peripatetic, and which he accepted as such from his Arab predecessors, men like al-Kindi and al-Farabi (doctrines such as cosmic emanation and that of universals, the latter far closer to its Western scholastic equivalent) he strove at various other points to conciliate the speculative theology of Islam which had become through the Ash'arite system the orthodox doctrine of Islam. Thus it seems to Nallino⁷ that the Avicennian concept of divinity — unqualified except in its absolute unity and simplicity — savours of the Ash'arite theodicy. But, as often happens, these concessions were as equally repugnant to the Averroes type of so-called pure Aristotelians as they were to such champions of orthodoxy as the great theologian al-Ghazzali; and so our philosopher was subjected to attacks of equal violence from opposite camps. The truth is that Avicenna cannot be fitted into the ranks of orthodoxy any more than into an Aristotelianism of strict observance, both of which it was his aim to surmount, the one through the concessions made to positive theology, to which reference has already been made, the other by means of evasion into the rarified zones of mysticism.

Modern European scholars on Avicenna's philosophy

As to the revealed religion of which he was a member, Avicenna, like the "impious" Averroes, never allowed himself to make a direct attack on it. He lived and died a good Muslim. But it is not difficult to perceive the incompatibility of various doctrines of his; Aristotelian or otherwise, and the cosmogony and theology of the Qur'an — such doctrines, for instance, as

those of the existence of the body, and the conception of heavenly beatitude as enjoyed in *intelligibus* placed beside, if not openly set up against, the gross material delights of the Muslim paradise." Contrasts like these — as appears to-day in an ever-clearer light — were hardly ever stressed in the harsh, clear-cut terms of polemical argument by these Eastern thinkers. In one case only, that of the great physician and philosopher al-Razi, did religious criticism — or rather the criticism of revealed religions — assume an explicitness and audacity wholly exceptional of the Muslim Middle Ages. But in the case of the others, in the case of Avicenna and Averroes, not only motives of practical prudence but also genuine intellectual "alibis" tended both to justify and neutralize this conflict. Hence arises the theory of "dual truth" — already foreshadowed in a tract by Avicenna — of the two planes, both equally necessary and legitimate — on which move revelation for the rough and ignorant crowd and philosophical speculation for the more advanced intellects. In this connection we find an essay of Averroes (the *Fasl al-Maqal*) pointing out the substantial agreement existing between revealed religion and philosophy. To-day it is easier to understand them by entering into the minds and souls of those who experienced this contrast between traditional faith and rational conviction like a personal drama, and who, to resolve it, had recourse — and this not from fear of the strong arm of tradition — to their most subtle intellectual resources. For the rest, let us look honestly around us and inside ourselves. Can we say that these problems were peculiar only to the far-off Middle Ages?

Another way out of the *impasse* between a more or less pure Aristotelian philosophy and Muslim orthodoxy was offered to these thinkers by mysticism, and all of them, Avicenna among the first, took refuge in it to a great interest. Even in this field they still remained to a certain extent tributaries to an ancient heritage, to those neo-Platonic speculations which in reality restored to the East those elements of that speculation which were congenial to it or had even been directly lent by it and subsequently only transitorily hellenized. Recent publications and textual interpretations — I am thinking of Corbin's *Subrawardi*⁶ — are now throwing light on a whole stream of "Oriental" and "illuminative" philosophy (the connection between the two denominations, although debatable from a linguistic standpoint, appears to strike a vivid chord in the conscience of later day Muslim exegis), tending to counter the Greek philosophical tradition with a national, Oriental and more specifically Persian one. With this tendency, which perhaps is linked, in its intentions at least, is that encyclopaedic work of Avicenna entitled, appropriately enough, *Oriental Philosophy (al-Hikmah al-mashriqiyyah)*, only the part of its text dealing logic has come down to us. But it has aroused an animated controversy on account of its possible affinities with the metaphysical and mystical sections of the *Isbraq* (Illumination). The preliminary discourse which has thus reached us expresses the author's intention of here separating himself from the strict adherence to the peripatetic doctrines in order to deal more freely with original "Oriental" ideas. Nallino,⁷ basing his judgment on this fragment which remains to us of the original work, believed that it was more a question of a whim for independence than an effective break away from Aristotelianism. Others, on the other hand, think that the philosopher was moving along new paths. Mme. A. M. Goichon, a praiseworthy student of Avicenna, points out an actual evolution towards a mystical pantheism in another of his works, the *Books of Indications and Warnings*. However this may be, many of the minor works of Avicenna, a number of which were published by Mehren under the title of *Traites Mystiques*, have an evident mystical character. It is a mysticism, let us add, that does not burn, that has little in common with the depths of the emotion of an

al-Ghazzali or the cabalistic raptures of an Ibn al-'Arabi. It is the neo-Platonic mysticism of al-Farabi, powerfully, frigidly intellectualistic, with all its paraphernalia of "stations" and "correlative degrees", with its elaborate ascetic technique. Outside these scholastic compartments, or melting down their walls with the fire of their ardour, the great Sufis of Islam, both before and after Avicenna, lived through their ineffable experiences of divine love. And among these Avicenna can have no place except for reasons of mere bibliographical completeness. Yet it is to him, so far as is given us to perceive, that can be traced the origin of certain mystic symbols and myths destined to have great success in the literature of a later epoch.

The conception of *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* we owe to Avicenna

To him we owe that allegory of Salaman and Absaal, shadowing forth the relationship between the rational soul and the animal faculties which al-Tusi has commentated for us and which was later to receive magnificent artistic form at the hands of the Persian poet Jami. To him, also, at least in name, do we owe the figure of *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* (Alive, Son of Awake), the mysterious greybeard, symbol of the active intellect, who points the ascetic-mystical path to union with God. But even this figure, which in Avicenna remains a frigid allegory lacking all colour and pulse of life (we do not compare it, even for an instant, with the Platonic faculty of making a myth) had, later on, its happiest realization in narrative form at the hands of others, particularly by the speculative and artistic genius of Averroes's friend, Ibn Tufail. The *Philosophus autodidactus* of this Arab-Spanish thinker — a sort of medieval Robinson Crusoe who, besides re-discovering by himself material civilization on a desert island, rapidly attains to the recognition and pure contemplation of the Creator — has a precedent in the pallid myth of Avicenna which had deservedly fallen into oblivion on account of its artistic inconsistency compared with the genial re-elaboration, indeed entirely new creation, of the Spanish philosopher.

Avicenna as a poet

And it is just this artistic weakness and obtruseness of Avicenna, apprehensible in the whole-hearted snatches of mythical story that we have recalled, which concurs with other reasons to leave one in doubt over the possibility of completing with a reference, purely aesthetic, this many-sided figure. For even Avicenna, the Aristotelian Muslim, was drawn into busying himself with poetic art, throwing himself into the desperate undertaking of commentating upon and adapting to the understanding of his readers that celebrated fragment on dramatic art of his Greek master — a work that others had already translated literally into Arabic from a Syriac version. The inevitable farrago which resulted was examined many years ago in my article, "The interpretation of Aristotelian poetic systems in the Arab poetry and Aesthetics of Avicenna and Averroes (*R.S.O.*, XII (1930), pp. 291-331). But, side by side with these chilly didactic exercises in Arabic — the versifying of the material of logic and medicine — tradition has preserved for us a small sheaf of verses attributed to Avicenna and written in his native tongue. They consist of a dozen quatrains together with two Persian *ghazals* which would be of extreme interest, by reason of their intrinsic artistic value and the biographical and religious problems which they would provoke, if we did not doubt the authenticity of all, or nearly all, of these compositions. In themselves they reveal already the theme and colour scheme which

⁶ cf. Suhrawardi, *Opera metaphysica et mystica*, edited by H. Corbin, Istanbul, 1945.

⁷ C. A. Nallino, *Filosofia Orientale od "Illuminativa" di Avicenna?* in *Levista di Studi Orientale* (1925),

were to be found a century later on the palette of another mysterious philosopher-scientist-poet, 'Omar Khayyam. Without going now into the tantalizing enigma of the authentic Khayyam, let it suffice us to say that our Persian poet, Avicenna, sings, as he does, the Bacchic joys — even though prudently measured or ambiguously allegorized — and contemplates the wonder of the world with sceptic stupor:⁸

"Food of the Spirit is pure red Wine
And its colour subdues the rose's hue.
Bitter and health-giving like a father's reproof,
Vanity to the fool, truth to the sage. . ."

"If thou wilt but drink wisely, like Avicenna, pure wine,
Verily thy whole being shall become as pure truth."

"O that I might know what I am
And why I find myself lost in this world
Were I destined to eternal joy, I'd live in calm and
gladness,
Else would I bewail with a thousand tears my cruel
fate."

And, as in Khayyam, extreme sceptical disillusion alternates with a cry of hope:

"We have grappled ourselves with the merciful bounty
of God,
We have freed ourselves of all good and evil within
us.
There where Thy providence rules, the undone is as
done,
And that which is done is as what is undone . . . (i.e.,
good left undone and evil done are convertible)."

But sometimes the hope and disillusionment are found together:

"From the depths of Earth's black bowels to Saturn's
highest seat,
All problems have I solved in this universe's span.
From the noose of every share, from the trap of all
deceit,
"I fled, and loosed all knots — save that of the death
of man . . ."

Whether the verses attributed to Avicenna are his

Many things, to be sure, may be read in these and similar verses. Some, with the aid of subtle expository methods which I shall not recall here, have perceived a thinly veiled adherence to that exclusive Isma'elite system. Others might perceive in them reflections of the great physician's own experience as, for instance, where he speaks with studied contrasts of the dual effect of wine — an antidote for the wise man but a poison for the fool — or, again, as in the quatrains just quoted, the bitter disillusionment of the sage who has striven in vain to raise the veil of Isis and search the heart of the universe, stumbling against the insoluble riddle of death. Nor would the contradiction between trusting abandonment to the divine mercy and bitter scepticism be by itself sufficient to perplex those who are aware how these two themes alternate throughout the whole of what we may call "the lyrical school of 'Omar Khayyam". For the poet of Nisabur, rather than being the "solitary pupil" that he appeared to Giovanni Pascoli and the uninitiated, seems to have been the mouthpiece, the symbol, of a whole current of sceptical-mystic poetry ruling the most ancient origins of the Persian spiritual life. In this great stream it is hard to identify the genuinely individual contributions of Khayyam himself, and

perhaps it is even more difficult to recognize if there has ever really been an authentic contribution from Avicenna, who outside his native tongue appears so sparsely gifted as a poet, and yet would here seem to be speaking the same language as that of the major Persian poets. Nor can we pass over in silence the fact that a number of these quatrains which have been attributed to him in verse collections and anthologies have been found elsewhere here under the names of other poets (these are the so-called "Vagrant Quatrains", the despair of every sincere attempt to assign and reconstruct a physiognomy for these individual poets), and that same, very pregnant, quatrain which I have already quoted about the wise man who has loosed all knots save that of death, is found assigned equally to Khayyam, whom it becomes no less than Avicenna. It was rendered thus by Edward Fitzgerald:

"Up from earth's centre to the seventh gate
I rose and on the throne of Saturn sate,
And many a knot unravelled by the road,
But not the master-knot of human fate."

And perhaps this is not even Khayyam's, but originated from some unknown poet who put into the mouth of the great peripatetic of Bukhara or that of the astronomer of Nisabur the desolate confession of his own impotence before the mystery of the universe. In short, if the interest of the theme might lead us to pause here yet longer, a sense of proportion and reserve due to the uncertain attributions forbid us to pursue unduly this doubtful aspect of Avicenna, the poet, even admitting that a certain harshness and primitiveness of technique in the case of many of these verses seem to point to affinity with a somewhat archaic period of the Persian lyric, if not actually testifying to the authorship of Avicenna. But the great Avicenna, the Avicenna about whom we can be certain, is no more this ambiguous precursor of Khayyam than he is the magician who disinfects a city of its rats — the figure into which he was transformed by an Oriental legend — but rather the encyclopaedic scientist and philosopher whose form we have outlined above.

Not the flight of poetic genius nor the flame of mystical love must we therefore demand from the prince of Muslim scholasticism but a *lucidus ordo*, a geometrical systematization of the universe on the main lines of the Stagirite,⁹ complicated and modified by Oriental experience, something analagous to what for the Christian West was later to be the work of Aquinas. It is certain that the traditional rival of Aquinas, whom the Christian painters were to represent as overthrown and prostrate at his feet, is more likely to have been that other great peripatetic of Islam, the Arab-Spaniard Averroes. But the work of Averroes contrasts only in part with that of Avicenna by reason of its claim to a greater fidelity to the common model. At many vital points the two great doctors of Eastern and Western Islam are in agreement in proposing an adaptation of Aristotelian thought, thought that only the theory of "dual truth" and the abuse of allegorical interpretation could reconcile to the Muslim "charcoal-burner's faith". Compared with the work of these Muslim philosophers,¹⁰ the Thomist masterpiece only half succeeded.

Avicenna's conception of the Qur'anic Paradise called anti-Qur'anic by the Christian Arabists of the 13th century

Nor did their difficult position *vis-à-vis* Muslim orthodoxy escape the notice of the philosophers of the Christian West. This has now become evident from the material gathered together and brilliantly glossed by Enrico Cerulli¹⁰ in a recent work, the impact of which has been felt even outside the fields of specialization because of its discussion of the problem concerning the relationship between Dante and Islam. (E. Cerulli: "Il libro della Scala della Divina Commedia" e la questione delle fonti Arabo-Spagnuole, Citta del Vaticano, 1949.) Already

⁸ These are taken from the collection of H. Ethé, *Avicenna als persischer Lyriker* in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1875, pp. 555-567.

⁹ The word is derived from Stagiro, the name of an ancient Greek town where Aristotle was born.

¹⁰ An Italian Oriental scholar.

Ramon Marti, the learned Catalonian 13th century Arabist and apologist, had cited Avicenna's anti-Qur'an spiritualization of the Muslim paradise. And this substantially accurate view of Avicenna's position was later taken up again by Roger Bacon and the school of Oxford in general, and at Paris by Henry de Gand, and all these studied the Arab philosopher in John of Seville's Latin translation of his *Metaphysics*.

In fact, while our own countryman, Gherardo Cremonese, revealed the medical work of Avicenna to the West, John de Seville, Dominic Gunisalvi and other translators of the Toledo school turned selections of his philosophical work into Latin. Those primitive medieval versions ran through the whole of cultured Europe, which plunged into them avidly. It was from them that Dante derived, more or less directly, his quotations from Avicenna in the *Convivio*. Of particular interest among these is that on the terminology and radiation of light, where we are shown the sage absorbed in the scientific theory of that light which the poet will later show us coursing in gleaming torrents through the ethereal regions of paradise. And neither of these two Muslim philosophers, so harmonious in their disharmony, did the poet humble at the feet of the "Angelic Doctor", but placed them among their great brethren of antiquity in the serene and wistful splendour of Limbo.

The Oriental master, Avicenna, a mind of exceptional profundity and breadth

From there, nine centuries since his mortal life, the image of Avicenna looks out at us again. We have refrained, although it would have been an easy task, from depicting the more sensational aspects concerning his family origins and way of life, his language, faith, and social environment, while not indulging in illegitimate modernizations or in idealizations at all costs. He appears before us as a mind of exceptional profundity and breadth which felt, in the ways in which at his time it was possible to feel, the miracle of Greek thought at one of the highest points it reached in history, and on this basis strove to found an entire interpretation of the universe that should range from the corruptible body to the immortal soul and hence to God. It is a known fact — and it would be trivial to waste your time here in recalling it at length — that there was a time

when the West was familiar with it through this reinterpretation by a civilization so different in many respects, so radically uncongenial to the ancient Greek, as was the Muslim science and civilization. To-day, when the contact with antiquity has been re-established through its purest and most genuine sources, these obscure mediators seem to have lost all value as such. But for those who can perceive the value of every chord in the vast symphony of mankind's history it is not so, for even here there were gods: the thirst for knowledge, the yearning for certainty, the hope of eternity. Even here — at least as far as iron dogmatic and doctrinal preconceptions did not limit the vision — reality was studied with a discerning eye and organized into a body of marvellous interior coherence and harmony, and human thought travelled over the insoluble dissonances with a torment that inspires with awe and reverence whoever has himself experienced it. Therefore I dare hope that, while listening to these words on the remote Oriental master, it may have seemed to you at some moments that you had before you not an object of curiosity raised up for an imperfect commemorative recurrence, but the living and agonizing depths of the restless human soul.

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The studies and versions of A. M. Goichon, the most eminent Western scholar of Avicenna in the last twenty years, are: *Introduction à Ibn Sina, son Epître des Définitions* (Paris, 1933), *Lexique de la langue philosophique de Ibn Sina* (*ibid.*, 1938), *Distinction de l'essence et l'existence d'après Ibn Sina* (*ibid.*, 1938), *Vocabulaire comparé d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sina* (*ibid.*, 1939), *La philosophie d'Avicenna et son influence en Europe Médiévale* (*ibid.*, 1944). By the same author, now being printed, is her version of the *Kitab al-Isharat wa t-tanbihat*.

On the occasion of this millenary there are now under preparation, in Egypt and Persia, new critical editions of published and unpublished texts of Avicenna, in Arabic (*Shifa*, etc.), and in Persian (*Danishname-i-'Ala i, Risala on the pulse*, and various other little medical and philosophical treatises).

The Political Scene in the World of Islam

FRENCH OPPRESSION IN TUNISIA

By ABU MUHAMMAD

Some details of French oppression in Tunisia

The blood of Tunisian martyrs, the rubble of destroyed homes of poor Tunisians, and the pathetic sighs and sobs of Tunisian mothers and children who have lost dear and loved ones in the recent wave of terror and repression perpetrated by the French Colonial Administration in Tunisia, point an accusing finger at the French, and demand justice.

The tragic plight of the inhabitants of the southern part of Tunisia, or Cap Bon as the Europeans call it, has never been equalled in all the tragic history of the people of Tunisia. The acts of tyranny, massacre and plunder committed by the French authorities there were momentous. The dastardly operation there started allegedly for the weeding out of so-called Tunisian terrorists and *saboteurs*. In truth, however, it was nothing more than an opportunity for the French administration to take out its revenge on the people of Tunisia and endeavour to stem the nationalist movement for liberation and freedom. The French authorities on this occasion gave vent to the egregious store

of hatred and ill-will they hold against the people of Tunisia, and their acts proved that they have degenerated to depths such as no human could ever sink to. What they have done in this operation will for ever stand as a gigantic monument of their shame. Nothing will ever blot out this black spot in the history of French imperialism.

Towns and villages like Tazraka, Iqlibiyah, Bani Khallad and others in the Southern part of Tunisia were surrounded by French troops. The men were rounded up and placed in confines guarded by troops who did not hesitate to shoot down anyone attempting to escape. Then the troops proceeded in strength to the homes in the villages and towns in order, it was alleged, to search for firearms and weapons. Troops entered these homes, where only the women and children were found, and systematically "searched" them. In the process, valuable possessions in those humble homes were looted, women were attacked and insulted, the furniture and possessions of the occupants wilfully destroyed, and their stored provisions of

cereals and flour mixed with earth or paraffin, and sometimes wilfully burnt. Certain houses were marked out for total destruction, and these were blown up to rubble to the danger and fright of the inhabitants. Certain men were selected by the authorities, arrested before the "search" operation commenced, and in some cases shot summarily without any kind of judicial trial or enquiry.

This operation lasted three days. When it was concluded it left behind it a long trail of abject misery and despair. It took a heavy toll of Tunisian lives; many homes of the poor inhabitants were flattened and their valuables and other possessions looted or destroyed; many women were defiled; and thousands of Tunisian "suspects" thrown into prison.

These barbaric acts were committed by the French boldly and in the open. Far from the French authorities seeking to hide or veil their misdeeds from the Tunisian people, they went out of their way to publicize them, in the hope that they would deter the Tunisians from pursuing their struggle for liberty and dampen the flame burning in their hearts for the attainment of their national rights. But perhaps the French authorities, in committing these acts, were within their hearts conscious of the fact that their days in Tunisia were running short. They must have realized that they could not hold out for much longer against the zealous claims of the Tunisian nation for freedom and independence, and, embittered by that knowledge, they went wildly mad and indiscriminately proceeded to revenge themselves against the people of Tunisia.

French oppression publicized

When the news of these incidents leaked abroad, the French authorities issued very strong official denials. Naturally, the French were too ashamed to admit that such things could happen in this enlightened 20th century. But such denials could hold no water. The evidence of what the French committed was too widespread, obvious and convincing to be obliterated or discredited by mere official denials. An American journalist, the correspondent of the Associated Press News Agency of the United States, had managed to witness part of these operations. He cabled a detailed report to his Agency, and also sent various photographs illustrating the acts committed by French troops. His reports were published and appeared in a large section of the world Press. A feeling of horror and indignation against French imperialism must have swept the free and democratic countries of the world on reading these reports.

Paradoxically and unwittingly, the French have earned for the people of Tunisia a good measure of sympathy in the free world by committing such odious acts.

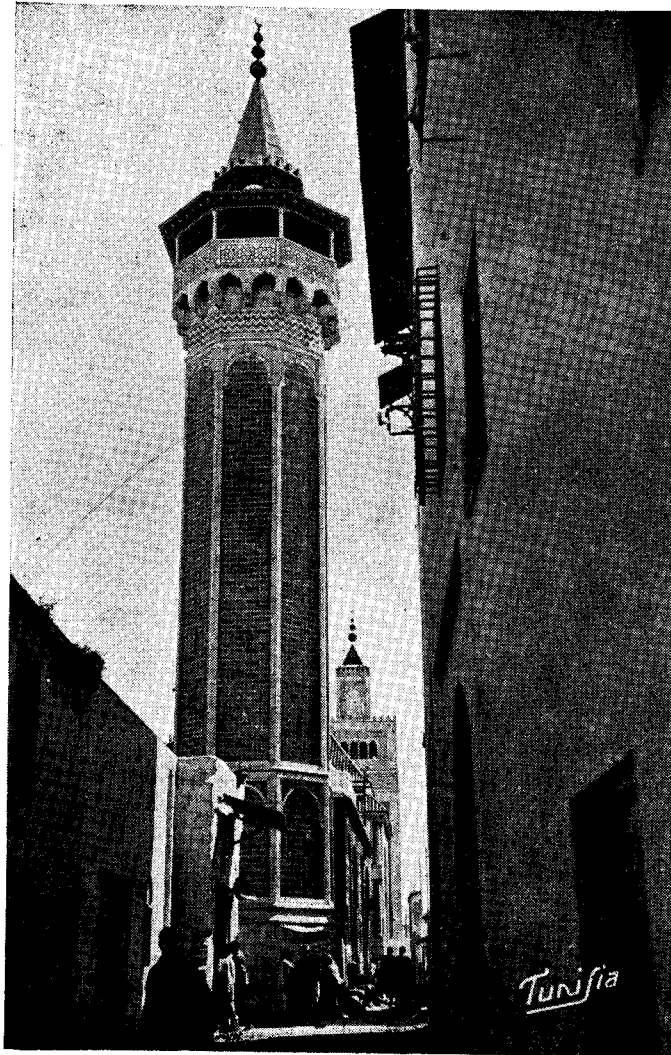
The scene of this French crime was visited by a number of Tunisian and other organizations and personalities. Amongst these was a delegation of two Tunisian ministers representing the Tunisian National Government. Everyone who has visited the locality since this operation has confirmed that the scope and magnitude of the oppressive acts committed by the French troops have even exceeded the reports that appeared about them in the Press.

An incident during one of these visits of inspection illustrates the typical attitude and reaction of the people of Tunisia to what the French authorities committed against them. A very old Tunisian was seen by a group of personalities visiting one of the villages sitting over the rubble of what was once his home. On his wrinkled and tired face was a look of deep thoughtfulness and contemplation. One of the members of the group asked him about his feelings and comments on what was done by the French troops. "I am in a way glad that the French have done this," came his reply. "They have destroyed my house, looted and plundered all my worldly possessions, and murdered my own son in front of my eyes; but I know that such is the price to be paid for freedom, and I am content to pay it." Then the old man murmured: "Deep in my heart is the consciousness that those who rule by such methods cannot last for long, and I am happy at the thought that I shall soon be able to see my country free . . . perhaps before I depart from this world . . ."

Yes, we all pray that the hopes of this old Tunisian will be fulfilled soon. And we all share with him the conviction that French imperialism in Tunisia will never win the final battle against a people with faith and determination such as his.

The Tunisian nation staged a general strike against the oppressive acts of the French.

The strike lasted several days, and during it many demonstrations were held in protest against French colonial policy. These demonstrations were broken up by the French administration and were met with terror equal in magnitude to that displayed during the earlier "search" operations. Finally the storm quietened, at least in importance. But the people of Tunisia have not by any means given up or relaxed their determination to seek their national objectives in full. They are still anxiously awaiting the results of the political endeavours now being made on their behalf



A view of one of the principal streets of Tunis, Tunisia

by a group of free nations in the United Nations Organization. Their patience has been almost exhausted; but they remain, nevertheless, tolerant and hopeful.

The alleged contents of the Bey of Tunisia's reply to the French Government

The Bey of Tunisia now sent his reply to the Note addressed to him recently by the French Government, and the text of which has not yet been made public. This Note was addressed directly and personally to the Bey, and it is understood that the



The French Police in Tunisia are "searching" systematically the pedestrians in the street and tracking the "suspects"

This picture was taken during the recent disturbances which resulted from the intense desire of the Tunisians to be masters of their own house

French Government expressly stipulated in that Note its desire to have a reply to it from the Bey personally, and not through the Bey's Tunisian Cabinet, as was done in previous instances. The reply to this Note was accordingly given by the Bey himself and delivered by his personal representative to the French Resident-General in Tunisia.

No precise information is available at present about the contents of both the French Note or the Bey's reply to it, but sources close to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs have thrown some light on this subject. According to these sources, the reply given by the Bey to the French Note contained firstly a strong protest against the odious acts of terror and repression committed by French troops in the southern parts of Tunisia during the recent "search" operations, considered by the Bey as part of a continuous and protracted series of repression against the people of Tunisia. The Bey's reply is also said to have made clear to the French Government that there could be no hope of entering into any fruitful negotiations with the Nationalist Government of Tunisia while the atmosphere of tension induced by the French persists. There must be an abatement of such conduct on the part of the French colonial authorities in Tunisia, the Bey said, before discussions could be resumed between the French administration and the Nationalist Government of Tunisia with a view to regulating the relationship between the

two countries. These sources also said that the Bey's reply expressly stipulated, as an essential prerequisite of the resumption of negotiations between the two parties, the ending of the state of siege in Tunisia, the curbing of French military terror against the Tunisian civilian population, the release of Tunisian Nationalists imprisoned or exiled by the French, and the payment of full compensation to those Tunisian inhabitants who had suffered material loss and damage in the recent "search" operations. In addition to this, the Bey was said to have insisted on the scope and character of any possible negotiations between the French and the Tunisians being indicated plainly before they could be entertained. He also insisted upon the recognition by France of the independence of Tunisia and the sovereignty of the Bey, and the right of the people of Tunisia to have a wholly Nationalist Government and a National Assembly composed in the main of indigenous Tunisian nationals.

The Bey's reply was taken by M. Hauteclocque, the French Resident-General in Tunisia, to the French authorities in Paris. Although nothing has as yet been officially known about the French Government's reaction to this reply, it is understood that it has been angered and perturbed by the attitude taken by the Bey. Above all, the French Government has been annoyed and worried to find that the Bey has followed closely on the lines of the policy advocated by his Tunisian Ministers and that he has thereby given his support to the delegates of the Tunisian Nationalist Government who went to Paris to seek support for the bringing of the Tunisian case before the United Nations.

Tunisia's case before the United Nations

A very hopeful and optimistic development in the Tunisian problem has been the decision taken by a group of fifteen Muslim and other member States of the United Nations to adopt the Tunisian case and seek its solution on an international level. These countries, most of whom have had bitter experience of foreign imperialism, will no doubt be able to do a great deal towards the realization of the national aspirations of the people of Tunisia.

The first move taken by this group was to send a memorandum to the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations asking him to use his good offices with the French Government to induce it to settle its dispute with Tunisia peacefully and reasonably. This brought no result. Later, another memorandum was addressed to the President drawing his attention to the acts of oppression that were then being committed by the French administration in Tunisia, and again asking him to interfere in the matter. But again nothing came out of this move. At last, these States decided to submit the Tunisian case to the Security Council of the United Nations, and a committee was formed to prepare the case. The Government of Pakistan authorised its representative in the United Nations, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, to present the Tunisian case, and it is expected that Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, with his outspoken courage and ability, will play the leading rôle in this campaign. It was decided not to present the Tunisian case to the United Nations during its Paris session, so as to avoid the adverse effect that might emanate from French sources in Paris to influence the conduct of the case. But the Tunisian case is expected to come up before the United Nations as soon as possible after it resumes its sessions in New York.

RUMI and IQBAL

(1207-1273 C.E.)

(d. 1938 C.E.)

By MIAN BASHIR AHMAD

The early days of Rumi's youth

Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi was born in September, 1207 C.E. in Balkh. His father, Maulana Baha al-Din, was held in high esteem there, but it is said that when he incurred the envy and displeasure of the powers-that-be he did not consider it consistent with his self-respect to stay any more in the country of his birth. There was also the danger of Mongol invasion. Accordingly, he and his family left Balkh. There is no consensus of opinion on the date of their departure. The age of Rumi at that time is differently stated by writers to be two, five or twelve years. In all probability, he was quite young.

For 15 or 16 years the party travelled thousands of miles — from Balkh to Nishapur, Baghdad, Mecca, Malatya, Larinda and a host of other places — before it reached Konya. According to one version, while it was in Nishapur, the famous Sufi poet, Farid al-Din 'Attar, took young Rumi in his lap and predicted that he would one day be a great man.

In those days, Muslim savants regarded every Muslim country — Turkistan, Iran, Arabia, Iraq, India — as their home. Iqbal has rightly said :

“The world of a *Momin* (Believer) knows no frontiers,
Every palace is a *Momin's* home.

The 11th, 12th and 13th centuries saw the disruption of the political framework of the Muslim world and the thorough-going destruction of civilization by the Mongols. During that turbulent period it became a practice with small Muslim rulers to patronize men of letters and learning. Maulana Baha al-Din and his family received similar patronage from the famous Seljuk monarch, 'Ala al-Din Kaikobad, who had Konya as his capital. Fate had decreed that amidst the ruins of the palaces built by the Seljuk kings and of the madrassas founded by their nobles, the spirit of an ideal man should radiate its effulgent lustre throughout the Muslim world for seven centuries. The spirit of freedom which the Muslim 'ulema of those days displayed is praiseworthy. It is stated that before he stormed the Central Asian metropolis of Khwarizm and massacred six hundred thousand of its inhabitants in the year 1221 C.E., Chengiz Khan sent the famous savant, Najm al-Din Kubra, a message that he might come away in safety from the doomed city. But the savants of those days were not mere bookworms nor self-seeking devotees, but lovers of God. True to his class, Najm al-Din preferred a martyr's death in gallant defence of his brethren-in-faith. Rumi had probably that great savant in mind when he wrote :

“O! we are of the noble band who grasp the cup of wine,
(Not of the wretched beggar-crew who for lean kids do pine),
Who, with one hand, the wine unmixed of fiery faith do drain,
While, in the other, we grasp the heathen's locks amain.”

An estimate of Rumi's character and work

Rumi was himself a brave self-respecting man, not a mere *mulla* content with devotional practice in a monastery. He was a gifted guide who reformed the morals and satisfied the spiritual needs of hundreds of thousands of people. He was the founder

of the “Maulavi Sect”. Its votaries were men of love and self-abnegation, who lived exemplary lives of virtue for a long time to come.

Rumi is one of those favourites of fortune who disdained worldly rank, wealth and fame, yet he was the recipient of unsolicited royal esteem and his fame spread, and for centuries has continued to spread, throughout the world. He came to be regarded as the King of Sufis. Before him Islamic mysticism had developed and progressed for at least three hundred years and had attained its zenith in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Rumi (1207-1273 C.E.) is bracketed with Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.) and Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240 C.E.) as one of the three greatest mystics of Islam, and with Sinai (d. 1150 C.E.) and Farid-al-Din 'Attar as one of the three greatest mystic poets. Rumi was at once a thinker and a poet, and, in some respects, excelled his renowned compeers. So great is his popularity that to-day there is no Muslim country where he is not remembered with reverence and affection.

Rumi was born among the Uzbek-speaking Turks of Central Asia. His lineage is traced back to Abu Bakr. His mother was a Khwarizmite Turk. But he wrote in Persian. He learnt Greek philosophy, acquainted himself with Arab learning and adopted the Holy Qur'an as his guide. He came to live among the hospitable and appreciative Seljuk Turks and gave his spiritual message, the benefits of which were not confined to these climes. Three years after his death a follower of his, Ahmad Rumi, went to India, where he died fifty years later. He was the first to write a commentary on the *Masnavi*, which is known as *Daqa'iq al-Haqaiq ve Raqa'iq al-Taraiq*, probably in 725 A.H. (1325 C.E.). In one of his verses he says : “My name is Ahmad and my country is Rum”. He names the part of India where he lived as “Avaz”, which may be the province of “Oudh” in northern India. He opens every chapter with the verse :

“So said our Maulana,
Discoverer of the Secrets of Inspiration and of the Creator.”

Professor Uzluk, of Ankara University, tells me that whenever the Turks read the *Masnavi*, they begin with the above verse.

Indian Muslims write the first commentary of the *Masnavi* — Rumi's influence world-wide

The credit goes to Muslim India, where the first commentary of the *Masnavi* was written and read. Later, the works of Rumi were translated into scores of languages in other countries, where numerous commentaries were also written. It may not be out of place to mention here that, in the lifetime of Maulana Rumi, an Indian Muslim, Safiy al-Din Muhammad, son of 'Abd al-Rahim (644-715 A.H.—1246-1315 C.E.), worked as a teacher in the Iplikchi Madrassa of Konya. He wrote several books, including *Nibayat al-Vusul ila 'Ilm al-Vusul*, and died in Damascus.

To-day every educated Muslim family knows the stories narrated in the *Masnavi*. There is no one who does not know the stories of “Omar and the Ambassador of Rum” and “Moses and the Shepherd”. These are not merely stories : they convey superlative morals.

Recently I discussed Rumi with Professor Uzluk, and borrowed from him some books. Among these he handed over a book with the remark that I would find therein the best material on Rumi's philosophy. I was both surprised and happy to find that it was the English book, *The Metaphysics of Rumi*, by my Pakistani friend, Khalifa 'Abd al-Hakim, of Lahore, which was published for the first time in 1933 in Lahore and has since been reprinted.

The influence of an outstanding personality like Rumi is not confined to Muslims alone; many Western nations have made a profitable study of his works. There is, in the West, a considerable body of literature on Rumi. To mention the latest instance: Professor A. J. Arberry, of Cambridge University, has published the last work on Rumi of that eminent scholar, the late Professor Nicholson. It is noteworthy that this book is the first of the "Ethical and Spiritual Series" recently founded



A miniature portrait of Jalal al-Din Rumi, dating from the 15th—16th century, preserved in the Topkapi Museum at Istanbul, Turkey

by some scholars of Oxford University. In the General Introduction, it is stated that after the two world wars people long to know more about other nations, and particularly to derive benefit from their ethical and spiritual values. What is to be the moral criterion of nations and individuals? How to establish relationship between God and Man? These and many similar questions are constantly agitating the minds of men. This, the first book of the series, contains a brief life-sketch of Rumi followed by ninety-nine gems from his soul-inspiring poetry. Thus, even after seven centuries, the spirit of Rumi is fully alive!

As already mentioned, the Maulana's father and his family reached Konya in 1228 C.E. (625 A.H.). The Maulana's father

passed away three years later. Rumi learnt mysticism, first from his learned father and later from his pupil, Burhan al-Din Muhaqqiq (1232-1240 C.E.). He went to Aleppo and Damascus. In other words, he availed himself of every person and place of learning and various sciences. On the death of Muhaqqiq in 1240, Rumi assumed the title of "Shaikh", but, like a true seeker after truth, he spent his entire life in the acquisition of knowledge. He paid particular attention to such of his friends and companions as showed spiritual aptitude. Three such deserve special notice.

The earliest and most eminent companion was Shams Tabrizi, for whom the Maulana had a special spiritual attachment, so much so that the Maulana dedicated his entire *Diwan* to him. The still mysterious disappearance of this extraordinary personality caused a far-reaching mental revolution in Rumi's life, which has been described vividly by his son, Sultan Valad. According to al-Falaki, it was in memory of Shams Tabrizi that Rumi founded the the "Maulavi Sect", which later became famous for the dancing and chanting of their *Sama*. A few years after the death of Shams Tabrizi, Rumi took a fancy for Salah al-Din, a goldsmith, who acted as his "khalifa" from 1252 to 1259 C.E. He was succeeded, probably in 1259, by Husam al-Din, who acted, until Rumi's death, as his secretary and scribe of the famous *Masnavi*, which contains many an affectionate reference to him.

So great was Rumi's affability, loyalty, friendliness and craving for truth that he treated every learned man as his guide and every companion as his counsellor and colleague. It is the characteristic of a great and sincere man not to regard himself as superior to anybody else but to seek traces of moral virtue in the humblest fellow-beings. These were the qualities that made Rumi a most resplendent star of the Muslim world and focal centre of the special interest of many Muslim nations. The moon and the stars radiate light all over the world. May we not, therefore, call Rumi a beloved citizen of the world?

The works of Rumi

Amongst Rumi's literary works, *Diwan-i-Shams Tabrizi*, the *Masnavi* and *Rubaiyat* call for special mention. The first book (*daftar*) of the *Masnavi* was completed in 1258-1261 C.E., the second in 1263, and the other four by the time of his death in 1273. *Diwan-i-Shams Tabrizi* contains about 2,500 ghazels and the *Masnavi* about 25,000 couplets. His *Rubaiyat* are nearly 1,600 in number. In the opinion of a Western connoisseur, the *Diwan* excels the *Masnavi* in literary and artistic merit; up to now it has not received due attention. An Oriental critic adjudges the style of the *Masnavi* to be very complex and heavy. However, the *Masnavi* is like a vast ocean which certainly offers something or other to everyone according to his capacity. It is both tranquil and stormy. While, on the one hand, birds may be seen swimming on its surface, on the other its depths conceal pearls. The world is complex; so are life and human nature. How, then, can the simple beauty of these portraits avoid complexity?

Rumi's works have appeared in various countries, but the efforts, apart from European countries, of Muslim India, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, in their collection and publication, with or without commentaries, merit special attention. In the private library of Professor Uzluk, of Ankara University, I came across books that are probably rare. It will be fitting and proper if all the works of and on Rumi which have been published in other countries may be preserved in a public library in Turkey, which is the home of the Maulana's life and memories.

Various attempts have recently been made in Turkey to revive the memory of Rumi. Among the Turkish publications on Rumi which were presented to me by the Konya People's House, is one entitled *Mevlana*, which was published in 1943 and contains the views of various Turkish writers. I have studied this

publication with the help of some Turkish friends. This interesting compilation includes some articles which contain memorial tributes to Rumi and others that indicate scientific research. An Education Minister says that, even when a child, he had heard of the famous Rumi, whom he regards as a part of his life. According to the member of the Turkish Parliament for Konya, Rumi was a free soul and, in a world which had fallen a prey to bigotry and vices of avarice and other passions, his poetry and love of music was a welcome guide to love. He was a lover of truth and sincerity, and his ideas reflect the sentiments of every nation. Other contributors have thrown some light on other aspects of the Maulana's thought, such as his connection with the Turkish race, his deep influence on Turkish literature, poetry and music, and a comparative evaluation of his thought. This publication includes quotations from and comments on extracts from the *Diwan* and the *Masnavi*, together with a description of his mausoleum as well as his portraits, which are stated to be imaginary, and not real. It also includes poems and reflective and philosophical articles on the Maulana. According to one admirer, "Beauty, virtue and truth, our love of our country, of our nation and of humanity, are the first milestones on the path which Rumi has designated as 'Love of God'."

In another article, it has been pointed out that Rumi was a Sufi, and not a philosopher, and that it has become a fashion with modern writers to look for philosophy in everything. Did not Rumi say this?

"The philosopher becomes an agnostic in thought and imagination ;

Let him strike his head against the wall."

Another writer says that to read and understand Rumi's work is not enough, and that his true meaning can be appreciated only if his teachings are translated into practice. Again, stress is laid on the fact that the Maulana can be understood without any external aid, and, above all, that "Rumi is the dust of the Prophet's path", that he is a "slave of the Holy Qur'an", "intoxicated with the wine of true love" and "a believer in Free-will". Rumi asks us:

"To 'see both God's acts and our own actions too'."

According to Rumi the seeker after truth requires faith besides reason

The present-day world needs Rumi's spiritual guidance. Rumi believes in progress, upholds free-will, emphasizes self and its independence, and is self-respecting and tolerant, but he does not worship matter nor is he a slave of materialism. He is a seeker after truth. He desires to unite with, but not merge in, God. He is attracted to the mainspring of his origin. This is real human progress. It is a difficult road. Reason does not help here beyond a certain stage. And if this is made use of, every man can become an ideal man.

How, according to Rumi, is this attained? Do not hanker after Reason alone; acquire Faith.

"How long will you read Greek philosophy?

Read also the philosophy of the Faithful.

The existence of Soul is beyond the reach of Reason :

You are in Space but your Essence is in the Spaceless Realm.

Close your business here and open it there.

Time does not know the nature of Timelessness,

Because only wonder can lead to it.

What will serve your ends are wonder and faith, not reasoning :

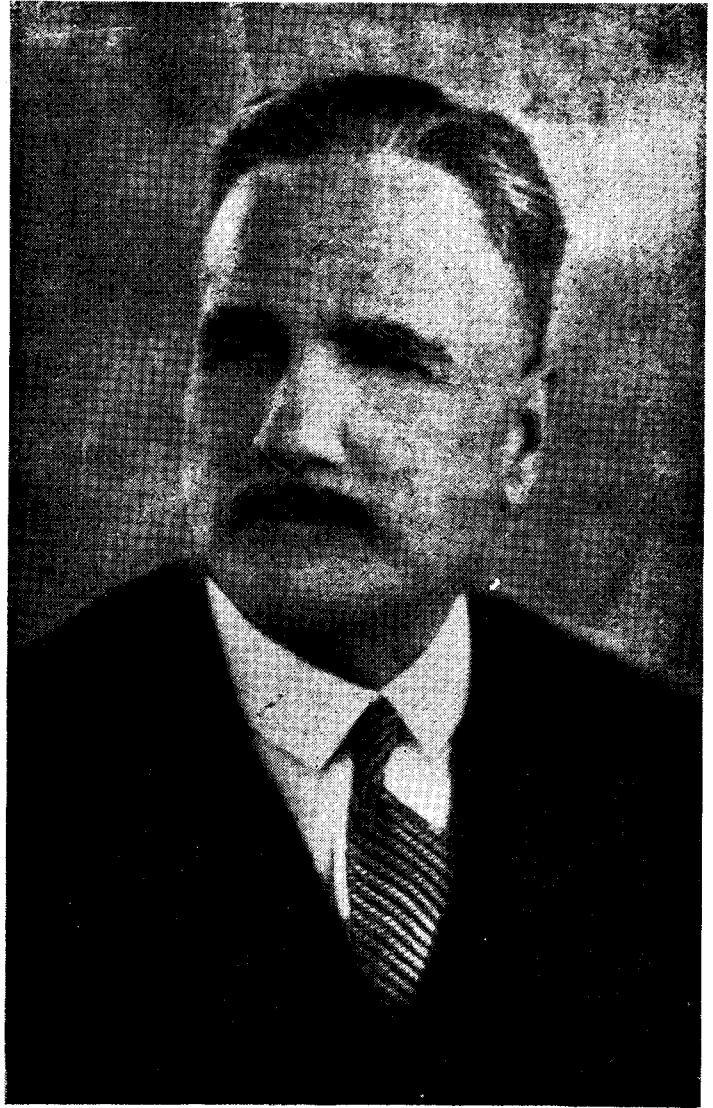
Barter away Intellect for Wonderment

Intellect belongs to Satan, Love to Adam."

It is to be carefully noted that he uses Reason to a certain extent and understands Evolution.

"I died away from the inorganic realm and became a plant

Then I died away from plant life and became an animal."



The late Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)

It was in his mind that the idea of Pakistan first germinated

But he wishes to develop from an animal into a man and from man into an angel :

"Then again shall I sacrifice my angelic self
And become that which defies imagination."

He is aware of the Survival of the Fittest :

"This universe, when you look at it, is all struggle,
Atom struggling with atom like religion with heresy."
He upholds effort and emphasizes free-will.

"The Prophet said that when you knock at a door
Someone will at last come out of it.

When every day you dig out earth for a well
You will at last reach pure water.

While in this path (of life) you yourself have put
fetters on your feet

Whom do you laugh at, for you yourself have hindered
your own movement?
Effort means gratitude for nature's boon.
Your defeatism means denial of that boon."

Rumi on determinism and free-will

What is true Determinism? What is Free-will?
Determinism is the law of nature; it is not compulsion.

"This determinism is association with God and is not compulsion.

This is not a cloud but the effulgence of the moon."

Those who appreciate reality, understand determinism and acquire free-will. Look at the drop which can become a pearl only within the shell.

"Their free-will and compulsion are different.

Drops within shells are pearls."

What is truth? Look into your heart.

"If you want, learn it from your inner self.

The remedy lies in this, that we look into ourselves."

It is, however, not easy to look into one's self.

"Man himself is hidden a hundred times over.

Go, remove the rust from your own face."

The power of Self is paramount. Self is the spring and focus of all powers. It does not need material aid:

"Wine got intoxicated with us, not we with wine;

Body came into existence through us, not we through body."

Rumi on Self

But how to know one's self? Cast away avarice and passion. Aim high. Attach yourself to God who is the end-all and be-all of perfection. This aim, this attachment, is love which laughs at all obstacles.

"Tear off your shackles, be free, O Son!
How long will you remain tied to silver and gold?
Whoever tears away his garment, out of love,
Becomes free from all cravings and vice.
Be happy, O beneficent love,
O cure of all our ills.

By dint of love, earthly body ascended the heavens,

The mountain danced and became agile.

Fire your being with love.

Do away completely with thought and worship.

The religion of love is different from all other religions,
Lovers have God as their community and their religion."

It is futile to meditate much on God.

"What you comprehend is mortal.

What cannot be comprehended, that is God."

The end-all and be-all of human existence is access to God; for

"A part when separated from the whole becomes defunct;

A limb cut off from the body becomes foul."

But access to, and union with, God does not mean immolation of man's self:

"The colour of iron is lost in the colour of fire,

The iron has assumed the colour of fire and looks like fire."

Rumi on the love of God

This love which is both our beginning and our end and "is the cure of all our ills" is a kind of mania, one of the means of the absorption and acquisition of which, according to the "Maulavi Cult", is *Sama'*. The upsurge of rapture and ecstasy caused by music enables man to have a glimpse of life and reality. How ecstatic are some of Rumi's ghazels!

"Come, O lover! Come, O lover! Let me assuage your suffering,

Let me be your friend and then make your condition better.

Come, O lover! Come, O lover! Surrender to us your heart,

That I may teach thee how to win love and make you a beloved like myself.

Come, O lover! Come, O lover! Sacrifice yourself for me,

That I may give you my life and make your life happier.

I came again, yet again. Such is lover's mania.

Like a falcon I came. Such is lover's mania.

My divine world became a mortal world, my mortal world divine,

My God's cup became my food. Such is lover's mania."

If you question him any more, the Ideal Man will perhaps say:

"Last night, I asked the sage privately

Not to hide from me the secret of the universe.

Quietly he whispered into my ear.

Silent - 'tis something to know but not to utter."

One should jump into the fire of love, heedless of its calamities:

"Better is the love which creates calamities,

For he who shuns calamity is not a lover.

Manly is he who, in the pursuit of love,

Sacrifices life, if love so demands."

Love begets life:

"Love is eternal and will endure till eternity,

Countless will be the seekers after love.

Tomorrow on doomsday,

Whoever is not a lover will be condemned."

Iqbal disseminates the philosophy of Rumi in his works

Among the moderns, the great philosopher-poet of Pakistan, Iqbal, has rendered yeoman service in understanding, appreciating and disseminating the message of Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi. After a profound study of Eastern as well as Western philosophy and of Islamic as well as non-Islamic thought, he accepts the Qur'an as his guide, the Prophet of Islam as his beloved, and Rumi as his mentor. He thus builds up the splendid edifice of his Philosophy of Self and, by stimulating the latent powers of the Muslim *millat* (nation), he prepares it for a peaceful service of the entire human race. In the present age, any person desiring to appreciate the poetry and message of Rumi should first study Rumi and then Iqbal. Rumi speaks through Iqbal in accordance with the requirements and exigencies of the present-day world and guides us through the arduous journey of life. In other words, Pakistan has, through God's grace, produced, in the person of Iqbal, a follower and successor of Rumi. In the name of Islam and through his poetry, Iqbal has presented the world with a glowing flame compounded of Islamic mysticism and modern philosophy.

Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*

Iqbal's philosophy of life is stated in *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of Self), which is written in the same metre as Rumi's *Masnavi*, and in the preface to which the "Poet of the Future" was set aflame in his "Night of Silence" by this supposed exhortation of the Sage of Rumi.

"Tongue-tied, thou art in pain:

Cast thyself upon the fire, like rue!

Shatter the mirror of fear.

Break the bottle in the Bazaar.

Create a new style for thy song.

Enrich the assembly with thy piercing strains."

Iqbal entitles his other poem *Ramuz-i-Bekbudi* (The Secrets of Selflessness), which expounds the relationship between the individual and society, with the following couplet of Rumi :

"Make an effort and discover thy self in Selflessness
The sooner the better. God knows the Truth best."

In his poem *Payam-i-Masbriq* (Message of the East, Iqbal prefers Rumi's philosophy to that of Abu 'Ali ibn Sina (Avicenna) in the following words :

"Abu 'Ali was lost in the dust produced by the camel,
While Rumi's hands clasped the *Mabmal* (litter)
The latter dived steeper and found the pearl,
The former got entangled like a straw in the whirlpool.
Truth, without feeling, is philosophy ;
With feeling it becomes poetry."

Then Rumi and Goethe meet in paradise :

"Said Rumi : O, thou beloved of Poesy !
Thou chasest angels and Creator as prey.
Everybody is not aware of Love's Secret.
Everybody is not worthy of this sanctuary.
'He alone knows who is fortunate and confident.
'Intellect belongs to Satan and Love to Adam'."

Iqbal's *Jawed-Nama* is surcharged with the characteristic spirit of Rumi

The famous Masnavi of Iqbal known as *Jawed-Nama*, and adjudged by some as his masterpiece, is completely surcharged with the characteristic spirit of Rumi. Here, the poet tours the heavens together with Rumi and converses with departed souls. In other words, he understands the mysteries of creation with Rumi's help. See how Iqbal expresses his own philosophy through Rumi's lips :

"Whether thou art alive or dead or about to die,
Secure the testimony of three witnesses.
The first witness is the knowledge of the Self
Or seeing oneself by one's own light.
The second witness is recognition of an 'other'
Or seeing oneself by the light of an 'other'.
The third witness is the recognition of God
Or seeing oneself by the light of God.
If thou canst maintain thy living in front of divine
light,
Consider thyself living and everlasting like God."

Here is a comparison of the physical with the spiritual life :

"The child is born with the bursting of the womb ;
The man is born with the bursting of the world."

When they reach the sphere of the moon :

"Said Rumi : Divest thyself of doubt.
Accustom thyself to the ways of the heavens.
For the seeing eye everything is worth seeing
And worth weighing in the scale of vision.
Follow Rumi wherever he goes.
For a while give up others."

Then Iqbal gives himself up to Rumi :

"Rumi, that guide to love,
Whose word is a fountain for the thirsty.
Pir¹ of Rum, embodiment of emotion and ecstasy
Pir of Rum, that Imam² of the righteous,
Who is aware of every phase of the righteous."

After listening to the chorus of the stars, both repair to the sphere of the moon, where they meet the Indian sage, listen to Gabriel's song, visit the valley of *Yarghamid*, see the four Tablets

of Prophethood, and thus benefit from the teachings of Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus and Muhammad.

While in the sphere of Mercury, they meet Jamal al-Din Afghani and Sa'eed Halim Pasha. Sa'eed Halim Pasha says :

"To the people of the West, Intellect is the instrument of life ;

To the people of the East, Love is the secret of the universe.

Through Love, Intellect grows acquainted with Reality ;

Intellect gives stability to the work of Love."

In the sphere of Venus, they meet Pharaoh and Kitchener. There, also, comes the Sudanese dervish³ who says :

"O land of Mecca, produce another Khalid !
Sing again the Song of God's Unity."

In the sphere of Mars, they meet the Sage of Mars, an old bearded man who tells them :

"Here, there is no have-not, nor beggar
Nor any slave or master, ruler or ruled."

And when the poet tells him that want and subjection are pre-ordained by God, the Sage of Mars says :

"If one fate does not suit thee,
Demand a different fate from God.
If thou demandest a different fate, it is permissible ;
For God hath innumerable fates.
Those who thus lost the treasure of Self,
Did not understand the essence of Destiny.
If thou art a dew-drop, thou art destined to fall down.
If thou art a sea, thy fate is perpetuation.
What is life ? A mine of gems.
Thou art its trustee, not the owner.
An enlightened nature is the ornament of a righteous man.

His aim is but to serve God's creatures."

Thereupon Rumi says :

"Look at the religion of the new age.
Look at the product of the civilization of irreligion.
Love is the path and law of life,
The foundation of a civilization is religion and religion is Love."

In the sphere of Jupiter, they meet the Urdu poet, Ghalib, and then, Tahira, Mansur Hallaj, and lastly Satan. The Song of Satan begins thus :

"O God of Good and Evil,
I have been spoilt by association with Adam."

and concludes thus :

"O God, Create one truly living righteous man
That I may perhaps relish defeat at his hands."

Rumi, the mentor, and Iqbal, the pupil, in spheres beyond the heavens

In the sphere of Saturn, they come across a few traitors of Muslim India, and then the spirit of India approaches them with its plaintive song. Later, Rumi and Iqbal go beyond the heavens, where after meeting Nietzsche, they come across Sharaf al-Nisa, daughter of a Governor of the Punjab during the Muslim period. She says :

"A sword with the Qur'an is sufficient for the faithful,
These appurtenances are sufficient for my grave.
These two protect each other
And are the lever of universal life."

Then they meet the poets Hamadani and Ghani, Bartari Hari, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali and Tipu Sultan. At last, the poet hears the divine call :

"Righteous man, be like a sharp sword.
Be the destiny of thine own world !
If thou wishest for life, bring thyself forth,

¹ Guide.

² Leader.

³ Reference to the Mahdi of the Sudan.

And in thyself immerse the world.
Then wilt thou see who I am, and thou art,
And how then diest and how livest.

At the end of the book, Iqbal delivers to his son, Jawed, a homily on Self and the Struggle of Life :

He who believes not in God is to a Mulla *Kafir* (Unbeliever) ;

But who does not believe in himself is to my mind a worse *Kafir*.

Hold fast to the creed of sincerity.
Get rid of the fear of king and ruler.
Life is nothing but the zest of flight.
A nest does not suit its nature."

Like Rumi, Iqbal recognized the force of knowledge and wisdom, but he also discerned a far stronger power running through life.

"The Self fortified by knowledge puts Gabriel to shame.
But, fortified by love, it is the call of the Day of Resurrection."

Iqbal's thought not concerned with how man was created but with the ultimate end of man's life

The first question people usually ask is : How was man created? How did the world begin? But Iqbal is not worried about such questions.

"Why should I ask the wise men what my beginning was,

For I am occupied with the question, what my ultimate end is!"

Do not go on thinking whence we came. See whither we are going and what the end of our life is, because that is within our power. Man reflects on how this world came into being and who created it. God? But then how did He come into being? Iqbal says this meditation, this quest, is futile.

"Whom seekest thou so restlessly?

He is manifest but thou thyself art veiled.
Seek Him and thou shalt not discover but thine own self.

Seek thyself and thou shalt not but discover Him."

God and Self are correlated :

"Self derives its existence from the existence of God.

Self is manifest in the manifestation of God.

I know not where this sparkling gem

Had been, if there were no ocean."

How beautifully he describes the aim of life!

"Ask for thy Self of God and ask for God of thy Self."

What is religion?

"What is religion? To discover one's own secrets.

Life is death, without seeing oneself."

Why art thou in search of God?

"We have strayed away from God and it is He who is in search of us."

And why do you keep looking at the world?

"If thou art alive, create thine own world."

Iqbal on the ideal of the life of man

Iqbal wants man to cherish intense desire for a high ideal and have firm faith in it and then to struggle day and night for the achievement of the ideal. This is life!

The heart is enlivened by the burning desire. What is man's weakness? Doubt and suspicion.

"Man dies because of lack of conviction.

Acquire faith, O ignorant man! for thou art a victim of doubt."

With faith and conviction, one can easily master the universe :

"It is a sign of an unbeliever that he is lost in his environment,

And of a believer that his environment is lost in him."

Iqbal on the conception of love

But to acquire such a power, one needs the desire called love. A heart filled with love can overcome all the difficulties of life :

"Fierce and swift though be the flow of time,
Love is itself a flood and controls the flood.
Love is the breath of Gabriel ; Love is the breath of Muhammad.

Love is the apostle of God ; Love is the word of God."

Real love solves the problem of religion.

"*Kufr* (Disbelief) with love becomes Islam.

And a Muslim without love is a *Kafir* (Unbeliever)."

Love increases man's strength a thousandfold :

"By one leap, love solved the whole problem,

I had thought this world and heaven to be boundless."

Love does not promenade on the bank of life ; it plunges forth into the storms.

"Plunge into the sea and grapple with the waves,

Eternal life is enshrined in struggle.

Let me gather such straws for my nest

That the lightnings may feel restless to burn them down."

And this because suffering and struggle alone can lead to the progress and maturity of the human soul.

"The Narcissus weeps over its lack of vision for thousands of years.

It is so difficult to produce a seer in a garden.

For ages does life weep in the Ka'ba and the temple,

That one knower of the secrets may appear in the assembly of love."

At that stage, man becomes free :

"I am free ; Love is my Imam.

Love is my Imam and intellect my slave."

And the mysteries of Fate are solved :

"If a Muslim is an unbeliever, he is the slave of his destiny,

But if he is a believer, he himself is God's destiny."

Rather, Iqbal goes a little further :

"Thy selfhood so elevate that before each destined deed,

God himself may ask man : What is thy will?"

But this elevation can be attained not by meditation but by constant effort :

"Firm faith, constant action and love that conquers the world ;

These are the swords of men in the struggle of life."

Iqbal's conception of Islamic Brotherhood not narrow

The ultimate aim of Iqbal is Islamic Brotherhood. But he is not narrow-minded. He never looks down upon the non-Muslims.

"A God-loving dervish is neither Eastern nor Western.

My home is neither Delhi, nor Ispahan nor Samarqand."

He is liberal-minded, for he is :

"Full of fire, with a seeing eye, and a good and kindly heart,

Free and restrained, with an empty pocket and a happy mind."

At the same time, he knows very well that the individual needs a moral code and should be a member of a *millet* (nation of Muslims) based on spirituality.

"The individual is strong with the *millet*, alone he is nothing,

A wave is a wave in the river, outside it is nothing."

And the *millet* needs a law to guide it :

"Bound properly a leaf became a flower

The flower bound properly became a nosegay."

Iqbal on various aspects of the life of the world of Islam

Iqbal's national organization is based on the Qur'an, but, as he has explained in his famous seven English lectures,⁵ the true Islamic order changes from time to time in conformity with authoritative progressive interpretation.

"This alone is the sign of living nations
That their destinies change from day to day
Their life is the height of righteousness and tolerance
So that even Nature forgives their shortcomings."

Iqbal wants us to build up our future freely on the foundation of the national traditions of Islam :

"The memory of bygone times is an elixir for my earth.
My past is a commentary on my future."

More than forty years ago, when the Muslim peoples were overtaken by decadence, Iqbal prophesied the achievement of their independence thus :

⁵ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Oxford, 1933.

The Middle East Tour of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan The Honourable Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan

Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan in Turkey

The acting Turkish Foreign Minister's address of welcome to Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan at Ankara

The acting Foreign Minister of Turkey made the following speech at a Reception in honour of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan :

"I am delighted to welcome here the most honourable and distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs of friendly Pakistan, His Excellency Choudhry Muhammad Zafrullah Khan. This visit is a manifestation of the friendly relations and a new and strong link in the long existing ties of friendship between Turkey and Pakistan. The Turkish people, who are also happy to welcome His Excellency to this country, take advantage of this opportunity to convey to the people of Pakistan their sincere feelings of brotherhood.

"The treaty of friendship signed last year has prepared a contractual framework of relations and co-operation between Turkey and Pakistan. The Turkish Republic will do everything in her power to improve these relations, not only for the sake of special interests of the two countries, but also in the interest of world peace.

"When Pakistan, to whom Turkey is bound by historic ties and brotherly feelings, took her rightful place among the independent nations of the world, Turkey, as is well known, welcomed that event with great joy and felt great admiration for the efforts made by Pakistan, despite difficult conditions, to raise the standard of living of the population and become in this troubled world an element of peace and stability.

"I consider it my duty to recall the sacred memories of such great leaders as *Qaid-i-dzam* Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, who devoted all his life to secure national aims and aspirations of his people, and of the distinguished statesman Liaquat 'Ali Khan, who followed the path of his illustrious predecessor so successfully and whose tragic loss we have mourned together.

"We are happy to observe that within the framework of the general principles laid down by these great statesmen, and owing to the exceptional abilities of such distinguished personalities as your Excellency, Pakistan has taken great strides and made important progress in the sphere of international co-operation.

"As time progresses, international co-operation in every field is felt more and more indispensable. Indeed, we are aware that due to technical advancement, distances are shortened and

"This caravan of feeble ants will build with flower petals
a boat,
Which will struggle against thousands of waves and
cross the ocean."

And soon after, he also foretold the union of Muslims and the advancement of Islam :

"The night will take to flight with the rising sun.
And this garden will resound with the song of divine
unity."

Shall we not listen attentively to the voice of our spiritual and national leaders and, becoming united and strong, hold aloft, in the International Assembly, the banner of human brotherhood and world peace ?

"Thy nature is the guardian of the possibilities of Life.
Thou art, as it were, the test of the hidden essence of
the world !"

countries and continents are getting closer. Under these circumstances, events occurring in the remotest parts of the world may have repercussions everywhere. The activities of the nations in political, economic, cultural and many other fields are expanding beyond national boundaries and acquiring every day a more universal character.

"For this reason Turkey and Pakistan sincerely wish that a world order, based on principles of equal rights, mutual respect, freedom and justice be established and do everything in their power to realize this aim.

"With the wish and hope that a happier and more prosperous world, free from all threats of aggression and war, may be built, I raise my glass to the prosperity of friendly Pakistan, to your Excellency's personal happiness and to Turco-Pakistan friendship."

Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan's reply to the address of welcome

The Pakistan Foreign Minister said in his reply :

"I am grateful to your Excellency for all kind and generous references towards Pakistan, her departed leaders and myself, and for the warm sentiments expressed by your Excellency.

"Pakistan's friendship, rather devotion, towards Turkey has become traditional. We watched with great interest and anguish Turkey's trials and tribulations after the first world war. Turkey was then the only independent Muslim power. We looked towards Turkey as our leader. In those days when India was not yet divided we regarded Turkey's friends as our friends and Turkey's enemies as our enemies. I give you one personal example. In 1912, when I was a student in London, Pierre Loti published a book, *Turkey in Agony*. Although I did not know Pierre Loti, I began to love and admire him for his sympathy and solicitude towards Turkey.

"Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent have always shown a devout interest in the future of Turkey. You know the two Indian Muslim patriots better known as the 'Ali brothers. One of them, Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, owned and edited an English weekly, *Comrade*. This paper was confiscated and he himself was tried and imprisoned by the then British Government for supporting Turkey's decision to join Germany in the first world war. Whether that decision was wise or not, we have always backed Turkey for Turkey's sake. We loved Turkey when she was weak and in distress. We love her as much now that she is safe and strong. Rather her great strides towards

progress and her great success in raising the standard of living have filled us with admiration and pride.

Ever since her birth, Pakistan has pursued a policy of international peace and co-operation and of maintaining friendly relations with every other country. Our relations are naturally closer and more friendly with the countries with which we have old ties and which share our aims and ideals.

"It has been my ambition since my young days to visit Turkey. Although I am not known to many people here, except by name, I have been received from the moment of my arrival as a friend and brother. I thank your Excellency and the people of Turkey for this warm and affectionate welcome."

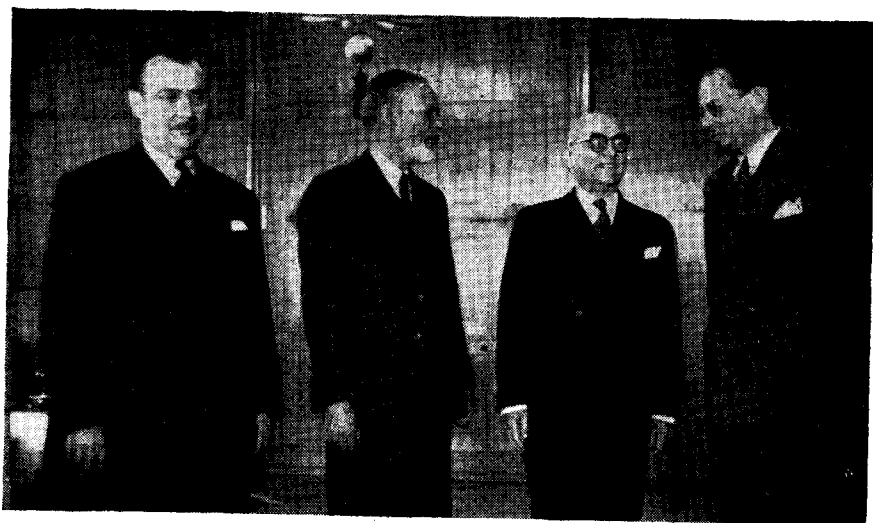
Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan at Cairo The Pakistan Foreign Minister's picture of the world of Islam

In Cairo, in addition to meeting the former Prime Minister of Egypt, 'Ali Maher Pasha, Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan had an interview with 'Abd al-Rahman 'Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League. He also had a number of meetings with the Iraqi Minister at Cairo, Neguib Bey al-Rawi, and with the Cairo representatives of the Tunisian New Destour Party. He also met Dr. Muhammad Salah al-Dine Pasha, the Foreign Minister of the former Wafd Government, for a private talk.

'Azzam Pasha, in a comment on his talk with the Pakistan Foreign Minister, which lasted two hours, said that Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan had not been primarily interested in the question of the Middle East defence, for Pakistan aimed at the creation of a wider *bloc* consisting of Arabs, Muslims and Eastern States, whose main objectives would be the maintenance of world peace, and the opposition of force and imperialism.

On February 27th, 1952, the eve of his departure from Cairo, Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, at a Press conference, observed that the unity of the Muslim world was one of the basic tenets of the Pakistan State. "We believe that the ties of faith and common culture which bind the Muslims together into one brotherhood are a reality deeper and more enduring than a mere identity of day-to-day interests. He said:

"The times through which we are passing do not, however, permit us to remain satisfied with that consciousness only. If we are to survive the stresses and dangers to which mankind is to-day exposed we must now in all earnestness begin to translate our consciousness of spiritual and cultural oneness into terms of practical politics."



The Honourable Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan (second from left) with the President of the Turkish Republic, Jalal Bayar, during his recent visit to Turkey

Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan condemns those who say that a State based on religion is a retrograde step

At a tea party attended by most of the Egyptian political leaders and diplomats the Pakistan Foreign Minister also expounded the Islamic basis of the Pakistan State, condemning those who said that to base a State on religion was a retrograde step. Pakistan, he admitted, was "miles away" from the achievement of its aims, but had set its face in that direction, and he believed that if all Muslim States did likewise they would create a powerful and beneficent force in the world.

"Nothing will go right with mankind until we begin to conform to the professions of our faith. . . . Government is a sacred trust from God on behalf of the people, aiming at freedom, democracy and tolerance in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Religion embraces all relations between man and man and State and State, whereas politics only embraces a part of those relations.

"Divine prophecy had been made to suit the needs of peoples in their particular times until the Prophet of Islam had given by verbal revelation the Qur'an in Arabic, a language of breadth and subtlety, to embrace all understanding."

From the Qur'an, Mr. Zafrullah Khan expounded as examples some meanings of modern political terms, notably that of democracy, which he saw as a trust involving service to peoples and not the operation of party machines. In his observations he pointed out that the Islamic conception of economics were based not only on capital and labour but also on the community, to which a third share of all wealth should be accorded, and that "all ownership is a moral trust".

The Iraqi Premier, Nuri Pasha Sa'id, was at the Baghdad airport to meet Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan on his arrival there on February 28th, and they were reported to have reviewed current Middle East affairs, particularly in relation to the proposals that have been put forward for regional defence.

In a statement to the Iraqi Press, the Pakistan Foreign Minister spoke of the "keen and sincere desire" of all Muslims for unity, and said that the circumstances through which the world was passing rendered it imperative that this desire should be translated into practical politics. "The first step towards the achievement of this aim was an early meeting of the heads of Muslim Governments to discuss their country's problems."

"I am here at the invitation of the Turkish Government, and, as usual, will renew my contacts with the other Middle East countries and discuss common problems.

"The term 'Pan-Islamism' has been used and misused on many occasions and I cannot say anything unless I know what the questioner actually means thereby. I will, however, say that among all the Muslim countries there are close ties of faith and culture. Islam influences the lives of its followers for Muslim countries and views many problems in the same light. Consequently the field is much closer than among other countries."

Asked if there was a tendency among all Muslim nations to form a *bloc* like the Arabs, the Foreign Minister said: "I have not come across any specific proposal to this effect. As so many countries with the same faith and culture have achieved their independence, there is bound to be a tendency towards closer relations. I know not what shape it might take in future. The closer these relations the more would I be personally pleased. It must be a natural growth, not forced. The first inevitable development will be some solution of the questions relating to their common interests, international peace and prosperity of the less developed and under-developed countries. Some machinery should be set up to look after the different problems. There is already an International Islamic Economic Conference. Such tendencies must be allowed to develop along the natural lines."

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE SHAH JEHAN MOSQUE AND THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lecture by an English Muslim on Islam

Under the auspices of Trinity Methodist Church youth a meeting was held in the Methodist Church Hall, Woking, on 20th January, 1952. Major J. W. B. Farouk Farmer, M.B.E., M.C., an English Muslim of Woking, represented Islam. The meeting started with a general mass prayer, which was selected by Major Farmer from the Christian Prayer Book.

At the very outset Mr. Farmer said that he was not a stranger in that gathering, as his father was a Methodist preacher, and he also belonged to that sect at one time, but on that night he had come to relate some facts about the Prophet of Islam. The audience was quite surprised.

Major Farmer addressed the audience for half an hour, in the course of which he threw light on the different aspects of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. After the speech some questions were asked. One boy pointed out whether there was any prophecy in the Scriptures about the Prophet Muhammad like those about Jesus. With the permission of Major Farmer, Mr. S. M. Tufail answered the question in detail and said that not only did the Old Testament speak about the advent of the Prophet Muhammad but the Prophet Jesus himself has repeatedly spoken about the coming of a prophet after him.

Then a young lady inquired what was, after all, written in the Holy Qur'an. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah and Major Farmer replied to this question. Another girl inquired whether the teachings of Jesus were not sufficient as to necessitate the revelation of the Holy Qur'an. Mr. S. M. Tufail answered that the teaching of the Prophet Jesus was meant only for a particular nation and for a particular period, and that to act according to the laws revealed to the Prophet Jesus was not possible in our present age. Mr. Tufail added that now the revelation which came to the Prophet Muhammad had completed and unveiled the truth in its entirety. Some questions about the fundamental principles of Islam were also asked, and satisfactory answers were given to all of them.

The Secretary of the Youth Club Group then said that for the first time they had come to know how many similarities existed between Islam and Christianity. He further said that previously when he passed by the Shah Jehan Mosque he used to wonder whether the Muslims worshipped idols, and behaved differently and mysteriously in their daily life. At this Major Farmer rose and said that he wanted to make one point clear, and that was that "we don't eat little babies as some of you might be thinking". At this loud laughter broke out, and the meeting came to an end.

Heretics Club at Oxford

Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., went to Oxford on Wednesday, the 23rd of January, to deliver a lecture on the "Faith of Islam" to the members of the Heretics Club, Oxford University. Mr. Yusuf Ahmad also accompanied the speaker to Oxford. The meeting was held at the Taylorian Institution. The speaker explained briefly some of the salient features of the teachings of Islam as compared to Judaism and Christianity. The belief in God and the Prophethood of Muhammad were intimately connected with good conduct and the welfare of humanity in Islam. The subject was quite thought-provoking and the speaker was engaged in

discussion for more than an hour after his lecture. The questions asked related to the sources of Islamic teachings, the Muslim's view of Jesus' Divinity, the position of women in Islam and Christianity and the authenticity of the Qur'an and the Gospels.

On 5th February Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., addressed a small gathering of the Young Wives' Fellowship at the Methodist Church, Woking. The subject of the talk was "The History of the Mosque at Woking and some social aspects of Islam".

Besides the lectures, the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission have their multifarious duties to perform. Lectures and Friday Prayers at Cranwell and Halton R.A.F. Camps have been conducted as usual by Mr. S. M. Tufail and Dr. Ishaque Kamil respectively.

His Majesty the King of Libya's letter to the Imam

The Imam received in reply to his congratulatory letter the following letter from H.M. the King of Libya :

Office of the Private Secretary,
Royal Diwan,
Benghazi, Libya.
2nd February, 1952.

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 27th December, 1951.

I am commanded by His Majesty to send you and all Muslims in England his sincere thanks for the warm sentiments of friendship and goodwill towards himself and the Libyan people contained therein.

His Majesty takes this opportunity to send you and the Muslim brotherhood of the Shah Jehan Mosque his best wishes for your and their health and prosperity.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
FATHI ADBIA,
Private Secretary.

Message of condolence on the death of King George VI

The following telegram was sent to Her Majesty the Queen Mother, Buckingham Palace, London, on 6th February, 1952, by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque :

"Please accept our deepest and heartfelt sympathy in Your Majesty's sad bereavement. May God Almighty grant Your Majesty and the other members of the Royal Family patience and fortitude in this irreparable loss."

THE MUSLIM SOCIETY IN GREAT BRITAIN

On 6th January, 1952, the Muslim Society in Great Britain held its Annual General Meeting in accordance with its constitution. The meeting took place at 18, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, at 4 p.m. Before formal proceedings started the assembled members were entertained to tea, after which the official business was opened by a recitation from the Holy Qur'an.

The President, Mr. Isma'il de Yorke, addressed the members, after which the Hon. Secretary, Prince A. R. Samy, and the Hon. Treasurer, Major Farouk Farmer, read their reports. These were adopted, after which the President threw the meeting open to the members for suggestions for improving the work of the Society during the ensuing year. A lively discussion followed which showed quite clearly that the members of the Society took a keen and intelligent interest in its work.

BOOK REVIEWS

TURKISH DELIGHTS, by Marie Noele Kelly. Published by Country Life, Ltd., London. 63 illustrations, 1 reference map of Turkey. Price 18/-.

Lady Marie Noele Kelly, the Belgian wife of the former British Ambassador to Turkey, made the most of her time during her husband's tenure of office by getting acquainted with the Turkish scene and historic monuments. Her impressions, as depicted in the book, are in the form of an application from a woman's angle, observed, as it were, from the vantage point of a diplomat's wife. She modestly exclaims that although objectivity is the keynote of her sketches of Turkish life, she has no desire to compete with the work of scholars. This admission and the fact that English is not her native tongue in no way lessen the narrative power of the writer: whatever she portrays, be it a mosque, a carpet or a shepherd, she has the uncommon gift of making the reader feel as she felt — a quality which most accomplished writers might envy. The following is an evidence of this:

"... the shepherd who came slowly towards us swinging a great tall body on long legs encased in home-made moccasins with the thick fur on the outside. I was aware of the strange impact of his primitiveness as he came, and felt instinctively his identity with a type still to be found in some parts of the world: nature's grand *seigneurs*, be they Scotch gillies or Anatolian shepherds.

"This shepherd was one of them, with his large smile, his even gestures, his strong, calm voice calling to heel his fierce Anatolian hounds, cloaked in the unconscious mantle of dignity which had come down to him and had enveloped his ancestors. With other shepherds within call, he knew unconsciously that he was with his peers. What did it matter that he could not read a book? He knew all the real signs: those of the earth, the sky, the wind. So far, the absence of industrial revolution, with its train of human indignities, has left to the men of remote Anatolian valleys a true sense of the value of ultimate things.

"In spite of his tranquil look, he gave us the impression of a mixture of childishness and deep curiosity: a broad forehead, the eyes gold and grey, a long, feline body and thin, strong hands. Hardly thirty, this man seemed to have inherited or acquired without effort — a rare gift — a perfect equilibrium. It could be felt in his measured gestures, full of condensed and harmonious vitality. He was devoured with an undisguised curiosity, and looked right through us with his hawk-like eyes."

Her observations on Turkish history and Islam have the same arresting quality as the comments she has to make on other aspects of Turkish life. For instance, in the following note one may not agree with all that she says, but no one can doubt her sincerity:

"Mohammed had said: 'The earth is a Temple' — what vision in this short line! The Mohammedan gospel from its starting-point in the Arabian desert was carried at one moment into the heart of France, and Macaulay in a famous passage described how near it came to overwhelming Europe. The driving forces behind it were its starkly simple monotheism, its social sense of the brotherhood of all the faithful, and its austere puritanism, which meant the seclusion of women, the banning of all representations of human and animal forms, and the prohibition of alcohol, the great lubricant of social intercourse. How then did this culture come to create superb masterpieces, such as the Ibn Toulun Mosque at Cairo, the Selimiye at Edirne and the Taj Mahal? How explain the contrast between the

artistic achievements of the Moors and Turks or the Mohammedan conquerors of India and the sterility in art of the Geneva Calvinists or Cromwell's Ironsides? It is true that the Moslem conquerors made full use of the abilities of Christian and Jewish craftsmen from the subject races, but the main answer lies perhaps in the strong mystical and poetic side of Islamism, in the stress on charity and the relegation of commerce to the subject races. The aesthetic impulse thus set free found expression in line and mass, in arabesques, marvellous calligraphy, graceful minarets and the noble proportions of the great mosques, their domes, cupolas and courtyards."

A welcome addition to the itinerary is the map of Turkey which shows not only the areas and the towns visited, but also the number of the revelant chapter describing them.

The only fault, if it could be called a fault, is that French quotations in the book do not carry English renderings. The reader without a knowledge of French may find this omission irritating in this otherwise enchanting travel book.

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CHINA TO CHITRAIL, by H. W. Tilman. Cambridge University Press, 1951. 136 pages. Price 25/- net.

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