ISLAM ONLINE: ADDITIONAL MATERIAL FOR FACULTY AND STUDENTS

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Chapter 1, Introduction, First Part

I have found the following by Marshal Hodgson on the "Science of Compassion" very helpful for my own thinking about empathy. (The "Batinis" are also known as the Isma'ilis and include the "Assassins", probably the closest pre-modern parallels to today's "suicide bombers".)

"In studying the *Batini* movement, more even than in most other religious studies, we need to make use of what Massignon calls the psyochosociological "science of compassion". The scholarly observer must render the mental and practical behaviour of a group into terms available in his own mental resources, which should remain personally felt even while informed with a breadth of reference which will allow other educated persons to make sense of them. But this must not be to substitute his own and his readers' conventions for the original, but to broaden his own perspective so that it can make a place for the other. Concretely, he must never be satisfied to cease asking 'but why?' until he has driven the understanding to the point where he has an immediate human grasp of what a given position meant, such that every nuance in the data is accounted for and withal, given the total of presuppositions and circumstances, he could feel himself doing the same. Such a grasp is to be checked, of course; for instance, by testing whether circumstances which must be presumed, so as to account for an attitude, can then be attested independently. Yet however risky the method is, it is less risky than any more external method."(*The Venture of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 379 fn.)

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Chapter 2: On the Eve of Islam

An article about the coin depicted on p. 22, *Figure 2.6* (Byzantine coin, John Tzimiskes (969–976 C.E.) or later. Obverse: Christ (as Pantokrator). Reverse: Cross and "Jesus Christ, King of Kings") may be found at: http://www.fsu.edu/~arh/images/athanor/athxix/AthanorXIX_johnson.pdf

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Chapter 3: The Beginnings of Islam

Jāhiliyya (root j-h-l)

A striking example of the pre-Islamic use of the root, j-h-l, comes from a poem by 'Amr ibn Kulthum, who was the author of one of the famous seven odes said to have been hung in the Ka'ba (Mu'allaqāt) in the pre-Islamic period. He is said to have killed the king of Hira because of an insult to his mother and to have drunk himself to death with wine, accounts which, whether true or not, illustrate the idea of jāhiliyya.

"Let no one act fiercely (*yajhalanna*) against us,

for we shall be fiercer than the fierce (*fa-najhalu fawqa jahli al-jāhilīn*).”

More literally:

“Let no one act in a *jāhilī* way against us,
for we shall out-*jahl* the *jāhilīs*”

 (Source: Al-Zamakhshari, <u>Al-Kashshaf ʿan haqaʾiq al-tanzil wa-ʿuyun al-aqawil fi wujuh al-taʾwil</u> , Cairo: Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1966, vol. 3, p. 99)

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The Quest for the Historical Muhammad

One view on the quest:
“And in dealing with Muhammad, where the Quran is the historian’s chief ‘document,’ it seems most useful and productive simply to apply a combination of common sense and some modern heuristic devices to the traditional accounts. We must begin with the traditional material and attempt to make some sense out of it.”
(F. E. Peters, (1994) *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam,* Albany: State University of New York Press, p. 266.)

See also:

Brown, Daniel (2003) *A New Introduction to Islam*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Gives a good account of the highly critical approaches in the earlier chapters. (Listed in the book under “Textbook and general studies”).

Crone, Patricia (2006) “What do we actually know about Mohammed?”, *Open Democracy*,
http://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-europe_islam/mohammed_3866.jsp (weblink toward the end of chapter 3)
Well known for highly critical writings, but takes more cautious position here.

Hawting, G.R., *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam From Polemic to History*. Cambridge University Press, 1999. Radically critical approach; sees Meccans as closer to monotheism than is usually thought.

Other items are listed on FACULTY RESOURCES.

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The First Revelation to Muhammad

The following is drawn mainly from the biography (sīra) of Muhammad, written by Ibn Ishaq (d. c. 767) and revised by Ibn Hisham (d. 834). The two inset paragraphs come from the parallel section of the History of Prophets and Kings by Ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 923). They were very likely in Ibn Ishaq’s work but omitted by Ibn Hisham. Guillaume includes them in his translation. (For other translations of these passages see A. Guillaume (1955) The Life of Muhammad, a translation of Ibn Ishaq. Sirat Rasul Allah, Oxford University Press, pp. 105-7; J.A. Williams, ed. (1972) Islam, New York: Washington Square Press, pp. 47-49; Montgomery Watt and M.V. McDonald, trans. (1988) The History of al-Tabari, Vol. VI, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 70-3. I have translated the sections from Ibn Hisham from the Arabic, consulting these translations, and have used Guillaume and Watt & McDonald for the sections from al-Tabari.) The abbreviation (SAAS) represents the phrase “May God bless him and grant him peace”, used conventionally after references to Muhammad.

Ibn Ishaq said: Wahb ibn Kaysan told me that . . . 'Ubayd related: The Messenger of God would pray in seclusion on Mount Hira' for a month out of each year, practicing *taḥannuth* as was the custom of the Quraysh in the *jāhiliyya*. *Taḥannuth* means pious devotions . . . . The Messenger of God (SAAS) would pray in retreat the same month each year and feed the poor who came to him. When he finished his retreat at the end of the month and left the place, the first thing he would do, even before going home, was to go to the Ka'ba and circumambulate it seven times, or as many times as God willed. Then he would return to his house.

Then in month the of Ramadan, the month in which God Almighty had willed to honor him, in the year when He gave him his mission, the Messenger of God (SAAS) set out for his retreat at Mount Hira as he always had and his family went with him. When the night came on which God honored him with his mission, and thus showed mercy to all of His servants, Gabriel (upon him be peace) came to him with the command [affair] of Almighty God.

"He came to me," said the Apostle of God (SAAS), "while I was asleep, with a brocade coverlet that had writing on it, and said 'Recite!', and I said 'What shall I recite?' [*or* I cannot read] He pressed it against me so hard that I thought I would die; then he let me go and said 'Recite!' I said, 'What shall I recite?' [*or* I cannot read] Then he pressed it against me again so that I thought I would die, then he let me go and said 'Recite!' I said 'But what shall I recite?' Then he pressed it against me again so that I thought I would die, then he let me go and said 'Recite!' I said 'But what shall I recite?' - And this I said only to keep him from doing the same thing again, but he said:

'Recite: In the Name of your Lord who created,
Created man from a blood clot,
Recite! Thy Lord is the most generous,
Who taught by the Pen,
Taught people what they did not know.'

So I recited it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were engraved on my heart.

"Now none of God's creatures was more hateful to me than an (ecstatic) poet or a man possessed (*majnūn*); I could not even bear to look at them, I said to myself, 'Woe is me - poet or possessed. Never shall Quraysh say that of me! I will go to the top of the mountain and throw myself down and kill myself and thus gain rest.'

I left and when I had traversed half the mountain, I heard a voice from heaven saying, 'O Muhammad! You are the Messenger of God and I am Gabriel.' I raised my head towards heaven to see, and there was Gabriel in the form of a man, with his feet on the horizon, saying, 'O Muhammad! You are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriel.' I stood gazing at him, moving neither forward nor backward; then I began to turn my face away from him toward other parts of the sky, but wherever I looked I saw him as before, so I kept standing there without moving forward or back. At this point, Khadija sent her messengers in search of me, and they went as far as the high ground above Mecca and then returned to her, while I was standing in that same place. Then Gabriel left me.

Then I left and returned to my family. I went to Khadija and sat close to her with my thigh next to hers. She asked, "Abu al-Qasim (Father of al-Qasim, i.e., Muhammad), where have you been? By Allah, I have sent my messengers in search of you, all the way to the high ground above Mecca and back.'

[I said to her,] 'Woe is me - a poet, or a man possessed!' She said 'I take refuge in Allah from

that, O Abu al-Qasim! God would not treat you thus; He knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness to your family. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps you have seen something.' 'Yes, I have,' I told her.

Then I told her what I had seen, and she said, 'Rejoice, O son of my uncle, and rest assured! By Him in whose hand is Khadija's soul, I do hope that you will be the prophet of this people.'" Then she rose and gathered her garments around her and set off to see her cousin Waraqa ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn Qusayy, who had become a Christian and read the scriptures and learned from those who follow the Torah and the Gospel. And when she related to him what the Messenger of God (SAAS) told her he had seen and heard, Waraqa said: "Holy! Holy! By Him in whose hand is Waraqa's soul, if you have told me the truth, Khadija, what has come to him is the greatest Namus (generally understood to refer to Gabriel), who came to Moses, and he is indeed the prophet of this people. Tell him to rest assured." So Khadija returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said.

. . .

Ibn Ishaq said: Isma'il ibn Abi Hakam informed me on Khadija's authority that she (may God be pleased with her) said to the Messenger of God (SAAS), "Cousin, this companion of yours, can you tell me when he comes to you? He said, "Yes." She said, "Then do so." Then Gabriel came to him as he had before, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to Khadija, "O Khadija, this Gabriel has come to me." She said, "Get up, cousin, and sit by my left thigh," and the Messenger of God (SAAS) did so. She said, "Do you see him?" He said, "Yes." Then she said, "Move over and sit by my right thigh." And the Messenger of God (SAAS) did so. Again she said, "Do you see him?", and he said, "Yes." "Then move over and sit in my lap." And he did so. And she said, "Do you see him?," and he said, "Yes." Then she began to disrobe and threw her veil (*khimār*) aside while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was still sitting on her lap, and said, "Do you see him?" He said, "No." Then she said, "O cousin, be assured and rejoice, for by Allah, this is an angel and not a *shayṭān*."

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Chapter 4: Expansion and Flowering

Mughal and Safavid Empires: "On top of the world"

Allegorical representation of Mughal Emperor Jahangir and the Safavid Shah 'Abbas of Persia, Mughal, ca. 1618. Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1945.9a

1. Note the sense of confidence, stability and dominance (Literally "on top of the world, looking down on creation"; cf. the last paragraph on p. 54 of *Islam – The eBook*.)

2. Immediate political import is that the Mughal Emperor claims dominance over Safavids, as can be seen be the relative size of the figures and position of lion and lamb

3. Western influence Westerns influence may be seen in the cherubs and perhaps in the lion and lamb.

4. This expresses the attitude of the elite; the general public probably would not have had much occasion to see this picture.

5. The positions of the lion and the lamb are reminiscent of the *vāhanas* (vehicles) of the gods in Hindu iconography and are possibly influenced by these.

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Muslims and Christians

We read a lot about violence between Muslims and Christians in places such as Indonesia and various parts of Africa, as well as between Muslim and Hindus in South Asia. In fact, Muslim and others have often lived quite peacefully together and even shared each others' feasts and shrines.

For an example of a modern version of this in Senegal, see "A joyeux Noël in Muslim Senegal" by Claire Soares, in The Christian Science Monitor, December 20, 2006:
http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/1220/p07s02-woaf.html

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Chapter 5: The Qur'an

The *Fātiḥa* or Opening *Sūra* of the Qur'ān.

This *sura* is recited on a wide number of occasions. Below is the text in Arabic transliterated to reflect as closely as possible the pronunciation (*Introducing Islam*, pp. xvi-xviii will help). Note the rhyme scheme in –*īn* and –*īm*. Beside it are two well-known translations, those of A.J. Arberry in *The Koran Interpreted* and A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*. A slightly different version (done by the author) appears in *Introducing Islam*, pp. 59-60. Following this is the text in Arabic calligraphy (same as in Introducing Islam, p. 60). This is from a small inexpensive cardboard poster that might have put on a wall at home or in a workplace, the elegance of the calligraphy and the significance of the text being no less for that.

Arabic	Arberry	A. Yusuf Ali
(1) Bi-smi-llāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm	In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,	In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful
(2) Al-ḥamdu li-llahi rabbi-l-'ālamīn	Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being,	Praise be to God, The Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds
(3) Ar-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm	the All-merciful, the All-compassionate	Most Gracious, Most Merciful
(4) Māliki-yawmi-ddīn	The Master of the Day of Doom.	Master of the Day of Judgment
(5) Iyyāka na'budu Wa-iyyāka nasta'in	Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour	Thee do we worship And Thine aid we seek.
(6) Ihdinā-ṣ-ṣirāṭi-l-mustaqīm	Guide us in the straight path	Show the straight way,

(7) Ṣirāṭi-lladhīna anʻamta ʻalayhim, ghayri-l-maghḍūbi ʻalayhim, Wa-la ḍāllīn	the path of those whom Thou hast blest, not of those against whom thou art wrathful nor of those who are astray.	The way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace, Those whose portion is not wrath, And who go not astray.

Comment on verse 2: *rabb* is usually translated "Lord" and would appear to be derived from the root *r-b-b* but Muslim commentators usually derive it here from the root *r-b-y*, which yields the ideas of educating, fostering and nurturing.

For an Arabic text see Image 5.2 in *Islam – The e-Book*, p. 63

For recitations of this and other Qur'anic texts on the internet see *Islam – the eBook*, p. 72

Further Reading

Fatah , Tarek, "A Book for all Ages: The Qur'an and Me", *The National Post*, 21 August 2009. A very nice statement about the significance of the Qur'an by a secularist Muslim. Online: http://www.averroespress.com/AverroesPress/Main/Entries/2009/8/21_A_Book_for_all_Ages__The_Quran_and_Me.html

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Chapter 6: The Prophet Muhammad

More hadiths about the Prophet (cf. p. 74, Introducing Islam):

The Apostle of God used to patch his own sandals, stitch his own garments, and work around the house just as any one of your works around his house. (*Islam, Muhammad and his Religion*, ed. Jeffery, p.31)

When the Apostle of God shook hands with a man he would not be the first to withdraw his hand, and when he was facing a man he would not turn his face away till the other turned his, nor was he ever seen with his knees crossed in front of one of his guest... He did not chatter uninterruptedly as you do, but he used to speak with proper pauses so that those who sat with him could memorise it... Never did I see anyone who smiled more than the Apostle of God... When he sat down to converse (he) would often lift his gaze to the skies. (*Ibid*. p. 32)

The Apostle of God was neither dissolute nor immoderate in speech. He was not one who talked loudly in the streets, nor did he return evil for evil, but rather he would pardon and forgive. He was accustomed to visit the sick, follow the bier (at a funeral), would accept an invitation even from a slave, and would ride on a donkey. (*Ibid*. p.30, translation modified; partly quoted in *Introducing Islam*)

See under Chapter 20 for two hadith relating to suicide.

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A fuller version of the quotation from al-ʻAqqād found on p. 83 of Islam – the eBook.

[This] book is not an explanation of Islam or any of its provisions nor a defense of it nor a debate with its opponents, . . . Rather it is an evaluation of the 'genius of Muhammad' to the extent that it can be affirmed by

every man and not only by the Muslim, and by virtue of the love of him diffused in the heart of every man and not of the Muslim only.

Muhammad is a great hero because his virtues and exploits are a model that any sincere person would want all men to emulate. He is great because his character is great . . . .To give greatness its due is necessary in all times and places, but especially in this time and in our world . . . .It is useful for the Muslim to evaluate Muhammad by the evidence and proofs that the non-Muslim can see because a Muslim who does so will love Muhammad doubly, once by virtue of his religion, which the other does not share, and once by virtue of his human qualities which all men can share. ('Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqad, *'Abqariyyat Muḥammad*, pp 6-8)

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Taha Hussein on the biography (sīra) of the Prophet (cf. p. 83 of Islam – the eBook).

If reason is not content with these accounts and tales, and if logic is not satisfied with them, and if they do not measure up to the canons of scientific thinking, still there is something in the hearts of the people, in their feelings, their emotions, their imagination, their inclination toward the simple, their desire to seek refuge in it from the struggle and hardship of life, that makes them love and desire these accounts and that moves them to seek in them relaxation for their souls when life bears harshly upon them. There is a great difference between the person who relates these accounts to the intellect as scientifically established truths and acceptable bases for investigation, and the one who presents them to the heart and the feelings as something that will stir up good emotions, deflect evil impulses, and help them to pass the time and bear the burdens and demands of life.

I want people also to know that I have allowed myself the storyteller's liberty and inventiveness in relating these accounts and tales wherever I saw no harm in so doing, but not when the stories and accounts touch the person of the Prophet or any aspect of religion. At those points I gave myself neither freedom nor latitude, but stuck strictly to that which is accepted by the ancient authorities on the *Sira* and the hadith, the experts on the sources of transmission, and the scholars of religion.

(From: "Taha Hussein: Interpreting Muhammad's Life in Modern Times", translated from the Introduction to '*Ala Hāmish al-Sīrah*, in *Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life*, ed. John Renard (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 1998), p.129.

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Abu A'la Mawdudi, a leading Islamist, on the Prophet:

Such was our Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). He was a prodigy of extraordinary merits, a paragon of virtue and goodness, a symbol of truth and veracity, a great apostle of God, His Messenger to the entire world. His life and thought, his truth and straightforwardness, his piety and goodness, his character and morals, his ideology and achievements - all stand as unimpeachable proofs of his prophethood. Any human being who studies his life and teachings without bias will testify that verily he was the true prophet of God and the Qur'an - the Book he gave to mankind - the true Book of God. No unbiased and serious seeker after truth can escape this conclusion (A.A. Mawdudi, *Towards Understanding Islam*, Lahore: Idara Tarjumanul-Quran, 1960, p. 78)

Western scholarly assessments: two contrasting views.

He gained men's respect and confidence by the religious basis of his activity and by qualities such as courage, resoluteness, impartiality and firmness inclining to severity but tempered by generosity. In addition to these he had a charm of manner which won their affection and secured their devotion . . . . The more one reflects on the history of Muḥammad and of early Islam, the more one is amazed at the vastness of his achievement. Circumstances presented him with an opportunity such as few men have had, but the man was fully matched with the hour. Had it not been for his gifts as seer, statesman, and administrator and, behind

these, his trust in God and firm belief that God had sent him, a notable chapter in the history of mankind would have remained unwritten . . . . He was a man in whom creative imagination worked at deep levels and produced ideas relevant to the central questions of human existence, so that his religion has had a widespread appeal, not only in his own age but in succeeding centuries. Not all the ideas he proclaimed are true and sound, but by God's grace he has been enabled to provide millions of men with a better religion that they had before they testified that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the messenger of God. (W.M. Watt, *Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman* London: Oxford University Press., 1961, p.231-41)

(Beneath the surface) was a temperament which was nervous, passionate, restless, feverish - filled with an impatient yearning which burned for the impossible. This was so intense as to lead to nervous crises of a definitely pathological kind... Muhammad was certainly dissatisfied. Were there more tangible reasons for an attitude of mind without which his later development cannot be understood, and if so what were they? ... The troubles of a man mocked for his lack of male heirs, the frustration of a highly sexed man whose own moral conscience prevented him from realising his desires, the suppressed fury of a man fundamentally sure of himself but treated with contempt by practical politicans - all these things were capable of creating a personality thirsting to turn the tables in each particular, but still keeping strictly within the normal bounds of the society in which he lived. There was something in Muhammad which made him overstep those bounds. (Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammad,* London : Allen Lane, 1971 p.53f.)

Additional Sources:

Salahi, M.A. (1995) *Muhammad, man and prophet: A Complete Study of the Life of the Prophet of Islam*,Shaftesbury, Dorset ; Rockport, Mass. : Element. Detailed study in a fairly traditional mode by a modern writer.

For information on pictures of Muhammad (and some examples) see Depictions of Muhammad, Wikipedia: *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Depictions_of_Muhammad*

=== Chapter 7: Rituals and Ceremonies

Ramadan television

Ad p. 95, text box. For another description of Ramadan television, see "Muslim women and contemporary veiling in Indonesian *sinetron*" by Rachmah Ida, Chapter 2 in *Indonesian Islam in a new era: how women negotiate their Muslim identities*, ed. Susan Blackburn, Bianca J Smith & Siti Syamsiyatun, Clayton: Monash University Press, 2008
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"Worry beads"

Sibha. (Courtesy Khalil Abou El-Nasr / Saudi Aramco World/ SAWDIA) See p. 103 in *Islam – The eBook*

Chapter 8, Divisions in the *Umma*: Sects, political theory

Persianate views and ideas of kingship:
Note: The Denkart is a late Zoroastrian text; the others are from Muslim sources.

"Nor can religion be stable without royalty
Nor can royalty be permanent without religion:
They are two foundations interlaced with one another,
Which intelligence hath combined in one."
(Firdowsi in Martin, V., (1989) Islam and Modernism, London: Tauris, 1989, p. 33)

"The principal characteristic of kings is pleasure . . . pleasure is consonant with kingship provided it is rooted in greatness. Pleasure rooted in greatness does not pass away." (*Denkart; Zaehner 1961: 299.*)

[If the shah rules well] "The empire will prosper, the common people will be freed from fear and enjoy a

good life, science will advance, culture will be looked after, good manners will be further refined, and men will be generous, just and grateful, many a virtue will they practice and perfect will their goodness be.' (*Denkart*)

"In every age and time God (be He exalted) chooses one member of the human race and, having endowed him with goodly and kingly virtues, entrusts him with the interests of the world and the well-being of His servants; He charges that person to close the doors of corruption, confusion and discord, and He imparts to him such dignity and majesty in the eyes and hearts of men, that under his just rule they may live their lives in constant security and ever wish for his reign to continue. (*Nizam al-Mulk, The Book of Government, trans. H. Darke, 9*)

A contrasting view from the Iranian revolution:
"The government of the Commander of the Faithful (i.e. Ali) . . . was not a form of monarchy. In a monarchy the rulers seize the property of their people, . . . in a monarchy we find palaces, servants . . . and all sorts of luxuries which are paid for from the national budget. However, if we consider the form of government which 'Ali instituted we do not find such things. The Commander of the Faithful ruled over a vast country which included, among its other provinces, Egypt, Iran and Arabia. Yet he lived as a humble and a simple man . . . . This man who ruled over a vast land used to wear a torn and timeworn garb." (*Ayatollah Montazeri, sermon, 1979*)

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Al- Ghazali on the Imamate

The following is a translation of the chapter "The Imamate" from The Golden Mean in Belief (Al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād)*, a book on kalām. It is one of at least three places where he spells out his view. Another is in his lengthy refutation of the Isma'ilis, entitled* Al-Mustazhiriyya *(English translation can be found in Freedom and Fulfillment, trans, R. J. McCarthy, Boston: Twayne, 1980) and the third is found in his opus magnum, Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din. Al-Ghazali's position is described briefly in* Islam – the eBook *on p. 114. Note that the saying "Religion and government (sulṭān) are twins" is generally believed to originate in pre-Islamic Iran. The word sulṭān originally meant "authority" but by al-Ghazali's time had come to refer to the holder of authority.*

Enquiry into the Imamate is not an important matter [for *kalam*], nor is it one of the philosophical issues within jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Moreover, it is apt to stir up partisan passions, so it is safer to avoid discussing it than to plunge into it even if one finds the correct answers, let alone if one errs. But it has become the accepted practice to close doctrinal treatises with it, and so we will follow this customary procedure since people are strongly averse to procedures that contradict what they are used to. Our treatment of it will be brief, however. Speculation on this matter involves three points:

THE FIRST POINT: Demonstration of the obligation to appoint an *imam*.

You must not think that this obligation is derived from reason, for we have already demonstrated that obligations are derived only from revelation (*shar'*). To be sure, if one interprets the word "obligation" to mean an action which brings benefit and whose omission causes even the slightest harm, then one would not deny that there is a obligation to appoint an *imam* [based on reason], since it does provide for worldly benefit and repel worldly harm. We, however, shall prove conclusively that this obligation is based on revelation, and we will not be content to rest the case on the consensus *ijma'* of the *umma*. Rather, we shall show what this consensus is based on.

We begin by stating that the proper ordering of the religious life was unquestionably a goal of the Prophet,

upon him be peace; this is a premiss which is certain and about which no dispute is conceivable. To this we add another premiss, viz., that the proper ordering of religious life can be achieved only be means of a leader (*imam*) who commands obedience. From the two premises there follows the truth of what was originally asserted, viz. that it is obligatory to appoint an *imam*.

An objector may say that second premiss, viz. that the right ordering of the religious life can be achieved only by means of an *imam* who commands obedience, cannot be granted without demonstration. We would then say that the proof is that the right ordering of religious life can be achieved only by the right ordering of worldly life, and the right ordering of worldly life is achieved only by means of a leader (*imam*) who commands obedience. Can there be any debate about either of these two premises?

It may also be asked why we say that the right ordering of religious life can be achieved only by means of the right ordering of worldly life, when in fact it is achieved only at the expense of worldly life, for religious life and worldly life are incompatible, since to promote one of them is to destroy the other.

Our answer would be that these are the words of one who does not understand what we mean here by "worldly life", for it is an ambiguous term which may be used in the sense of excessive enjoyment and pleasure and of unnecessary luxury but also may be used in the sense of everything a person needs before death. One of these is contrary to religious life, but the other is a necessary condition for it. So it is that one errs if one does not distinguish between the different meanings of ambiguous words. So we say that the right ordering of religious life depends on knowledge and worship and these are achieved only with bodily health, preservation of life, the basic necessities of food, shelter and clothing, and security against disaster. I swear that whoever has become secure in his mind, healthy in his body, and has his daily food, it is as if he had obtained the whole of worldly life. A person's spirit, body, possessions, home and food, however, are secure only under some conditions, not all, and religious life can be properly ordered only when these important necessities have become secure. Otherwise, the person will have to spend all his time protecting himself from the swords of oppressors or seeking his daily bread from usurpers and will have no time free for learning or right endeavor, which are the means to blessedness in the future life. Therefore it is evident that the right ordering of worldly life, to the extent of basic necessities, is a necessary condition for the right ordering of religious life.

As for the second premiss, viz. that worldly life and security of person and property can be rightly ordered only by means of a ruler (*sultan*) who commands obedience, the evidence for it can be seen in the times of civil strife following the deaths of rulers and *imams*. If such times lasted very long and were not ended by the appointment of another ruler who commanded obedience, the disorder would continue, fighting would spread, people would be in want, livestock would perish, industry would cease and the strong would plunder at will. Those who survived would have no time for worship or learning, while the majority would perish by the edge of the sword. Therefore it is said: "Religion and government (*sulṭān*) are twins", and "Religion is a foundation and government (*sulṭān*) is a guard; whatever has no foundation is demolished and whatever has no guard is lost." In general, no rational person can dispute the point that humans, given their social differences, the diversity of their desires and the wide disparity of their opinions, would perish to the last person if they were abandoned to their own devices and were not united in obedience to a single opinion. This is an illness which has no cure except a strong ruler (*sulṭān*) who commands obedience and imposes unity on the diversity of opinions. So it is clear that a ruler is necessary for the right ordering of worldly life, the right ordering of world life is necessary for the right ordering of religious life, and the right ordering of religious life is necessary for achieving blessedness in the future life, and this is the definitive aim of the prophets. Therefore, the obligation to appoint an *imam* is a necessity based on revelation and one which may not be neglected.

THE SECOND POINT: Explaining who is to be singled out from among the rest of humankind to be appointed *imam*.

We say that it is clear that an *imam* cannot be designated arbitrarily and that he must be distinguished by characteristics that mark him off from the rest of humankind, some of these being characteristics found in him personally and some characteristics involving other people. As for those found in him personally, they are as follows: that he be capable of administering the people's affairs and leading them along the right paths, something which demands competence, learning and scrupulous piety. In brief, the characteristics required of judges are required of him, and then in addition he must descended from the Quraysh. This fourth condition is known by authoritative tradition, since the Prophet, God bless him and grant him peace, said, "The *imams* are from the Quraysh." This distinguishes him from most of humankind; but it may be that there are found among the Quraysh a number of people with the above mentioned characteristics, so there is need for yet another characteristic to distinguish him and that can only be appointment or authorization by one or more others, for he is singled out for the imamate when he in particular is appointed, to the exclusion of anyone else.

It remains now to consider the characteristics of the one who appoints, for that cannot be left to just anyone but demands particular characteristics. Appointment can take one of three forms: either designation by the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, or designation by the current *imam* when he chooses as his heir apparent a particular person from among his children or other members of the Quraysh, or by authorization by a military leader who has the power to compel the others to accept his decision and give prompt allegiance to the person so authorized. In some ages authorization may be carried out by one person who is highly regarded, has a strong following, and is in control of things generally. It is sufficient for him to make the authorization and give the oath of allegiance even if others do not participate in the authorization process, since the aim is to unite a diversity of people under one person who commands obedience, and this happens when the *imam* receives obedience by virtue of receiving the oath of allegiance from someone else who commands obedience [i.e. the *sultan*]. Sometimes the necessary power may not be in the hands of one person but of two or more persons, so that it is necessary for them to come together and agree on the authorization and give the oath of allegiance so that the *imam* will receive full obedience. I will go further and say that if after the death of the *imam* there was only one member of the Quraysh who commanded obedience and had a following and this person took over the imamate, appointed himself as the successor, and effectively carried out its functions, and if he made the rest of the people follow him by virtue of his power and competence, while possessing the [other] characteristics appropriate to *imams*, then his imamate would be valid and obedience to him would be obligatory. He would have been singled out by virtue of his power and his competence, and opposing him would mean stirring up civil strife. In fact, though, such a person would be strong enough to exact the oath of allegiance from the magnates and authorities of the time, and that would make his position less open to question. Therefore, such a person usually takes power only after being authorized [by others] and receiving the oath of allegiance.

Someone may say: Assuming that the goal is to have a person of sound views who commands obedience and who can impose his authority on the diversity of opinions and keep the people from warring and fighting and procure their material and eternal well-being, let us suppose that someone took control who fulfilled all the conditions except those of judges [i.e. competence, learning and piety] but, in place of these, was willing to consult the scholars and act according to their dictates, what would be your opinion? Would it be obligatory to oppose him and remove him or would it be obligatory to obey him?

Our categorical reply would be that it would be obligatory to remove him if he could be replaced by someone fulfilling all the conditions without stirring up civil disorder and provoking fighting. But if this could not be done without causing fighting, it would be obligatory to obey him and recognise his imamate as legitimate, for what we would lose by the fact that he depends on the advice of others rather than being himself learned is less than what we would lose by appointing the more qualified one if this meant we had go through a civil war whose consequences we could not foresee, but which would probably lead to considerable loss of life and property. The requirement of learning is added only to provide for improving and perfecting the wellbeing of society, but it is not permissible to destroy the basis of society's wellbeing out of a desire to improve and perfect

it. These are juristic matters which can lead some to absurdities and contradictions, but let them leave such excesses since the matter is easier than they think. We have given a full and complete analysis of this matter in the book entitled "Al-Mustazhiri", composed to refute the Isma'ilis.

Someone may say: You have relaxed the requirement of learning in the *imam*, so you must also relax the requirement for justice and other traits.

In response we will say that our relaxation is not by choice, but necessity makes forbidden things permissible (*mubah*). For example, we know that it is forbidden to eat carrion, but to let oneself die of hunger is even worse. Now I really wonder who would refuse to support our position and would declare that the imamate in our age is invalid because it does not fulfil all the conditions, when he cannot replace the one who is currently carrying out that role or even find anyone who does fulfil the conditions. Which option is better: that he declare all the judges deposed, all public authority invalid, all marriages annulled and the actions of all governors in the various parts of the world void, and, indeed, everything that everyone is doing forbidden, or that he declare the imamate valid, by virtue of circumstance and necessity, and thus the governing authorities and actions of the governors legitimate? Now, he has three choices: (1) he can prevent people from marrying or taking other actions which require the authorization of the judges, something which is impossible since it would paralyze all gainful activity, result in anarchy and cause the people to perish, or (2) he can say that they are marrying and doing the other things and in so doing they are engaging in forbidden actions, but they will not judged immoral or sinful because of the overriding necessity in the situation, or (3) he can take our position and declare that the imamate is valid even though not all the conditions for it are fulfilled because of the overriding necessity in the situation. It is well known that something unacceptable becomes acceptable when it is compared with something even less acceptable, and the lesser of two evils is a relative good which the rational person must choose. Now, this completes the argument of this section and the intelligent person will not need a lengthier discussion. He who does not quickly understand the true nature and cause of something but requires a long time to comprehend will always reject what contradicts his ingrained ways of thinking. Weaning the weak-minded from their habitual ways of thinking is an arduous task which even the prophets have been unable to accomplish, so what can be expected of others?

Someone may ask: Why don't you say that designation by the Prophet or his successor (caliph) is obligatory, in order to cut the root of disagreement, as some of the Twelver Shi'is (Imamis) assert?

Our answer is that if it were obligatory the Prophet, God bless him and grant him peace, would have stipulated it, but he did not do so, nor did Umar. Rather, the imamates of the Abu Bakr, Uthman and Ali, may God be pleased with them, stood firm on the basis of authorization. Pay no attention to the willful ignorance of those who allege that the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, designated Ali so as to end disputes but that the Companions haughtily opposed the designation and suppressed knowledge of it. One could counter this in similar terms by claiming that the Prophet designated Abu Bakr and the Companions unaminously agreed (i.e. *ijma'*) that he was suitable for this designation and followed him. This claim would be more credible than the claim that they haughtily opposed the designation and suppressed it. Furthermore, one could only imagine that such a designation was obligatory because it was difficult to eliminate dissension, but it is no excuse since the oath of allegiance itself eliminates the basis of dissension, as is proven by the lack of dissension in the time of Abu Bakr and Uthman (*sic*) may God be pleased with them, even though they had taken office by this oath, while dissension became prevalent in the time of Ali, may God be pleased with him, even though according to the Shi'is he took office on the basis of designation.

THE THIRD POINT: Explanation of the doctrine of the People of the True Path (*ahl al-sunna*, i.e. Sunnis) on the Companions and the Rightly Guided Caliphs.

Know that on the subject of the Companions and the Caliphs, people go to great extremes. Some praise them

exaggeratedly, even to the point of alleging that the *imams* are infallible, while others attack and slanderously censure the Companions. Don't be in either group, but follow the path of the golden mean in belief. Know that the Book of God contains praise for the Emigrants and the Helpers and there are unquestionably sound (*mutawāṭir*) reports in which the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, attests their good character in various words, such as his statements, "My Companions are like the stars, whichever you follow you will be rightly guided," and, "The best people are my generation, then those who follow them." There is not one of them who has not somewhere been singled out for praise, but it would take too long to present all this. So you must adopt this belief concerning them, and in connection with the accounts of their disagreements, you must not think badly of them but give them the benefit of the doubt. For most of what is transmitted about them is the invention of partisan fanaticism with no basis in fact. What is not invention is open to interpretation, and it is not permissible to accept reports of errors or oversights by them which one cannot reasonably find a way to excuse and interpret as being motivated by good intentions even though they turned out to be wrong. In the famous case of the fight between Muʿawiya and Ali, and the journey of 'A'isha, may God be pleased with them, to Basra, we must suppose that 'A'ishah was trying to stop the civil war but that matters got out of control, so that the end result was not what she had originally intended but quite different (so-called "Battle of the Camel"). Concerning Muʿawiya we must suppose that he had his own interpretations and suppositions about what he was doing. Whatever else is said about this comes from isolated (not *mutawatir*) reports and is a mixture of truth and error. Most of the differences result from the inventions of the Shiʿis or the Kharijis, or by meddlesome people who delve excessively into these matters. So you must stick to the practice of rejecting reports that are not proven and discovering a suitable interpretation for ones that are proven, and if that is too difficult, then say that perhaps there is an interpetation or an excuse that you are not aware of. Know that in this situation you are faced with two possibilities: one is that you form a bad opinion of a Muslim and tell slanderous lies about him, and the other is that you mistakenly form a good opinion of him and refrain from criticizing him. It is safer erroneously to hold a good opinion about a Muslim than to defame him with accurate criticisms. For if a person during his whole life refrained, for example, from cursing the devil, or Abu Jahl or Abu Lahab or another evil person, his silence would not harm him, but if he made a single error in accusing a Muslim of something of which he is innocent in God's sight, he would expose himself to perdition. In fact, it is not licit to speak of most of what one knows about people because of the great importance that the Divine Law (*shar'*) gives to preventing slander even when the allegations made are true. So whoever pays attention to these points and is not meddlesome will prefer to keep silence and maintain a good opinion of all Muslims and to employ his tongue in the praise all the Righteous Forefathers. This then is the proper attitude to the Companions generally. As for the Rightly Guided Caliphs, they are more virtuous than the others and their rank in virtue, in the view of the People of the True Path, is the same as the order in which they took up the imamate. When we say, however, that someone is more virtuous than someone else, this must not be taken to mean that he occupies a higher position with God in the afterlife. This is one of the secrets known only to God, and to His Messenger if He has informed him of it, and we cannot adduce any decisive and unquestionably authentic (*mutawatir*) texts from the Prophet that compel us to rank them in this order. Rather, what is transmitted is praise of them all, and to come to a judgment as to their relative virtue on the basis of the details of the Prophet's praise of them is to aim in the dark and meddle rashly in the affairs of others, something which God has saved us from having to do. To try to discern someone's virtue in God's sight from his actions is problematic and produces no more than a guess. How many persons there are who outwardly do forbidden things and yet hold a place in God's sight of which even they are not aware and have hidden inward virtues! And how many are adorned with the outward acts of worship, and yet are the objects of God's wrath because of vices nestled within them. For God alone knows the secrets of people's hearts. But now, it is undoubtedly the case that someone's true virtue can be known only by revelation, and one can know what the Prophet reported only by dependable transmission, and furthermore those whose transmission is most dependable in matters that indicate the differing degrees of virtue [of the early caliphs] are those Companions who were constantly with the Prophet - may God bless him and grant him peace - and best knew about his spiritual experiences. They agreed on the priority of Abu Bakr, and that Abu Bakr then designated Umar and that after him they agreed on Uthman and then on Ali, may God be pleased with them. Since it cannot be supposed that they would betray the religion of God for any motive, their agreement

(*ijma'*) is the best evidence concerning the relative virtues of these caliphs. Therefore, the Sunnis accepted this ranking in virtue and then investigated the reports and found them to support the Companions and the people of consensus (*ijma'*) in this ranking.

Now this is the brief presentation that we wanted to make of the rules and judgments concerning the imamate, and God knows best and makes the best judgments.

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Chapter 9, Those Who Know: the *'Ulamā'*

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Chapter 10: To Know God's Will, Islamic law

An alternative way of listing the uṣūl al-fiqh ("roots" of jurisprudence).

In *Islam-The eBook* the Sunni *usul al-fiqh* are listed as the Qur'an, the Sunna of the Prophet, *ijtihad* and *ijma'* (concensus) (p. 133). This way of listing them may be said to be diachronic, providing a somewhat simplified and idealized account of how the *usul* have functioned over time to develop the corpus of *fiqh*. It seems to me the best way to introduce the usual Muslim view of this development, although the section on the history of *fiqh* later in the chapter (p. 139 ff.) indicates that *fiqh* probably did not actually develop in such a schematised way.

There is an alternative way of listing the *usul* that you will find many books on Islam, viz. Qur'an, *Sunna*, *ijma'*, *qiyas*. This way of listing may be said to be synchronic, providing a somewhat simplified and idealized account of how a *faqih* will approach any question at a particular point in time. Here the *ijma'* is more or less fixed and given at that time and one is not too concerned about how the *ijtihad* of the past that brought it into being. The existing *ijma'* thus becomes the third "root" and the *faqih's ijtihad*, when appropriate, becomes the fourth. Since *qiyas* is the preferred form of *ijtihad* it is put in the list. The "gate" of other forms of *ijtihad* has often been thought to be closed.

I think the first way of listing the *usul* will be more congenial to modernists, who want to question the existing *ijma'*, and the second to traditionalists. Do you agree?

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The "Aims of the Shari'a"

Related to the concept of *maṣlaḥa* (welfare or public interest, see p. 134 in *Islam – The eBook*) is that of *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* , the aims of the *Sharī'a*, elaborated by a number of scholars, in particular al-Shāṭibī (d. 1388). According to this approach the general goals of the *Sharī'a* can be known and judgments taken into account in the light of them. According to al-Shāṭibī the most important, those that fall into the category of necessities, are protection of religious faith (*dīn*), of life, of progeny, of property and of mind (or reason). This approach allows considerable flexibility in legal reasoning in has become popular in modern times among Islamic modernists and Islamists although it was not so important in earlier times.

Information on this will be found in some of the items under "Further reading" to Chapter 10.

See also the following:

SHATIBI'S OBJECTIVES OF SHARI'AH AND SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR CONSUMER THEORY
http://www.islamic-world.net/economics/consumer_theory.htm

Maqasid al Shariah: The Objectives of Islamic Law by Dr Mohammad Hashim Kamali
http://www.sunniforum.com/forum/showthread.php?t=6176

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FURTHER READINGS
"*Adat*, Islam and Womanhood in the reconstruction of Riau Malay identity", Lugina Satyawati, Ch 3 in *Indonesian Islam in a new era: how women negotiate their Muslim identities*, ed. Susan Blackburn, Bianca J Smith & Siti Syamsiyatun. Clayton: Monash University Press, 2008. An interesting recent discussion of a situation in which *adat* involves matriliny, cf. p. 134 in *Islam – The eBook*.

Grehan, James, Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries). *The American Historical Review* 111.5 (2006) <http://www. historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/111.5/grehan.html>. (accessed 1 Mar. 2010)

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Chapter 11: Philosophy and Theology

Qaḍā' wa-qadar, "predestination" (p. 149 in *Islam – The eBook*).

The word *qaḍā'* means "decreeing" or "determining"; the word *qadar* has these meaning but also has the meaning of "measuring out". The phrase is usually understood to mean that God decrees or determines things at the beginning of time and then "measures them out", i.e., causes them to happen, at particular times. *Qadar* may also be used in a sense close to that of the English word "fate". The root from which *qadar* comes may also convey the idea of power or ability and the early centuries the term *qadarīs* (adherents of *qadar*) was used for a group that believed in human power over actions, i.e. the opposite of predestination.

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Chapter 12: The Sufi Path to God

Al-Hallaj, the Martyr of Love.

Al-Hallaj is probably the best known of the early Sufis, famous as the "intoxicated" Sufi who was a martyr for his love of God. His full name was Abū Abdullāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (857-922). "Al-Hallaj" means "carder of cotton" and was probably his father's occupation, but it came to be interpreted in his case as "carder of hearts".

He was born in southern Iran and travelled to Basra, where he spent time with Sahl al-Tustari, one of the famous early Sufis. From there he went to Baghdad, where he frequented al-Junayd and other Sufi masters and married the daughter of a Sufi. He fell out with some of the Sufis, however, and went on hajj to Mecca, where he

is said to have performed extraordinary feats of asceticism. On his return he fell out with al-Junayd. It is said that he had knocked at al-Junayd's door and when asked who was there, said "Anā al-Ḥaqq" (I am the Truth/ Real). Then he wandered throughout Iran for some years, finally making a second hajj, accompanied by 400 disciples. He then travelled to India, to call people to God, as he claimed, or to learn magic, as his opponents claimed. On his return to Baghdad he encountered even greater hostility from many Sufis and set out on a third hajj, but was arrested and imprisoned, in 913. He had strong supporters and strong enemies and it was 922 before a death sentence was approved and he was executed, an outcome it is said he sought as the culmination of his quest in love for union with God. His last words may be translated, "It is enough for the one who has found the One to be made one with the One."

His statement, "I am the Truth/Reality", which may be taken to mean "I am God" since Al-Haqq is a name of God and a particularly important one for the Sufis, may have been the reason for his execution. From the Sufi viewpoint, however, the statement itself is not the problem, since it is a shaṭḥ, a statement in ecstasy that is not to be taken literally, but the fact that he said it openly, i.e. revealed a secret which is meant only for the adepts. There were however other reasons. He had made statements that could be taken as claiming equality with the Prophet and had said that under some circumstance major obligations could be replaced with other actions. His charismatic character led his enemies to fear him as a crafty magician who was trying to seduce people. There were also fears that he was in touch enemies of the Abbasids, such as the Qarmatis, through whose lands he had travelled.

Ana al-haqq is undoubtedly the most famous of his sayings and has become both a literary trope and a focus of continuing debate. It appears at several points in al-Hallaj's writings or in the stories about him. The following lines, from one of his later writings is suggestive of its meaning as they compare Al-Hallaj's position with Iblis's refusal to bow down to Adam and Pharoah's refusal to recognize God as Lord, both accounts found in the Qur'an. Futuwwa is a kind of Muslim tradition of chivalry with an emphasis on bravery and honor.

20. Abu 'Umara al-Hallaj, the strange master, said:
I debated with Iblis and Pharoah on the subject of steadfast valor (*futuwwa*).
Iblis said, "If I had bowed down [before Adam], the name of valor would have fallen from me."
Pharoah said, "If I had affirmed faith in the Prophet, I would have been ejected from the rank of valor.
21. I said, "If I had gone back on what I had claimed, I would have been thrown from the carpet of valor."
22. Iblis said, "I am better than he" (Qur'an 7:12), when he saw none other than himself.
Pharoah said, "I know of no other god (*ilāh*) for you than me." (Qur'an 28:38) He knew of no one among his people who could distinguish the Real from what is created.
23. As for me, I said, "If you do not recognize Him, at least recognize His trace. I am that trace, I am the Real (*Ana al-Haqq*), because I have never ceased to be a reality (*haqq*) in the Real (*Haqq*)."
24. My companion and teacher are Iblis and Pharoah.
Iblis was threatened with hellfire but did not go back on what he had claimed.
Pharoah was drowned in the sea, but did not go back on what he had claimed and did not accept any mediator at all. But he said, "I believe that there is no god but He in whom the people of Israel believe." (Qur'an 10:90). Don't you see that God (may He be praised) opposed Gabriel at his gate and said "Why have you filled his mouth with sand?"
I was killed and my hands and feet were cut off but I did not go back on what I had claimed.

(This translation follows fairly closely that of Michael Sells in his, Early Islamic Mysticism, New York : Paulist Press, 1996, p. 277. Two other translations are those of Louis Massignon in The Passion of Al-Hallaj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam, trans. H. Mason, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, vol. 3, pp. 356-7, and Aisha Abd ar-Rahman, trans., The Tawasin of Mansur al-Hallaj, Berkeley: Diwan Press, 1974, pp. 46-7.)

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Mevlana (Our Master) Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207-1273)

(Most of the following synopsis is derived from Schimmel (1975) Mystical Dimensions of Islam, pp. 309-324.)

Rumi is probably the most widely known and revered of the great Sufi masters, both in the Muslim world, especially the Persianate part of it, and in the West. He was born near Balkh in Central Asia but his family fled the area in the face of the advancing Mongols and in 1228 settled in Konya, then under Saljuk rule and now part of modern Turkey. Konya had a considerable Greek Christian as well as Turkish Muslim population and a lively intellectual life. A few years later he took over the teaching position of his father, a noted 'ālim, and received Sufi guidance from a friend of his father. He was also a friend of the main commentator on Ibn 'Arabi's writings. In 1244 he met Shams-i Din-i Tabrizi, a strange and powerful personality, possibly one of the wandering Sufis called Qalandaris, who claimed to have reached a very high mystical station. Shams kindled in Rumi a passionate mystical love ('ishq) that led him to neglect his family and disciples for months on end. In time they forced Shams to leave town but he return to a passionate reunion with Rumi; it is said that when they embraced "one did not know who was lover and who was beloved". (Schimmel 313). The next time they made in him "disappear" permanently (his tomb was found in the 20th century). Rumi desperately sought for Shams until he found him living within himself, united with him. Out of this experience his great poetry was born; it was as much Shams's as his, and one of his major collections of poetry is called Divan-i Shams-i Tabriz (The Collected Poems of Shams-i Tabriz). This passionate relationship between two men mirrors the relationship of the soul and God, but to say "mirrors" is certainly too weak a statement. Later Rumi had a more sober relationships with the successor of his first teacher and with one of his own disciples.

Rumi died in 1273 but his disciples continued and under his son and second spiritual successor the hierarchy and "whirling" dhikr were organized. His literary output was vast but does not lend itself to simple interpretation or systemizing. They reflect many influences, including that of the philosophers such as Ibn Sina, as may be seen from the following popular lines:

> I died as a mineral and became a plant,
> I died as plant and rose to animal,
> I died as animal and I was Man.
> Why should I fear? When was I less by dying?
> Yet once more I shall die as Man, to soar
> With angels blest; but even from angelhood
> I must pass on: all except God doth perish,
> When I have sacrificed my angel-soul,
> I shall become what no mind e'er conceived.
> O let me not exist! For Non-existence
> Proclaims in organ tones "To him shall we return!"
> (from Schimmel 321-2)

These lines illustrate the problems of interpreting Rumi. While they most obviously reflect a mystical appropriation of philosophical ideas with allusions to the Qur'an at the end, 20th century modernists have often interpreted them in terms of Darwinian evolution and it would be easy also to interpret them in terms of reincarnation.

The headquarters of the Mevlevi tariqa has been in Konya to the present time and Rumi's mausoleum there is a goal of ziyara (Sufi pilgrimage). The tariqa eventually spread throughout the Ottoman Empire

but his poetry spread far beyond that, particularly to the Iranian and Indian worlds. It was officially closed in Turkey in 1925 but in practice continued and eventually was allowed to present dhikrs publicly once a year. Since the 1970s dhikrs have been performed on tour in Western countries. Rumi's mausoleum was officially converted into a museum in 1927 but the state can hardly control what goes on in minds of visitors.

Rumi's mausoleum in Konya, 1991
In relation to Rumi see also figures 12.2 and 12.8 and 14.4 in *Islam – The eBook*.

Additional reading:

Schimmel, Annemarie (1993), *The Triumphal Sun*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Maulana (1968) *Mystical poems of Rumi*, trans. A.J. Arberry. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Maulana (1968) *Discourses of Rumi*, trans. A. J. Arberry. London : J. Murray.

Friedlander, Ira (1975) *The Whirling Dervishes: being an account of the Sufi order known as the Mevlevis*

and its founder, the poet and mystic Mevlana Jalalu'ddin Rumi. London : Wildwood House.

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Material on Ahmad al-Badawi (1199-1276) and the Tanta mulid (mawlid)

(*Mulid* is the colloquial form of the word *mawlid*, "saint's birthday, and the form of the word usually used in discussing them. The following material is based largely on Edward Reeves (1990) *The Hidden Government*, pp. 45-52 and 113-133, which include his observations of the *mulids* of 1977 and 1978 and my own observations of the mulid of 1977, with some reference to Michael Gilsenan (1973) Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. (Oxford: Clarendon Press), Chapter II. The pictures are from the *mulid* of 1977.)

Ahmad al-Badawi (1199-1278) was the founder of Ahmadiyya *tariqa*, perhaps the most popular *tariqas* in Egypt.His family is said to have originated in Arabia and to be descendants of the Prophet's grandson, al-Husayn. They migrated to Morocco early in the Islamic era and Ahmad was born in Fez. Soon afterwards the family went on hajj to Mecca and Ahmad remained there until his father's death in 1237. One version of his boyhood makes him a student prodigy while another makes him a skilled dueller and horseman. He and his brother then spent time visiting the shrines of walis in Iraq, having been encouraged by the walis Ahmad al-Rifa'i and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, and Ahmad began to demonstrate supernatural powers, among other things defeating the temptations of a female jinni, who then became his follower. He then returned to Mecca and meditated in a cave, as the Prophet had, and a "secret voice" commanded him to go Tanta, in Delta region of Egypt. He was 40 years old, the same age as the Prophet was when he received his first revelations. In Tanta Ahmad is said to have performed many karamat and also to attract a following of other Sufis. He miraculously saved the life of a infant who later became his favourite disciple. He would stay on the roof of a house in a state of ecstasy for 40 days, fasting and meditating, and staring into the sun. He is said to have received commands. He outshone the many other *walis* and scholars said to have been in Tanta, some of whom became his followers and some of whom were his rivals and suffered for it. He is said to have received homage from the Mamluke sultan and to have participated in fighting the Christian Crusaders and miraculously freed Muslim captives. Many today like to emphasize his role in fighting the Crusaders and a official of Ahmad Mosque in Tanta has compared him to George Washington.
(Synopsis based largely on Reeves, *The Hidden Government*, 1990, pp. 45-52)

The word *mulid* means birthday but a *mulid* does not necessarily fall on the actual birthday of the *wali*. The *mulid* of Ahmad al-Badawi began when a vast number of his followers came to Tanta to pledge allegiance to his successor. For a long time the mulid was held in August, when the Nile flood was at its height. Later two smaller festivals came to be celebrated for Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanta, one at the of the wheat and barley harvest and one possibly in June. The dates of these are fixed by the solar Coptic calendar, which follows the agricultural seasons rather than by the *hijri* calendar. The middle festival was suppressed early in the 19th century. More recently the date of main one, the *maulid kabir*, was moved to October to coincide with end of the cotton harvest. It is sometimes shifted to avoid conflict with *'ids* or major festivals that follow the *hijri* calendar. During the Mamluke period the mulid was a major trade fair as well as a lively festival marked, according to one *'alim* by fire walking, snake swallowing and the like, while another one wanted to ban it because men and women mixed together there. It declined somewhat during the Ottoman period.

The *mulid kabir* lasts for a week and is carnival, commercial fair and religious event more or less rolled into one. As many as a million people may attend. The greatest activity is at night, with Qur'an recitations and dhikrs by various Sufi groups. Throughout people circumambulate Sayyid al-Badawi's tomb and touching the wooden lattice (maqsura) that encloses it seeking *baraka*. They also visit the tombs of other

walis in Tanta, of which 37 are recognized. By the last two days of the festival the prayer hall of the mosque filled with people, mainly in family groups, praying, sleeping, eating, chatting. Many people sleep in the open during the mulid or in makeshift shelters. On a road leading out of town there are various amusements and merchants' stalls. The road leads to large field where a number of tents are set up on Sufi groups and other associations or agencies, where *dhikrs* are performed. On the last night (the "big night") there is a government sponsored program as well as continuing *dhikrs*. According to Gilsenan the government put on a fireworks display in 1964. On the Thursday afternoon there is a large procession call the "Procession of the Shinawiyya", said to commemorate the fact that the leader of the Shinawi *tariqa* pledged allegiance to the successor of Ahmad al-Badawa. On the afternoon of Friday, the last event of maulid takes place, the Procession of the Khalifa, in which the various Sufi tariqas particlpate, followed by the Khalifa of Sayyid al-Badawi, the leader of the Badawiyya.
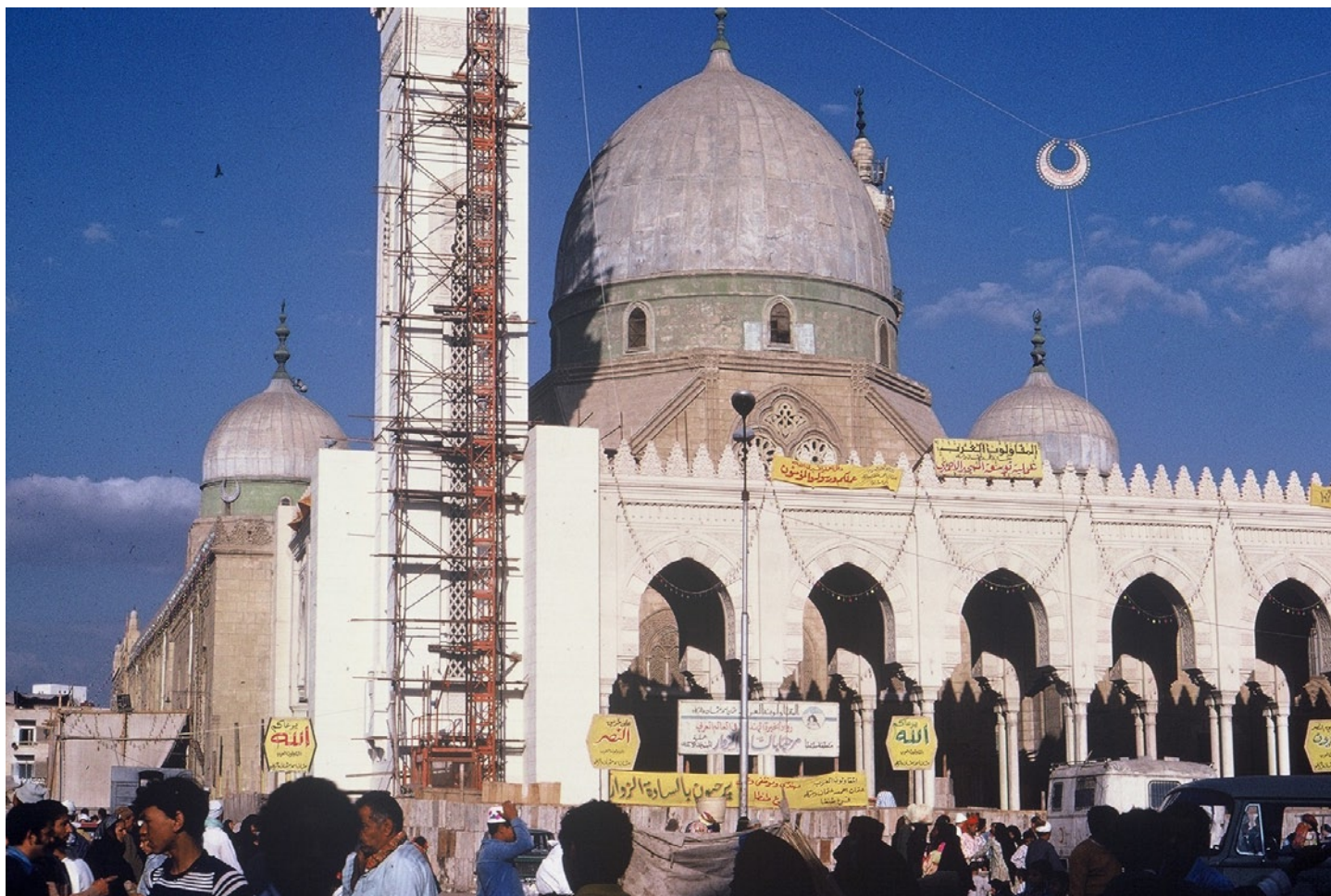
The Mosque of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanta.

Ahmad al-Badawi's tomb is located in a small room in the corner of the mosque that is visible to the viewer. One can see that the mosque is being extended toward the viewer. This picture was taken in October of 1977. When I visited the mosque again in 1999 it was much enlarged and the tomb was in a large hall.

Mulid Field.

A major centre of activity was this field outside of town. It was bordered by tents on three sides which were erected by various Sufi groups or family association and offered hospitality. In the Sufi tents there are *dhikrs* and religious songs. The tent that is lit up belongs the provincial arm of the Ministry of of Awqaf (viz. Religious Affairs). When Michael Gilsenan visited the *mulid* in the 1964, at the height of the power and prestige of Abdel Nasser's regime, the most prominent tent was that of the Arab Socialist Union.

Stalls selling humus.

The Tanta *mulid* has always been an agricultural fair. These stalls, located on the road between the *Mulid* field (above) and the town contain hummus (chickpeas or garbanzos). The hummus sold at the *maulid* is said to have *baraka* and people are expected to take some home with them.

Women trying on hats

One finds along the road things that we would associate with amusements parks, rides, sideshows, etc. These women are trying on what appear to be party hats.

Stick fighting

Another evidently popular activity was this ritualised combat with staves called *nabboots*. The older man was obvious more skilled and always won while I was watching.

Troops in procession

Soldiers marching at the beginning of the procession on Thursday. They are present to keep order, to make the government's presence visible and to show the government's support for the *maulid*.

Tambourines and nay (flute) in parade.

Part of the procession on Thursday. As one can see, it was neither a silent nor a solemn affair. This is also Fig. 12.3 in *Islam-the eBook*.

Procession the last day with the Khalifa of Sayyid Ahmad.

Procession on the last day, with the Khalifa of Sayyid Ahmad, the leader of the Ahmadiyya tariqa. According to Gilsenan in 1964 the government soldiers upstaged the Khalifa, but this was not so in 1977. This is also Fig. 12.4 in *Islam-the eBook*.

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A Female Sufi Saint in 19th Century Egypt.

Nur al-Sabah was born about 1824 in a town noted for its association with the Shadhili *tariqa* and its piety. As a young girl she was allowed to attend the weekly *dhikr* sessions and soon she began to seek privacy for her devotions. her reputation for piety became such that she was asked to recite the *fatiha* at the close of the *dhikr* sessions. She also liked to wander about alone. She became rebellious when, as an adolescent, her activities were restricted and objected when her father began to negotiate for her marriage, claiming that as a servant of God and of the *walis* she did not want to marry. When her father went ahead with the ceremonies she disappeared miraculously from the bridal chamber and reappeared in the guest room of her father's house, where she reasserted her refusal to marry. Her father and rest of the village acceded to this and recognized that she was a *wali*. It is said her status as *wali* confirmed when she appeared out of nowhere to give water to another *wali* (possibly Ahmad al-Badawi) who was travelling in the desert. She regularly attended several *mulids* including that of Ahmad al-Badawi and eventually she moved to Tanta and established here a *tekke*, where she offered food and hospitality and cured many people. She also sponsored a weekly session (*hadra*) in which *dhikr* was performed. Both the common people and the elite came to visit her and seek her *baraka*., but she saw herself especially as the servant of the poor. Crossing Nur al-Sabah could be dangerous, however. A Sufi who

criticized her custom of feeding dogs was struck with paralysis and then died. Nur died in 1909, just after her tomb was completed. An adjoining mosque was under construction at the time. She did not follow a particular *tariqa* nor did she found a *tariqa* although a *khalifa* continues to manage the mosque and *tekke*. Her activities as a *wali* did not end with her death. She intervened, through dreams and in other ways, to prevent her *tekke* from being sold for non-payment of a mortgage some decades later.
(Synopsis from Reeves, *Hidden Government*, 52-57, 71-72)

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Bayyumis

The lineage of the *tariqa* derives from Ali ibn Muhammad al-Bayyumi (c 1696/7), who born in a village in the Nile Delta region of Egypt. Having memorized the Qur'an and an early age and studied the standard scholarly disciplines, he was initiated into the Dimirdashi branch of the Khalwati *tariqa* while still young and then was initiated into the Halabiyya branch of the Ahmadiyya *tariqa*, a relatively upper class and highly disciplined *tariqa*. Soon he became famous as an ecstatic and attracted a large following. He lived in the Husayniyya, a largely lower class district just north of the old city walls of Cairo. He spent much time in seclusion but once a week he would conduct a noisy *dhikr* in which he would act in quite striking ways. He also encouraged his followers to help each other in times of need. Various *karamāt* (wonders, miracles) were also ascribed to him. While his following was mainly among the common people he also had supporters among the elite, one of whom later because grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire. He had run ins with some of the *'ulama'*, who wanted to ban his *dhikrs*, but he was protected by the Shaykh (rector) of al-Azhar. He is said to have lectured compellingly on scholarly topics and authored works on *hadith* and *fiqh*.

By the time of his death his following was recognized as a distinct *tariqa* branching off from the Ahmadiyya and generally referred to as Bayyumiyya Ahmadiyya. It continued to have a strong lower class following, including likely connections with the guilds of butchers and water carriers. but it also continued to have elite connection, counting at least one Shaykh of the Azhar as a member. One of its leaders came into conflict with the Mamluke rulers in 1766 and later 1790 (see below). Through the 19th century the shaykhs of the Bayyumi were recognized by the *naqib al-ashraf*, whom the government recognized as having authority over the Sufis, although in on case there was a dispute over success and the Shaykh of the Azhar supported one candidate. In the 20th century they have been part of the official Sufi Council. Several descriptions of the *dhikr* of the *tariqa* as quite dramatic, almost violent, but my own observation did not corroborate this.

In 1977 I had the opportunity to attend a number of *dhikr* sessions held in the Cairo apartment of a doctor who was also in the army reserve. The sessions were attended by about 20 to 30 men and 15 women, who sat in a separate room. There was a range of ages with the average age perhaps 35 to 40. They were all middle or upper-middle class and apparently well educated; some were professionals. A book by their *shaykh*, who stands the Bayyumi line, stresses that Sufi practice is consistent with the Shari'a and the practice of the Prophet and places a strong emphasis on *karamat*. I was told that one member joined the group because she believed that the prayers of the *shaykh* had helped to doctors in operating on her. The element of mutual cooperation was also present. During the time I was in contact with them one of the members had problems with his job and another member devoted considerable time to advising and helping him.

The sessions themselves included recitations of the Qur'an and various Sufi writings and prayers, lessons given by the host, who was a *khalifa* of the *shaykh*, and the *dhikr* proper. This involved (for the men at least) sitting and then standing in a circle and reciting "La ilaha illa Allah", then remaining standing and

reciting *"Allāh"*, then *"Hū"*, then *"Ḥayy"*, in each case repeatedly bowing and returning to the upright position in unison, reciting the formula or name with each movement. In each case the tempo increased until the recitation was ended with a formula of praise to Muhammad. The atmosphere was quite intense but no one appeared to experience ecstasy. Later, however, one of my informants told me that he regularly experienced ecstasy but did not show it. This is proper stance of the "sober" Sufi. The intensity diminished with further prayers and then refreshments and socializing, the women joining the men at this point.

The names chosen for recitation are based a theory of seven levels of the self to which particular formulae or names of God are connected and which purify these levels when properly recited. They are as follows:

Level of the self	Name
Self that commands [to evil]	*La ilāha illā Allāh*
The reproaching self	*Allāh*
The inspired self	*Hū* (He)
The tranquil self	*Ḥaqq* (True, Real)
The contented self	*Ḥayy* (Living)
The approved self	*Qayyūm* (Eternal, Self-subsisting)
The perfected self	*Qahhār* (Subduer)

Both the names of God and the names of the stages, except for the last, are drawn from the Qur'an. I was told that the group I visited used only four names because of the limitation of time, but it may also be because most of the group were relative novices.

This group showed no signs of political interest or involvement but it is fair to say that they were part of what is often called the "resurgence" of Islam since about 1970. Though not political, it appears that politics forced them to terminate. On my next visit to Egypt, in 1984, after the assassination of president Anwar al-Sadat, I was told that, because the *khalifa* and host was in the military and because the government was suspicious of groups meeting in homes for religious reasons, he was told to stop holding the meetings.

Al Jabarti on al-Bayyumi and the Bayyumiyya.

The following is an account of the life and career of Ali al-Bayyumi taken from the historical chronicle of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, entitled 'Aja'ib al-Athar fi Tarajim wa-al-Akhbar (Historical and Biographical Marvels) and written in the early 19 century. In addition to being an important historical source it also illustrates the kind of person a Sufi wali was expected to be at that time. This and the following translation are made directly from the Arabic edition of Hasan M Jawhar, et al. (Cairo, l958-65), Vol. 2, pp.338-341, also consulting the French translation, Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques, by Shaykh Mansour Bey et al. (Cairo, 1888-1894), Vol.3, pp. 60-64. I have not had the opportunity to check the background of all of persons and places mentioned, titles of books, and names of military and administrative ranks, but some are indicated in the text and some in the introduction to the next section. These are not necessary to the understanding of the most important points. For a summary of Ali al-Bayyumi's career based on this text see Michael Winter, Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798 (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 137.

Among those who died during this year, 1183 H. (1768-9 C.E.), was the *imam*, the *walī*, the pious believer, the ecstatic (*majdhūb*), the productive scholar (*'ālim*), Shaykh 'Ali ibn Hijazi ibn Muhammad al-

Bayyumi, a follower of the Shafiʻi *madhhab* and of the Khalwatiyyah and later the Ahmadiyyah *tarīqas*. He was born about the year 1108 (1695-6 C.E.). He memorized the Qurʼan at an early age and became a scholar, attending the lessons of the *shaykhs* of his time and studying Hadith under Umar ibn Abd al-Salam al-Tatawani. He was initiated into the Khalwatiyya by the Sayyid Husayn al-Dimirdashi al-ʻAdili and followed its practices for some time. Then he was initiated into the Ahmadiyya by several people. In time he experienced ecstasy and peoples hearts inclined to him, their spirits were drawn to him, and they came to believe in him greatly. Many followed his *tariqa* and recited his *dhikrs*. He attracted a large number of followers and disciples. He lived in the Hussayniyya quarter and held *dhikrs* in the Mosque of Al-Zahir just outside the Hussayniyyah, where he was to be found regularly with his group as it was near his house. He was subject to supernatural experiences and strange states of ecstasy (*ahwal*), and wrote a number of books, among them a commentary on *Al-Jamiʻ al-Saghir*, a commentary on *Al-Hikam* by Ibn ʻAtaʼ Allah al-Iskandari, a commentary on *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* by al-Jili (*The Perfect Man*, a Sufi work), a work on the local Sufi *tariqas*, especially on the Khalwatiyya Dimirdashiyya, written in 1144 (1730-31 C.E.), a commentary on the *ʻArbaʻīn* (Forty Hadith) of al-Nawawi, a treatise on the Shariʻa punishments (*hudūd*), and a commentary on the prayer-formula of the Ahmadiyya and on talismanic formulae. He spoke sublimely on Sufi practice and when he spoke he was eloquent, clear, and dazzled his hearers.

He wore the same clothing in winter and summer, a white gown and a white skullcap about which he wound a piece of red cloth as a turban. He would leave his house only once a week to visit the Shrine of Husayn, riding a mule with his followers going before him and following him, proclaiming the unity of God and invoking His name. Often he would shut himself off for months meeting no one. He performed marvels (*karamāt*). When he began to hold a *dhikr* every Tuesday in the courtyard of the Shrine of Husayn that lasted until after dawn, bringing his people as already mentioned, the *ʻulamāʼ* arose against him and objected to the way they dirtied the mosque with their feet, since most of them went barefoot and raised their voices very loudly. Working through some of the military chiefs, they almost managed to stop him, but Shaykh al-Shubrawi (rector of the Azhar), who greated loved the ecstatics, opposed them and helped him. He said to the Pasha and the chiefs, "This man is a great scholar and *wali*, and you must not interfere with him." At that time the Shaykh had him give classes at the Azhar Mosque, and he lectured on the *Arbaʻin* of al-Nawawi in the Tibarsiyya section of the mosque. Most of the *ʻulamāʼ* attended and were so impressed by his learning that they calmed down and the fire of discord was extinguished.

Here is a passage from the end of his treatise on the Khalwatiyyah: "Among God's gifts and favours to me is that I saw Shaykh Dimirdash in heaven and he said to me, 'Have no fear either in this world or the next.' I also used to see the Prophet (may God grant him blessings and peace) while in seclusion during the *mulid* and he said to me one year, 'Have no fear in this world or the next.' I saw him say to Abu Bakr (may God be pleased with him), 'Let us go and observe the *zawiya* of Shaykh Dimirdash,' and they both came and entered my cell and stood by me while I was reciting 'Allah, Allah.' An uncanny foreboding came over me at seeing the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), but I saw the great *shaykh* (Shaykh Dimirdash) standing by his tomb and saying to me, "Extend your hand to the prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, for he is here with me." I also had a vision, half-waking half-sleeping, in the cell (*khalwa*) of al-Kurdi, i.e. Shaykh Sharaf al-Din, who is buried in the Husayniyya, and I woke up and saw that light had filled the place. I rushed frantically out of the cell but some of those who were there stopped me, so I spent the rest of the night at the tomb of the Shaykh, but I was too terrified to go back into the cell. One time he smiled at me and gave me a signet ring and said to me, 'By the One who has my soul in his hands, tomorrow what has passed between us will become known.' Then Shaykh Kurdi took me and transported me to Mecca and made me see it with my own eyes. I entered where Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi was and the Prophet (God bless him and grant him peace) was with him. Sayyid Ahmad passed a harsh judgment on me because I had delayed attending his *mulid*, while I appealed to the Prophet for aid. So then God helped me by the grace (*baraka*) of the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), who said, 'Go to al-Kurdi.' He had twice previously dressed me in the red garment, once in Birket al-Hajj and once in his place in the mausoleum." He continues, "Once I

saw myself outside of Medina and I said, 'I will not enter until I know that the Prophet is pleased with me and has accepted me.' Then he sent to me a man having a fan with which he fanned me and said, 'You are accepted'. I saw the Prophet say to me, 'I would like to talk to you,' and he made me stand before him and said to me, 'Do you question the divine judgment?' Then I woke up and felt the effects of that and did not know the reason."

On the margin of this treatise I also saw what I took to read, "I saw the prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) on Monday evening at the end of Ramadan in the year 1157 (1743-4) hastening along just outside the student quarters of al-Azhar, and I ran after him and said, 'Do not pass me by, Oh Apostle of God,' and we stopped in a wide open place and I came up to him and stood beside him and said to one who was present, 'Look at his noble beard and count the white hairs in it.'"

Here are some of his miracles (*karamāt*):
I have heard from trustworthy sources that he used to convert brigands from their criminal ways so that they became his disciples and some even fully initiated Sufis. Sometimes he would chain them with a heavy iron chain to the pillars of the Al-Zahir Mosque, and sometimes he would put a collar around their necks and discipline them as he saw fit. When he went riding they would follow him with weapons and staves. He had an awesome regal presence. When he took part in the *dhikr* at the Shrine of al-Husayn he would reach a state of excitement in which he would become as strong as a fierce wild beast, but when he sat down after the *dhikr* he would be extremely weak. Sometimes his face would appear to those present like that of a wild animal, sometimes like that of a calf, and sometimes like that of a gazelle.

Mustafa Pasha (the Ottoman governor), when he was in Egypt, believed in him and favored him, and once when he visited him Shaykh al-Bayyumi said to him: "You will be called to the position of Grand Vizier at such-and-such a time," and it happened as he said. When he became Grand Vizier he sent orders to Egypt and had Amir Uthman Agha, the representative of the Sublime Porte, build for the Shaykh the mosque that bears his name in the Husayniyya quarter, as well as a fountain, a primary-school (*kuttab*), and a domed mausoleum. When he died the prayers were said for him at the Azhar and there was a great funeral procession. He was buried in the tomb built for him in the domed shrine in the above-mentioned mosque.

Al-Jabarti on Ahmad Salim al-Jazzar.

In this selection al-Jabarti describes a series of disturbances and events in Cairo that illustrate the interaction of the common people, Sufis, 'ulama' and rulers during the late Ottoman period when Egypt was effectively ruled by Mamlukes. The titles and names can be somewhat confusing but are not necessary to discern the basic course of events. Following information should help, however. Ahmad Sālim al-Jazzār may have been the leader of the whole Bayyumi tariqa or just of one part of it. Al-Jazzar means "the butcher" and probably refers to his trade rather than being a family name or an epithet. Except in two places, shaykh refers to 'ulama' from al-Azhar. Shaykh al-'Arusi was the rector of the Azhar (shaykh al Azhar). Shaykh al-Bakri was the leader of the Bakriyya tariqa and of the leading Sufi family at the time. The wāli here is the police chief. Agha is the title of a commander of a military regiment and kakhoda is a deputy commander. Bey is a higher ranking commander (there were officially 24 in Egypt). Isma'il Bey was the most powerful of the various Mamluke commanders in Cairo at the time. For a brief descriptions of these events see Michael Winter, op. cit., pp. 137-8.

On the 11th of Muharram, 1205 (20 Sept. 1790) Ahmad Agha, the *wāli*, committed a number of offences

against the people of the Husayniyya quarter. He seized many of the men, imprisoning, beating and taking money from them, and even looted some of the houses. On Friday, the 22nd of the month, he sent his men to get Ahmad Salim al-Jazzar, a *shaykh* of the Bayyumiyya and a man with considerable influence in that area. They wanted to arrest him but his followers rose up in passionate rage against the followers of the *wāli* and kept them from him. Then a large number of people from that district and others joined them and they closed the markets and the shops. They went to the Azhar Mosque beating drums and closed the gates of the mosque and climbed the minarets shouting, screaming and beating the drums, and forced the classes to stop. Then Shaykh al-'Arusi said to them, "I will go right now to Isma'il Bey and tell him to dismiss the *wāli*. Thus he got them to leave. He then went but Isma'il Bey made the excuse that the *wāli* was not one of his retainers but one of the retainers of Hasan Bey al-Jadawi. He ordered some of his followers to go to Hasan Bey and inform him of the demonstration and the demands of the people and the *shaykhs* for the dismissal of the *wāli*, but Hasan refused saying, "If I were to dismiss my retainer, the *wāli*, Isma'il would have to dismiss the *agha* who his retainer, and also dismiss Radwan Katkhoda al-Majnun (the "crazy one") and Mustafa Kashif from their positions and expel the army of al-Qalyunji and al-Arna'ud. They exchanged several messages about this matter. Then Hasan Bey rode out to the 'Adiliyyah district, apparently angry. And Ahmad Agha the *wâli* rode with a large group straight through the city, infuriating the people, so that a number of them gathered together as he passed and several skimishes took place; a group of them were wounded and two people were killed. Then the *shaykhs* rode to the house of Muhammad Effendi al-Bakri; Isma'il Bey appeared there and placated them and promised to dismiss the *wāli*. The *wāli* passed by the house of Shaykh al-Bakri at that moment when a lot of the people were gathered there but he threatened them with the sword and broke up their gathering. Thus he got away from them and went his way. Then the situation got worse and there was considerable tumult. Gangs went about ordering shops to close and many of them gathered at the Azhar. This matter continued until Tuesday, the 3rd of Safar (the following month). Then Isma'il Bey and the amirs went up the Citadel (seat of the Ottoman governor) and agreed to dismiss both the *agha* and the *wâli*. They gave them other positions and appointed others in their place, the *agha* from Isma'il Bey's side and the *wâli* from Hasan Bey's side. The new *wâli* went down from the council session to the Azhar and met the *shaykhs* present there and placated them. Then he rode to his house and the gathering dispersed, feeling that their power and their status had been raised (lit: feeling as if their hands had been raised and he who had been riding a mule now rode a horse).
(*'Aja'ib*, Vol. 4, pp.128-129; *Merveilles*, Vol. 5, pp. 85-86.)

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Chapter 13: Three Major Thinkers

Ibn Sina's universe:

The following diagrams and table illustrate Ibn Sina's cosmology as described on p. 177-8 of *Islam – The eBook*.
This is essentially the Ptolmaic picture of the universe. It has been described as a golden apple, rotten at the core, because the area beyond the sphere of the moon are thought to be harmonious and indestructible, while the area inside the sphere of the moon (where we live!) is the scene of decay and corruption.

Ptolemy's "rotten apple" universe:

Sphere of spheres 1
Fixed stars 2
Saturn 3
Jupiter 4
Mars 5
Sun 6
Venus 7
Mercury 8
Moon 9
Earth 10

Fire
Air
Water
Earth

Ptolemy's "rotten apple" universe

First three intelligences and emanations from them:

Necessary Existent = God

1st Intelligence → Soul of 1st Sphere   Body of 1st Sphere (Sphere of Spheres)

2nd Intelligence → Soul of 2nd Sphere — Body of 2nd Sphere (Fixed Stars)

3rd Intelligence → Soul of 3rd Sphere → Body of 3rd Sphere (Saturn)
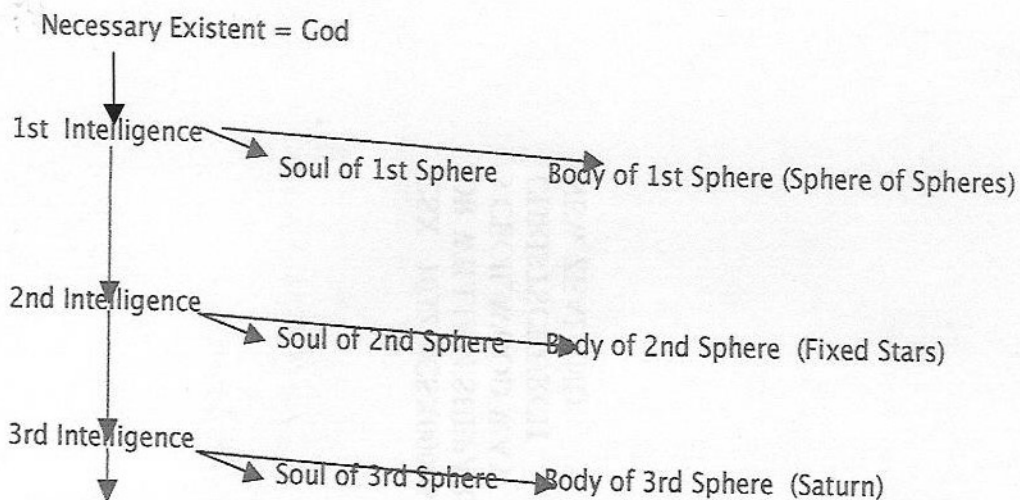
The ten emanations:

Necessary Existent = God			
First intelligence	Soul of 1st sphere	Body of 1st sphere	Sphere of spheres
2nd intelligence	Soul of 2nd sphere	Body of 2nd sphere	Fixed stars
3rd intelligence	Soul of 3rd sphere	Body of 3rd sphere	Saturn
4th intelligence	Soul of 4th sphere	Body of 4th sphere	Jupiter
5th intelligence	Soul of 5th sphere	Body of 5th sphere	Mars
6th intelligence	Soul of 6th sphere	Body of 6th sphere	Sun
7th intelligence	Soul of 7th sphere	Body of 7th sphere	Venus
8th intelligence	Soul of 8th sphere	Body of 8th sphere	Mercury
9th intelligence	Soul of 9th sphere	Body of 9th sphere	Moon
10th intelligence = Active intellect = Gabriel	Sublunar world (earth) of change: intellect(s), soul(s), bod(ies)		

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Chapter 14: Literature and Arts

A precautionary note.

When dealing with people of other times and cultures we almost inevitably impose our categories on them. Relevant to this chapter, there is no word in pre-modern Arabic to my knowledge that corresponds to our word and concept "art". The word used in modern Arabic, *fann*, meant (and often still means) something like "craft" or "field of work" (as, indeed, "art" did and sometimes does in English). The modern word for "literature", *adab*, referred earlier to a certain kind of cultivated lifestyle and the writing connected with it (*Islam – The eBook*, p. 197). Popular literature and much religious literature would not have been called *adab*. Bearing this in mind can help us to avoid misinterpretations.

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Calligraphy:

See the following websites for examples of different scripts (see the e-Book, p. 190 for a brief discussion and these and other links)

http://www.al-bab.com/arab/visual/calligraphy.htm

http://www.sakkal.com/ArtArabicCalligraphy.html

See also the following item and the following illustrations from the *Islam-The eBook*: fig 4.2 (Kufic); fig. 5.1 (Kufic); fig. 5.2 (*nastaʿliq*); Fig. 14.4 (*thulūth*)

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Shahāda in the form of a toughra, by Aftab Ahmad of Pakistan. The toughra was originally a stylised signature of the Ottoman sultan but now is used in other ways. (Courtesy: Calligraphy by Aftab Ahmad/ *Saudi Aramco World*/SAWDIA)

From a Mughal copy of Firdowsi's Shahnameh (Book of Kings).The figure depicted is Prince Esfandiar, son of King Gushtasp (Vishtaspa), the convert and protector of Zarathushtra. The prince fought in the cause of Zarathushtra, and accomplished a number of herioic exploits but was finally killed in combat with the great hero, Rustom. (Courtesy Hussain A. Al-Ramadan/Saudi Aramco World/ SAWDIA)

Northwest *iwan* (arch) of the *Masjid-i Jami* (Friday Mosque) in Isfahan, built about 1121 and redecorated in 1700-1. The mosque, typical of Iran, has four iwans in the walls that surround an open courtyard, one on each side. Architecturally the iwan has its historical roots in the Sasanian period. (Courtesy Dorothy Miller/ Saudi Aramco World/ SAWDIA)

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Another view of the mud built mosques at Pondo, Niger (1990), *cf. Figure 14.10 in Islam – The eBook.*
(Courtesy Brynn Bruijn/Saudi Aramco World/ SAWDIA)

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Entry to mosque in Beijing, China (1985). (Courtesy Nik Wheeler/Saudi Aramco World/ SAWDIA)

Chapter 15: Modern Challenges: Imperialism and Response

Modernism:

The following, from a twentieth century Egyptian politician and statesman, is a good example of Islamic modernism:

The difference between Islam and most other religions is that it did not content itself with merely establishing acts of worship and abandon the needs of society to a Caesar or any form of temporal governing body. Rather, Islam established ways of conduct, relationships, and rights and obligations for the individual vis-a-vis members of his family and the nation and for the nation vis-a-vis other nations. The reform of society was the main target of Islam.

. . .

Upon perusal of the Holy Book (Qur'an) and the Sunna, and upon examination of Islamic history during the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn*), we find that Islam is definite and conclusive on all general principles* suitable for all times, places and peoples. When it comes to implementing these principles, one can see clearly the flexibility of the Islamic Shari'ah and the authority it gives to our reason and our effort (*ijtihād*). The Shari'ah in effect upholds the guidance given by the Prophet when he said, "you know best about your earthly matters." Thus there is a wide scope for human opinion and it is up to reason and experience to distinguish correct from incorrect action, to show the road to the general welfare (*maṣlaḥa*) and to steer clear of harm.

Abd al-Rahman 'Azzam, The Eternal Message of Muhammad, English translation by Caesar E. Farah (New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. 82, 105 (translation of second paragraph modified).

*The general principles include justice, freedom, brotherhood of man, the value of work, religious tolerance, and the redistribution of excess wealth (*Ibid*., pp. 54ff, 90-92, 101-102)

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Islamism:

This statement comes from Abul 'Ala' Mawdudi, founder of the Jama'at-i Islami in India/Pakistan and probably the most influential Islamist leader and thinker.

"The entire Muslim population runs the state in accordance with the Book of God and the practice of His Prophet. If I were permitted to coin a new term, I would describe this system of government as a 'theo-democracy', that is to say a divine democratic government, because under it the Muslims have been given a limited popular sovereignty under the suzerainty of God. The executive under this system of government is constituted by the general will of the Muslims who have also the right to depose it. All administrative matters and all questions about which no explicit injunction is to be found in the *Shari'ah* are settled by the consensus of opinion among the Muslims. Every Muslim who is capable and qualified to give a sound opinion on matters of Islamic law, is entitled to interpret the law of God when such interpretation become necessary. In this sense the Islamic polity is a democracy. But as has been explained above, it is a theocracy in the sense that where an explicit command of God or His Prophet already exists, no Muslim leader or legislature , or any religious scholar can form an independent judgment, not even all the Muslims of the world put together, have any right to make the least alteration in it. "

From The Islamic Law and Constitution, revised edition, Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1960, reprint 1975, translated by Khurshid Ahmad, pp 132-3.

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Chapter 16: Turkey: Secularist Reform

Population growth

 "The 'revolution of rising expectations' we celebrated so confidently fifteen years ago has, in many places, become a 'revolution of rising frustrations.' Modernization, it now appears, is harder than one supposed." (Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, Free Press, 1964, p. vii)

One reason for this, Lerner mentions, is the population explosion in most developing countries, which has continued well past the time of his writing, and which needs to be kept in view in the study of all social phenomena, including religion. The "revolution of rising frustrations" has undoubtedly contributed to the Islamic "resurgence" of recent decades. Therefore, I am providing here population statistics for Turkey and, in the appropriate places, Egypt, Iran and Indonesia.

Population of Turkey in millions

1927	13.6
1980	44.7
1990	56.5
2008	73.9

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

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Some statements of Atatürk

"How happy is the one who can say, 'I am a Turk.'"

"In life the truest guide (*mürsit*) is science."

"Our aim is to establish a modern, therefore a Western state in Turkey."
(Toprak, B. *Islam and Political Development in Turkey* Brill, 1981, p. 144)

"It was necessary to abolish the fez, which sat on our heads as a sign of ignorance, of fanaticism, of hatred to progress and civilization, and to adopt in its place the hat, the customary headdress of the whole civilized world, thus showing , among others things, that no difference existed in the manner of thought between the Turkish nation and the whole family of civilized mankind."
(McNeil, W.H. & Waldmann, M.R., eds., *The Islamic World*. New York etc: Oxford University Press, l973, p. 446)

"I flatly refuse to believe that today, in the luminous presence of science, knowledge and civilization in all its aspects, there exist, in the civilized community of Turkey, men so primitive as to seek their material and moral well-being from the guidance of one or another *shaikh*. Gentlemen, you and the whole nation must know, and know well, thaa the Republic of Turkey cannot be the land of *shaikhs*, dervishes, disciples and lay brothers. The straightest, truest *tariqa* is the way (*tariqa*) of civilization. To be a man, it is enough to do what civilization requires. The heads of the brotherhoods will understand this truth that I have uttered in all its clarity, and will of their own accord at once close their convents, and accept the fact that their disciples have come of age."
 (Mortimer, Edward, *Faith and Power. The Politics of Islam*, London: Faber & Faber, l982, p. 141)

A different viewpoint:

"Fear not; how can this faith of a people be smothered by that monster called 'Civilization' which has but one tooth left in its jaw."
Mehmet Akif (Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 134)

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Selections from the Turkish Constitution of 1982.

ARTICLE 2 - The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law, mindful of the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice, respecting human rights, loyal to the nationalism of Atatürk, and based on the fundamental principles set forth in the Preamble [which speaks of the "eternal Turkish nation" and the "sacred Turkish state", "the absolute supremacy of the national will" and "no interjection of the sacred tenets of religion into state affairs and politics].

ARTICLE 6 - Sovereignty is vested in the Turkish Nation without reservation and condition.

ARTICLE 10 - All individuals are equal without any discrimination before the law, irrespective of language, race, colour, gender, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such consideration.

ARTICLE 24 - Everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religious belief, and conviction... Education and instruction in religion and ethics shall be conducted under state supervision and control....

(from Blaustein and Flanz, *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*, Vol. XVI.)

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Chapter 17 Egypt: Between secularism and Islamism.

Population growth (Approximate figures)

1800   2.5-3 million

1900   10 million

1950   20 million

1977   40 million

1985   50 million

2008   80 million

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

Food production has not kept up with this growth.

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Al-Jabarti on the French occupation

Some comments by the scholar 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti on the French occupation of Cairo in 1789. (ʿAjāʾib

Al-Jabarti on the French incursion:
The year 1213 (1798-9): It was the first of many years of great battles and momentous events, of calamitous occurrences and terrifying calamities, of multiplying evils and successive catastrophes, of trial after trial and times out of joint, of society inverted and its foundations overturned, of horrors spouting forth and conditions confused, of order corrupted and ruin taking over, of destruction everywhere and disasters unremitting. "And your Lord would not have destroyed the cities unjustly had their inhabitants been acting righteously." (Qur'an 11:117) (_'Ajā'ib al-āthār,_ Vol ?, p. 248)

Description of an Uprising against the French.
(There were two major popular uprisings against the French, one described in the following passage:)

Many of the mob united and proclaimed _jihād_ and brought their hidden weapons of war and resistance . . . they were joined by the rabble of the Husayniyya [quarter] and the scoundrels of the alleys of the Baraniyya [quarter]. They were shouting "God save Islam". They proceeded to the house of judges and were followed by another thousand or more like them . . . when the French learned of their gathering a French leader with his troops proceeded to their popular quarters but the scoundrels were fortified behind barricades and killed several soldiers and prevented them from entering their quarters . . . . The French shelled the quarters that surrounded al-Azhar and directed their fire at the mosques of al-Azhar. The people of these quarters were alarmed and ran away since they had not seen such missiles before. As for the people of the Husayniyya and the 'Atuf, they went on fighting until their gun powder was exhausted while the French fired constantly. Finally, having exhausted their arms and unable to continue, they left their position to the French. (October, 1798. Messiri, Sawsan el-, _Ibn al-Balad: A Concept of Egyptian Identity_ (Leiden: Brill, 1978), p. 29, wording modified.)

Comments on the French scholars who accompanied the military expedition:

The French installed in this latter house [of one of the Mamlukes] a large library . . . open every day from ten o'clock. . . If a Muslim wished to come in to visit the place he was not in the least prevented from doing so; on the contrary, he was warmly received. The French especially enjoyed it when the Muslim visitor appeared to be interested in the sciences. . . . I had occasion to visit this library quite a few times. I saw there, among other things, a large volume on the history of our Prophet (may God bless him). His holy visage was represented there as exactly as the knowledge of the author permitted. He was standing, looking up worshipfully toward the heavens, and holding in his right hand a sword and in his left hand a book . . . .
"Some of [the French scholars] had also learned verses of the Qur'an. In short, they were very great scholars and loved the sciences, especially mathematics and philology. They applied themselves day and night to learning the Arabic language and conversation." (November 1798, _Modern Islamic Literature from 1800 to the Present_, ed. James (N.Y.: NAL, 1970 Kritzek 19-20)

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'Ali 'Abd al-Rāziq (1888–1966) on secularism:

Synopsis of his argument in Islam and the Bases of Government. See Islam – The eBook, pp. 244-5.

A. The caliphate (*khilāfa*) is not necessary:
  1. Not clearly stipulated in the Qur'an.
  2. Not clearly stipulated in the Sunna of the Prophet.
  3. No binding *ijmā'*
      a. the *ijmā'* was compelled, thus it does not have moral and religious authority.
      b. the *ijmā'* was never unanimous - groups such as the Khawarij and certain Mu'tazilis never accepted it.
  4. Is it necessary for the good of the community (*maṣlaḥa*)?
      a. This requires some government, but not a particular form of government.
      b. In practice the caliphate was oppressive and its loss has not harmed religion.

B. The prophet's mission was in fact religious, not political.
  1. If the prophet had a government, why do we know so little about it?
      a. The Prophet clearly had elements of a government: e.g. jihad, governors, judges, taxes, etc.
      b. But these were ad hoc; there is no evidence of a system.
  2. Was organising a government part of his mission?
      a. A prophet has primacy.
      b. But this is not the same as governing authority (e.g. Jesus).
      c. It must be greater than governing authority, since it must rule over souls as well as bodies.
      d. It must be spiritual authority; and spiritual authority is other than material authority.
      e. Evidence in the Qur'an and the *Sira* (traditional biography of Muhammad) that Muhammad rejected "kingship".
      f. Islam was sent to unify the whole human race; this is possible religiously but not politically.
      g. Those actions of the prophet that appear to be actions of state were necessary evils to sustain his preaching.
  3. As the *Ridda* (Apostasy) wars show:
      a. Muhammad gave a spiritual, not a political unity, the Arabs were still divided into various "states".
      b. Some of the people of the *Ridda* were sincere Muslims.
  4. It would be blasphemy to say that Muhammad died without completing his mission, but if the caliphate had been part of his mission he would not have left it unsettled.
  5. Islam gave the Arabs a national unity and it was natural for them to erect on this a political empire.
  6. Reasons why Abu Bakr's caliphate was mistakenly thought to be religious.

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Taha Hussein (1889-1973) on secularism:

Selections from The Future of Culture in Egypt (Mustaqbal al-thaqāfa fī Miṣr), by Taha Hussein, 1938. One of the most explicit statements in favor of Westernization by a major literary figure. (Taha Hussein, The Future of Culture in Egypt, trans. S. Glazer, New York: Octagon, l975; translation modified.) Another translation from Taha Hussein is found in the material for Chapter 6.

   Islam arose and spread over the world. Egypt was receptive and hastened at top speed to adopt it as her religion and to make the Arabic of Islam her language. Did that obliterate her original mentality? Did that make her an Eastern nation in the present meaning of the term? Not at all! Europe did not become Eastern nor did the nature of the European mind change because Christianity, which originated in the East, flooded Europe and absorbed the other religions. If modern European philosophers and thinkers deem Christianity to be an element of the European mind, they must explain what distinguishes Christianity from Islam; for both were born in the geographical East, both issued from one noble source and were inspired by the one God in whom Easterners and Westerners alike believe. . . .

No, there are no intellectual or cultural differences to be found among the peoples who grew up around the Mediterranean and were influenced by it. Purely political and economic circumstances made the inhabitants of one shore prevail against those of the other. The same factors led them to treat each other now with friendliness, now with enmity.

We Egyptians must not assume the existence of intellectual differences, weak or strong, between the Europeans and ourselves or infer that the East mentioned by Kipling in his famous verse "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" applies to us or our country. Isma'il's statement that Egypt is a part of Europe should not be regarded as some kind of boast or exaggeration, since our country has always been a part of Europe as far as intellectual and cultural life is concerned, in all its forms and branches . . . .

The dominant and undeniable fact of our times is that day by day we are drawing closer to Europe and becoming an integral part of her, literally and figuratively. This process would be much more difficult than it is if the Egyptian mind were basically different from the European.

This is not all. Since the World War we have taken such decisive steps forward that any attempt to retrace them or abrogate the rights won would, I am certain, be violently resisted by many Egyptians. Which one of us is willing to see Egypt retreat from the progress she has made toward democracy, or who would go back to a system that did not center about a constitutional representative government? . . . .

In order to become equal partners in civilization with the Europeans, we must literally and forthrightly do everything that they do; we must share with them the present civilization, with all its pleasant and unpleasant sides, and not content ourselves with words or mere gestures. Whoever advises any other course of action is either a deceiver or is himself deceived. Strangely enough we imitate the West in our everyday lives, yet hypocritically deny the fact in our words. lf we really detest European life, what is to hinder us from rejecting it completely? And if we genuinely respect the Europeans, as we certainly seem to do by our wholesale adoption of their practices, why do we not reconcile our words with our actions? Hypocrisy ill becomes those who are proud and anxious to overcome their defects. . . .

We want to be like the European nations in military power in order to repel the attack of any aggressor and to be able to say to our English friends: "Thank you, you may go; for we can now defend the Canal." Who wants the end must want the means; who wants power must want the elements constituting it; who wants a strong European-type army must want European training. . . .

Further, we want scientific, artistic, and literary independence so that we may be equals, not slaves of the Europeans in these aspects of life too. Desiring this intellectual and concomitant psychological independence, we naturally must want the means, namely, studying, feeling, judging, working, and organizing our lives the way they do.

We want, finally, to be free in our country, free from both foreign pressure and domestic inequity and oppression. The former requires strength, the latter democracy. If we aim at these ends we must adopt the means to acquire them. These are the means by which the European and American countries acquired their independence and their democratic government. The genuineness of Egypt's perennial desire for independence is attested to by the fact that our national personality was never absorbed into any one of the numerous races that attacked us. On the contrary, we managed to keep this personality intact from earliest times. Now that we have succeeded in restoring the honor and self-respect that come with independence, it is our plain duty to protect what we have won. . . .

Our good people should remember that as soon as Islam crossed the Arabian frontiers it came into contact with foreign civilizations whose relationship to the Muslims and Arabs at that time was the same as Europe's is to us

now. The Muslim Arabs were not deterred by certain unpleasant features from adopting the motive-forces of the non-Muslim Persian and Byzantine Greek civilizations. Incorporating these two into their ancient heritage, they produced the glorious Islamic culture of the Umayyads and Abbassids which our conservatives are seeking to recreate. . . .

 Europe today resembles the Umayyad and Abbasid Near East in the richness of its civilization which, like any human creation, possesses good and bad aspects. Our religious life will not suffer from contact with the European civilization any more than it suffered when we took over the Persian and Byzantine civilizations.

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Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) and the Muslim Brothers (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn)

Selections from the speeches and writings of Hasan al-Banna, Supreme Guide (Murshid al-'Āmm) of the Muslim Brothers (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn). From Hisham B. Sharabi, Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab Word, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1966, pp. 108-110.

We believe that the doctrines and teachings of Islam are all-comprehensive and govern the affairs of men in this world and the next. Those who believe that these doctrines and teachings apply only to spiritual matters and to religious worship are mistaken . . . .

 . . . the Muslim Brothers will use physical force only when nothing else will do, and then only when they are convinced they have perfected their faith and unity. [But] when they [decide to] use force they will be honorable and frank and will give advance warning . . . .

   The Muslim Brothers do not demand power for themselves; if they find anyone capable of carrying this burden and of fulfilling the trust of government in accordance with a program based on Islam and the Qur'an, then they will be his soldiers, supporters, and helpers. But if they do not find such a man, then power is included in their program and they would strive to seize it from the hands of any government that does not fulfil Allah's commands. . . . .

"The Arabs are the core and guardians of Islam . . . . Arab unity is an essential prerequisite for the restoration of Islam's glory . . . .

As such, Islam . . . considers all Muslims as one single nation and the Islamic homeland as one single territory. . . .

 The Muslim Brothers owe respect to their own particular nationalism, Egyptian nationalism, which constitutes the primary basis of the revival they seek. After that, they support Arab unity, which constitutes the second link in the movement of revival; and finally they strive for the Islamic League, which constitutes the perfect enclosure for the larger Islamic homeland.

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Abdel Nasser on Islam and Religion

Quotations from. From: D. E. Smith, ed., Religion and Political Modernization, (New York: Free Press, l97l) pp. 270-1 and 275.

Mohammad, God's blessing and peace be on him, gave us the example of social justice, progress and development, and thus Islam was able in these early days to defeat the strongest nations . . . and spread to all

corners of the earth because it was the religion of righteousness, freedom, justice and equality. [Our enemies] say that socialism is infidelity. But is socialism really what they describe by this term? What they describe applies to raising slaves, hoarding money and usurping the people's wealth. This is infidelity and this is against religion and Islam. What we apply in our country is the law of justice and the law of God.

We boast that we stick to religion, each one of us according to his religion. The Muslim upholds his religion and the Christian upholds his, because religion represents the right and sound way . . . we pride ourselves on the fact that since the first day of our Revolution we have adhered to religion. Not only the Revolution leaders, but the people as well. It is the great secret behind the success of the Revolution: the adherence to religion.

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The Authenticity of Arab Nationalism

The following is from a book published in 1960 by Ibrahim Jum'a, a professor at Cairo University. The translation is found in Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), pp. 48-50.

Arab nationalism was an existing reality before the emergence of Islam. This nationalism forcefully manifested itself through a common Arab sentiment and a defensive movement opposing the invasion of the Arabian Peninsula by the Ethiopians under "Abraha," fifteen years before the rise of Islam. . .

Arab nationalism achieved its completed form with the creation of the Arab state by Islam. In this state . . . the Arabs were molded into one Arab nation with one national state. The Arab spirit then invaded all the lands occupied by the Persians and Byzantines Arabizing their people and engulfing their national spirit within its own. . . . .

The Arabs undertook a moral invasion of these lands . . . . The Arabs had left their homeland armed with a religious message and a body of doctrines centering around justice, truth, brotherhood, freedom and peace. . . .

. . . the genuine Arab code of morality graced and systematized by a divine message, restored dignity to mankind. It converted injustice into justice, fear into tranquillity, war into peace, and slavery into freedom. It reconciled the followers of Muhammad to the followers of Christ, declared all men free and equal, and established democracy, socialism, and a cooperative spirit long before these systems of life had been regulated and codified.

Arab nationalism derives its existence from the very depths of the Arab spirit and the nature of Arab life. It is furthermore, a body of truths that transcend all discussion and argument . . . .

Arab nationalism is a comprehensive, deeply ingrained faith, which manifested itself in a past that the Arabs once lived through and want to relive, thus harking back to their true origin.

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Islamist Anti Nationalism: Muhammad al-Ghazzali (1917–1996)

Muhammad al-Ghazali (1917–1996) was a well known Islamist and for a time member of the Muslim Brothers. This passage from a 1953 writing is quoted in Michelle Browers, "The Egyptian movement for change: Intellectual antecedents and generational conflicts", Contemporary Islam 1 (2007): 70-1 (wording modified)

Nationalism has only lost for us our Islamic unity and enabled Christians and the Zionist imperialism to rob us

of our most sacred rights. . ..The truth is that the growth of nationalism, racism and infidel patriotism is a loss of Islamic faith as well as a loss of Islamic rule. The revival of such evil fanaticism is a plot against God's religion – a return to the first *Jahiliyya* with all its injustice and crime.

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Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut (1893-1963)

Shaykh Shaltut was Rector of al-Azhar (Shaykh al-Azhar) from 1958 to 1963, during the high point of Nasserist success and confidence. The following passage comes from his book, Min Tawjīhāt al-Islām (Islamic Instructions), Cairo, 1964, pp. 567-68, from the chapter entitled 'Government in Islam', which may have first been presented or written in the mid-1950's. My translation. See also the summary of this in M. Abraham, Mahmud Shaltut (1893-1963), A Muslim Reformist: His Life, Works and Religious Thought, pp. 156-57.

Summary of the Islamic Principles of Government

1. Sovereignty (*siyāda*): belongs to God alone because He is the creator and owner; within each people (*sha'b*[1]) it belongs to the people themselves after God who has made them *khalīfas*[2] (cf. Qur'an 2:30) within their country (*waṭan*).

2. Government (*ḥukm*): belongs to God: it his His right and the right of the people who exercise it by delegation from God

3. The ruler: is an agent of the nation (*umma*); he has no sovereignty over it but rather it is his master and he is its trustworthy servant.

4. Consultation (*shūrā*[3]): is the basis of government; any government which is not based on consultation is not legitimate *(shar'ī)*.

5. Collective solidarity: all individuals have collective responsibility for their welfare and the welfare of religion and state.

6. Popular supervision: the nation has the right to supervise its rulers, to call them to account, to set the broad lines of public policy, to oversee its execution, and to modify it in line with its welfare.

7. Removal of the *khalīfa*: by the nation if he is unjust and oppressive and his tyranny becomes evident, and he does not heed advice or criticism; if he refuses to step down he may be removed by force even if this leads to warfare and armed revolt, if the nation sees this to be in its interest.

8. The "people of binding and loosing"[4]: they are the people of knowledge, opinion and experience in all aspects of the nation's affairs; they are the tongue by which it expresses its pleasure and displeasure, and it is their right to nominate the most suitable of themselves to the caliphate and present him to the nation to decide whether to accept and choose him, without any pressure or compulsion; it is the right of every Muslim to have a say in the choice of the *khalīfa* and to state openly his opinion with complete freedom and without suffering any harm even if it contradicts the majority, although he must accept the will of society.

9. The goal of government: is the well being of the governed, the establishment of internal tranquility and strength vis-a-vis outside powers, and the spreading of peace.

1. A word typical of Nasserist vocabulary.

2. For the idea of humans as *khalīfa* of God, see Qur'an 2:30 etc.

3. A key Islamic concept, see Qur'an 3:159 and 42:38.

4. "The people of binding and loosing" (ahl al-ḥall wa-l-'aqd), a phrase used to refer to the natural leaders of a community.

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Sayyid Qutb (1906-66) and radical Islamism

(Cf. p. 247 of Islam- The eBook and the Glossary).

Sayyid Qutb was born in a village in the area of Asyut in Upper Egypt in 1906 and as a school boy was a strong partisan of Sa'd Zaghlul's campaign for Egyptian independence. He moved to Cairo in 1921 to further his education and eventually became a teacher and then an official in the Ministry of Education. He was also a poet, a literary critic and a writer on social issues and he moved in the same circles as Taha Hussein and Abbas al-'Aqqad (see p. 104 in Islam - eBook). His views at this time can be described as secularist and reformist. In the period immediately after the Second World War he voiced harsh criticism of Western imperialism and of the political and economic leadership of Egypt, first in secular terms and then, from 1948, in Islamist terms. Social Justice in Islam, written in 1948, was his first major Islamist statement. From late 1948 until 1950 he was in the United States on a study program and became harshly critical of the materialism of American society. After his return to Egypt he joined the Muslim Brothers and quickly become one of its leading spokespeople. The Brothers first supported but soon became disillusioned with the government of Abdel Nasser, which came to power in 1952. When their leaders were arrested in 1954 Qutb was among them and he remained in prison for most of the rest of his life. He was briefly released in 1964 but rearrested the following year on the charge of conspiring against the government and was executed in 1966, thus becoming a martyr to the Islamist cause. It was in prison that he developed his radical ideas that are found in the passage below and even more in Milestones and parts of In the Shade of the Qur'an. These ideas are considered by many to form an important part of the inspiration of Bin Laden and others connected with al-Qaeda.

There are large number of books and articles on Sayyid Qutb. A good introductory treatment is Charles Tripp, "Sayyid Qutb: The Political Vision" in Pioneers of Islamic Revival, ed. Ali Rahmena (London: Zed, 1994, republished 2005). A good book length treatment of his whole life is Adnan Musallam, From Secularism to Jihad: Sayyid Qutb and the Foundations of Radical Islamism (Praeger, 2005)

Sayyid Qutb: An Evolving View of Government in Islam See Appendix at the end.

Sayyid Qutb: A "revolutionary" approach.

The following is from his most radical and best known work, Ma'ālim fī al-ṭarīq (Milestones or Signposts) (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 1973, pp. 87-88 My translation). It represents the latest stage of his thinking and could be described as a charter for Islamic revolution.

Therefore, before we think about establishing an Islamic social order and establishing a Muslim society on the basis of this order, we must first direct our concern to purifying the hearts and minds of individuals from service to anything other than God in any of the forms which we have mentioned. The individuals who have purified their minds and hearts from service to anything other than God must come together into a Muslim group (*jamā'a muslima*), and it is from this group, whose individual members have purified their minds and hearts from service to anything other than God, that the Muslim society will arise. Those will join it who wish

to live in this society with its creed, its worship, and its *sharī'a* by which their service to God alone takes concrete form, or to put it differently, by which the declaration that there is no god God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God takes concrete form.

In this manner was formed the first Muslim group which established the first Muslim society, and thus every Muslim group will be formed and every Muslim society established.

The Muslim society comes into existence only when individuals or groups of people turn from serving something other than God, whether along with or apart from Him, to serving God alone with no associate and when these groups decide to organize their life on the basis of this service. At that point there takes place a new birth of a new society, which splits off from the old *jāhilī* society and confronts it with a new creed and, based on that creed, a new order of life in which in which the two halves of the basic principle of Islam – the declaration that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God – take shape.

Then the old *jāhilī* society in its entirety may choose to join the new Islamic society, or it may not. It may make a truce with the new Muslim Society or it may fight against it. But the rule (*sunna*) has been that the *jāhilī* society wages relentless war, both against the vanguards of this society in its earliest stage – when it consists of individuals and groups – and against this society itself after it has actually been established – as has happened without exception in the history of the preaching of Islam, from the prophet Noah, upon whim be peace, to Muhammad, upon whom be blessings and peace.

It is natural that the new Muslim society can be formed and can secure its existence only if it achieves sufficient strength to face the pressure of the old *jāhilī* society. This must include strength of doctrine and thought, strength of moral character and psychological constitution, strength of organization and social structure, and the other forms of strength which will enable it confront the pressure of the *jāhilī* society and conquer it or at least hold out against it.

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Islam in Egypt: A text book approach

From a 12th grade Egyptian religious studies text book (1989-90):

Islam was Egypt's choice, and the environment of Egypt - through its religious culture since the time of the monotheist Akhenaton - was prepared for Islam, and absorbed it all: doctrine and law, science, culture and conduct. Since then, Egypt's features have differed from other Islamic countries. Islam in Egypt is Islam without fanaticism, Islam without extremism, and it is remarkable that Islamic Egypt alone, through fourteen centuries, has never been linked with excess or extremism in its religious conduct . . . . Indeed, the Egyptian personality is moderate in its religiosity and behavior, middle-of-the-road in its thought and practice, neither excessive nor negligent, and from here were the riches of civilization.

From: Gregory Starret, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1998), p. 177.

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Wasat Party

The Wasat Party was formed in 1996 by former members of the Muslim Brothers along with others as an ideologically middle of the road party but it has not been granted legal status as a party. The following account of its principles is found in Michelle Browers, "The Egyptian movement for change: Intellectual antecedents

and generational conflicts", Contemporary Islam 1 (2007):78 (minor modifications)

The Wasat party breaks from the traditional rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood in a number of respects. The Wasat claims to be a civil political party with an Islamic frame of reference. According to Madhi (founder of the party), Islam must be understood as a "civilizational concept" (Madhi 2006). The most recent Wasat party program states: "The founding members believe that a general Islamic framework is inclusive of all Egyptians: Islam is not only the religion of the Muslims: it is also, for both Muslims and non-Muslims, the cultural framework within which Egypt's creative intellectuals, scientists and leaders have made their contributions, and Arabic, the language of Islam, is the language in which Egyptian religious leaders, whether Muslim or Christian, have preached. Islamic culture is the homeland of all Egyptians, Muslim and non-Muslim" (*Al-Wasat party program*, 2004: *al-Wasat* 2006, 3–4). The Wasat program also champions popular sovereignty, separation and balance of powers, rotation of power through elections, term limits for government post, freedom of belief and speech, the right to found parties, freedom of association, "intellectual and political pluralism" and "complete equality of men and women" (*al-Wasat* 2006, 6–8, 43). They also maintain that religious discourse must be reformed through *ijtihad* (independent reasoning): "its contents need to be modernized and its negative concepts, apologetic language and exclusivist, isolation tendencies need to be discoursed" (*al-Wasat* 2006, 41). Although the party seeks to "make the *shari'a* part of the very fabric of daily life," they do not do not view Islamic law as a fixed set of rules and guidelines to be applied. Rather, they see it as "an authoritative framework of values and standards" articulated through "human interpretations." The task, they argue, "is to select interpretations of Islamic law which contribute towards, rather than obstruct, the development of society" (*al-Wasat* 2006, 4). In addition, they display an openness to ideas emerging from non-Islamic contexts through their rejection the notion of a "clash of civilizations." The platform asserts that there exists a "common human civilization" and calls for recognition of "the cooperation, mutual knowledge and complementarity of all cultures" (*al-Wasat* 2006, 57).

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FURTHER READING

Kenney, Jeffrey T. (2006), *Muslim rebels: Kharijites and the politics of extremism in Egypt* Oxford University Press. (A good discussion of the Kharijites as a political symbol in modern Egypt.)

[Additional material for chapter 17](#)

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Chapter 18 Iran: From Secularism to Islamic Revolution

Population of Iran (in millions)

1800	under 6 (estimated)
1900	10 (estimated)
1932	13 (estimated)
1960	21.5
1980	39.1

1990   54.4

2008   72.0

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

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Ayatollahs

Comment on ayatollahs by Sir John Malcolm, British ambassador to Iran, probably about 1810 (quoted by Robin Wright in In the Name of God: The Khomeini Decade, New York, etc.: Simon & Shuster, 1989, p. 72 fn):

It is not easy to describe persons who fill no office, receive no appointment, who have no specific duties, but who are called - from their superior learning, piety and virtue - by the silent but unanimous suffrage of the inhabitants . . . to be their guides in religion and their protectors against the violence and oppression of their rulers, and who receive from those by whose feeling they are elevated a respect and duty.

==*From the Constitution of 1906-7*

Supplementary Constitutional Law of October 8, 1907.

Article 1. The State religion of Iran is Islam, according to the true Ja'fariya doctrine, recognizing twelve Imams. The Shah of Iran must profess and propagate this faith.

Article 2. At no time may the enactments of the sacred Nation Consultative Assembly, which has been constituted with the aid and favor of His Holiness in Imam of the Age (Twelfth Imam), may God hasten his appearance, the support of his Imperial majesty, may God immortalize his reign, and under the supervision of the learned doctors of theology, may God increase their number, and by the whole Iranian people, be at variance with the sacred precepts of Islam and the laws laid down by His Holiness the Best of Mankind (the Prophet), may the blessings of God rest upon him and his descendants! It is plain that the learned doctors of theology, may God prolong their beneficent lives!, are charged with the duty of determining any contradiction between the laws made by the Assembly and the principles of Islam. It is, therefore, solemnly laid down that at all times here shall be constituted as follows a body of at least five devout doctors of Islam law and jurisprudence who shall at the same time be conversant with the exigencies of their age: [leading scholars will nominate twenty, of whom the Assembly will choose at least five] so that they may carefully discuss and deliberate the bills proposed in both Houses, and reject (veto) any that contravene the holy principles of Islam, so that they shall not become law; the decisions of this body of doctors of theology on this point shall be followed and obeyed. This clause may not be modified until the advent of the Imam of the Age, may God hasten his reappearance!

Some other provisions of the Constitution:

Article 8. The inhabitants of the Empire of Iran shall enjoy equal rights before the law.

Article 26 The powers of the state are derived from the nation. The method of exercising these powers is regulated by the constitutional law.

Articles 35.. Sovereignty is a trust confided, as a divine gift, to the person of the shah by the nation.

(Source: *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*, ed. Blaustein and Flanz, *Historic Constitutions*, Vol. I)

==*Statements by Shah*

Muhammad Reza Pahlavi:

From E. A. Bayne,, Persian Kingship in Transition (American Universities Field Staff, l968), which is based on conversations between the Shah and a sympathetic but not uncritical American scholar.

The myth of kingship here, together with my own education, my nature - for instance, what I felt about the peasants who form the majority of this country - I think made me knowingly or unknowingly adopt the attitude that a king and his people cannot be separate . . . this view is the reason for my strength. (p. 70)

Iran needs religion, but we should modernize it with more schools and regularized salaries. The mullahs should wear uniform clothing and be recognized as clergy. They must no longer be dependent upon the casual contributions of shopkeepers or be subject to their wishes. (p. 53)

=== ***Ali Shariati***

Quotations from his writings/lectures (see p. 261 in *Islam – The eBook*)

The first passage comes from a lecture, "Where Shall We Begin", delivered in 1971, in which Shariati contrasts the usual understanding of an "enlightened person" as an intellectual (usually Western influenced) with his view of an "enlightened person" as an inspired leader usually arising from the people. Abu Dharr was one of the first generation Muslims who rebuked the leaders for worldliness and injustice.

In the tradition of Abu Dharr, who is my mentor, whose thought, whose understanding of Islam and Shi'ism, whose ideals, wants and rage I emulate, I begin my talk in the name of the oppressed (*mustad'ifin*)" . . .

An enlightened Muslim . . . should be fully aware of the fact that he has a unique culture which is . . . a mixture of faith, idealism and spirituality, and yet full of life and energy with a dominant spirit of equality and justice, the ideology that Islamic societies and other traditional societies of the East are in desperate need of. Therefore . . . a Muslim enlightened person should engage himself in discovering extracting, and refining the life-giving and powerful spirit of his society. . .

One characteristic of this spirit is that, unlike other religions which justify poverty, Islam condemns it. A great student of Islam, Abu Dharr, says, "When poverty enters a home, religion exits from the window." . . . .

When Ali assumed power he ordered all existing pay scales to be cancelled, and began paying equal salaries to everyone whether highest ranking military officer, who was at the same time an important social and political figure in the society, or the slave of the same officer. Is there any government in the contemporary world which is committed to the principle of equality as much? Is there any contemporary socialist system which would be ready to implement such a measure? We ought to state and express the outlook, the objectives and the inclinations that make up Islam and tell the enlightened persons that, in the context of their society and culture, in order to be able to obtain mutual understanding with the masses and in order not to be separated from the masses not only must they rely on religion (i.e. Islam) but also honestly believe that the elements of this religion do not invite people to think of the past instead of the present. These elements are based on constant string (*jihād*) and justice. Islam pays attention to bread, its eschatology is based on active life in the world, its God respects human dignity and its messenger is armed. (Ali Shariati, *What Is to Be Done: The Enlightened Thinkers and an Islamic Renaissance*, ed & trans. Farhang Rajaee, Houston, Texas: Institute for Research and Islamic Studies, 1986, pp. 22-23)

Confronting the threefold classes of king-owner-aristocracy is the class of the people, *al-nas*. The two classes have opposed and confronted each other throughout history. In the class society, Allah stands in the same rank as *al-nas*, in such a fashion that whenever in the Qur'an social matters are mentioned, Allah and *al-nas* are virtually synonymous. The two words are often interchangeable, and yield the same meaning. . . .

In the affairs of society, therefore, in all that concerns the social system, but not in creedal matters such as the order of the cosmos, the words *al-nas* and Allah belong together. Thus when it is said, "Rule belongs to God", the meaning is that rule belongs to the people . . . . When it is said, "Property belongs to God," the meaning is that capital belongs to the people as a whole . . .. (Ali Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam*, trans. H. Algar, Berkeley, Cal.: Mizan Press, l979, pp. 116-7)

The political philosophy and the form of regime of the *umma* is not the democracy of heads, not irresponsible and directionless liberalism . . . It consists rather of "purity of leadership" (not the leader, for that would be fascism) committed and revolutionary leadership, responsible for the movement and growth of society on the basis of its world view and ideology, and for the realization of the divine destiny of man in the plan of creation. This is the true meaning of imamate!" (*Op. cit.* pp. 119-20)

==**Khomeini on *vilayat-i faqih*.**

(see *Islam - the eBook*, 262)

This passage comes from a series of lectures to students in 1971, when Khomeini was in exile in Najaf, Iraq. They articulated the basic arguments that for the kind of government that was to be established after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Source: Khomeini, R.M., Islam and Revolution, Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini, trans. H. Algar, (Berkeley, California: Mizan Press, l981), pp. 61-62. Note the argument toward the end that governmental functions carried out by knowledgeable and just faqihs are no less authoritative and valid than when they were carried out by the Prophet and Ali, a point that I think would be problematic for most Shi'is.

Now that no particular individual has been appointed by God, Exalted and Almighty, to assume the function of government in the time of Occultation, what must be done? . . .

Not to have an Islamic government means leaving our boundaries unguarded. Can we afford to sit nonchalantly on our hands while our enemies do whatever they want? . . . Is that the way it should be? Or is it rather that government is necessary, and that the function of government that existed from the beginning of Islam down to the time of the Twelfth Imam (upon whom be peace) is still enjoined upon us by God after the Occultation even though He has appointed no particular individual to that function?

The two qualities of knowledge of the law and justice are present in countless *fuqaha* of the present age. If they would come together, they could establish a government of universal justice in the world.

If a worthy individual possessing these two qualities arises and establishes a government, he will possess the same authority as the Most Noble Messenger (upon whom be peace and blessings) in the administration of society, and it will be the duty of all people to obey him.

The idea that the governmental powers of the Most Noble Messenger (peace and blessings be upon him) were greater than those of the Commander of the Faithful (upon whom be peace) [Ali], or that those of the Commander of the faithful were greater than those of the *faqih*, is false and erroneous. Naturally, the virtues of the Most Noble Messenger were greater than those of the rest of mankind, and after him, the Commander of the Faithful was the most virtuous person in the world. But superiority with respect to spiritual virtues does not confer increased governmental powers. God has conferred upon government in the present age the same powers and authority that were held by the Most Noble Messenger and the Imams (peace be upon them) with respect to equipping and mobilizing armies, appointing governors and officials, and levying taxes and expending them for the welfare of the Muslims. Now, however, it is no longer a question of a particular person; government devolves instead upon one who possesses the qualities and knowledge and justice.

Islamic Republic of Iran: The Leader

*The following are the provisions of the constitution concerning the Leader as amended in 1989. The 1979 constitution provided that the leader should be a marja'-i taqlid but this was removed in the amended version. The status of the current Leader, Ali Khamene'i as marja' is disputed. Source: International Constitutional Law (ICL) http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/ir00000_.html#A107_*

Article 5 [Office of Religious Leader]

During the occultation of the Wali al-'Asr (may God hasten his reappearance), the leadership of the Ummah devolves upon the just and pious person, who is fully aware of the circumstances of his age, courageous, resourceful, and possessed of administrative ability, will assume the responsibilities of this office in accordance with Article 107.

Article 107 [Religious Leader]

(1) After the demise of Imam Khumayni, the task of appointing the Leader shall be vested with the experts elected by the people. The experts will review and consult among themselves concerning all the religious men possessing the qualifications specified in Articles 5 and 109. In the event they find one of them better versed in Islamic regulations or in political and social issues, or possessing general popularity or special prominence for any of the qualifications mentioned in Article 109, they shall elect him as the Leader. Otherwise, in the absence of such a superiority, they shall elect and declare one of them as the Leader. The Leader thus elected by the Assembly of Experts shall assume all the powers of the religious leader and all the responsibilities arising therefrom.

(2) The Leader is equal with the rest of the people of the country in the eyes of law.

Article 109 [Leadership Qualifications]

(1) Following are the essential qualifications and conditions for the Leader:

a. Scholarship, as required for performing the functions of religious leader in different fields.

b. Justice and piety, as required for the leadership of the Islamic Ummah.

c. Right political and social perspicacity, prudence, courage, administrative facilities, and adequate capability for leadership.

(2) In case of multiplicity of persons fulfilling the above qualifications and conditions, the person possessing the better jurisprudential and political perspicacity will be given preference.

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From Khomeini's spiritual will

From a statement of his views, hopes and concerns dated 1983 and read after his death.

Since the millions of masses are wakeful and conscious of the situation and at the scene, the humanitarian and Islamic aspects of the Revolution will eventually materialize. I say with confidence now that the Iranian nation and the multi-million masses in this country today are better than the people of Hijaz at the time of God's Messenger (SAW), and the people of Kufa and Iraq during the era of Imam Ali (AS) and Imam Hussein (AS)." . . . [because those people often disobeyed and resisted the prophet and Imams, while the Iranian

people enthusiastically support the war against Iraq.] . . . ., despite the fact that they are living neither at the time of His Holiness the Greatest Prophet (S.A.W), nor at the time of Infallible Imam. In so doing they are motivated solely by their faith in the Invisible, which is the secret to victory in its various dimensions, and Islam should take pride in rearing such offspring, and it is a matter of great pride to live in this era and to be in the presence of such a nation.

(*Imam's Final Discourse*, Ministry of Guidance and Islamic Culture, pp. 25-6.

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Cover of a pro-Revolution magazine depicts Khomeini in the role of the prophet Ibrahim, who broke his father's idols (Qur'an 21:58)

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Chapter 19 Indonesia: Islamic Society or Islamic State?

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Population of Indonesia

1898   35,000,000

1960   93,996,000

1980   148,303,000

1990   178,232,000

2000   206,265,000

2008   228,248,538

1960-2008 Figures from World Bank
1898 figure from *Wikopedia*

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Slametan (Ad p. 271 in *Islam - The eBook)*

For a recent discussion of the *slametan* with emphasis on female activities, see "Kejawen Islam as gendered praxis in Javanese village religiosity", ch. 4 in Bianca J. Smith, in *Indonesian Islam in a new era: how women negotiate their Muslim identities*, ed. Susan Blackburn, Bianca J Smith & Siti Syamsiyatun. Clayton: Monash University Press, 2008.

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Pesantren (lit.: place for santris) or **Pondok Pesantren**

(see pp. 124-5 & 271ff. in *Islam - The eBook*)

• Usually founded by a *kiai*
• *Kiai* is teacher and spiritual guide
• Students (*santris*) board (Pondok = hostel)
• Studies include Qur'an, Hadith, *fiqh*, spiritual and moral training; now also government school curriculum.
• Close relation between *kiai* and *santris*
• Financially supported by students and local community
• Usually cheaper than other schools
• *Santris* may work for pesantren
• Usually in rural areas
• Continuation of pre-Islamic tradition of schools (ashrams?)

For a discussion of women in 20th century pesantrens see "Negotiating Public space: three *nyai* generations in a Jombang *pesantren*", by Eka Srimulyi. Ch. 5 in Bianca J. Smith, in *Indonesian Islam in a new era: how women negotiate their Muslim identities*, ed. Susan Blackburn, Bianca J Smith & Siti Syamsiyatun. Clayton: Monash University Press, 2008, cf. p. 271ff. in *Islam - The eBook*)

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Pancasila (The Five Principles)

(See p. 275 in *Islam – The eBook*)

• Belief in the one and only Divinity. (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*)

• Just and civilized humanity, (*Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab*).

• The unity of Indonesia (*Persatuan Indonesia*).

• Democracy guided by consensus arising out of deliberations amongst representatives (*Kerakyatan Yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan, Dalam Permusyawaratan Perwakilan*)

• Social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia (*Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh Rakyat Indonesia*)

The "seven words" of the Jakarta Charter (1945): "with the obligation for the adherents of Islam to practice the Shari'a"

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Sukarno on his religious beliefs

(see *Islam – The eBook*, p. 275)

This passage comes from B.J. Boland, The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971, pp. 126, 128-9, 132

Not back to the early glory of Islam, not back to the time of the caliphs, but run forward, catching up with time (chasing time). . . . .

If you ask whether Bung Karno believes in God, then I will answer: Yes, I believe in God . . . . I used to hear from my father . . . : The One who made you was God! Even though my father was only half -and-half Muslim. . . . his religion was Islam, but mixed with much Javanese religion. And my mother, her religion was Hinduism mixed with a lot of Buddhism. . . . .

Islam seems to have had an ebb and a flow. . . . Before, there was a rising tide; Islam was like a lighthouse; everybody looked at it, impressed, with pride, with admiration! Later, there came an ebb tide for the Muslim community . . . when other peoples considered Muslims as a group of no importance, as 'inferior'. How did this happen? . . . .

If you really want to understand the truth of Islam, ... free your own mind from the sphere of thinking of the *pesantren*. . . . and look outwards! And don't only look to Saudi Arabia, to Mecca and Medina, but look to Cairo, Spain, look around the whole world; look at history, at the past, the past history of the peoples of the world . . . !

So is God a being on a throne up there? A Being in space, what people call 'a personal God'? If He lives only up there, God is limited. Isn't that so? . . . . The Bhagavad-Gita says — I'm not concerned with whether that song is true or not — the Bhagavad-Gita says, 'I am in the first, I am in the heat of the fire; I am in the moon, I am in the rays of the moon . . . I am in the darkness. I am in the light. I am without beginning and without end.' This agrees with my opinion . . . . I am a monotheist. But I am a pantheistic monotheist. Pantheism means: I feel — feel! — this God everywhere. . . . but He's One, One. Like, in a rough example, like ether. Penetrating everything.

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Neo Modernists: Nurcholish Madjid

(see *Islam – The eBook*, p. 277)

"Except for the fundamental value of *taqwa* [fear of God] which grows out of faith in God and worship of Him, there are no fixed values. [Most] values are cultural values which have, of necessity, to develop continuously in accordance with the laws of change and development. Therefore the values of Islam are those which conform to humanity's true nature or to universal truth and are supported by *taqwa* toward God. Those values are Islamic if they do not contradict *iman* [faith] or *taqwa*, are good according to humanity and its development." (quoted in *Defenders of Reason in Islam*, ed. Richard C. Martin, Mark R. Woodward and Dwi S. Atmaja. One World Publications, 1997, p. 150)

From the "Mission Statement" of the Paramadina Foundation.

(Source: Greg Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual ulema" in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, 8/3 (Oct 1997): 334)

Paramadina Foundation is a religious institution which is wholly convinced that as the universal values of Islam are made concrete in the context of Indonesia's local traditions, Islamness and Indonesianness are profoundly integrated. Paramadina Foundation is designed to be a centre for Islamic religiosity which is creative, constructive and positive, for the purpose of the advancement of society, without being defensive or reactionary in attitude. For this reason its core activities are directed towards the building up of society's capacity to answer the challenges of this age and to contribute towards its growing tradition. This means investing considerable resources in developing the quality and authority of scholarship. As a consequence, the core programme of activities revolves around initiatives to raise up and disseminate an understanding of Islam which is broad in scope, profound, and imbued with a spirit of openness, together with disseminating ideas which support justice, openness and democracy.

Abdurrahman Wahid on "Fundamentalism"

Traditionally, Indonesian Muslims had shown the ability to develop as well as implement "Islamic teachings" in the most detailed forms in their daily lives. . . . . Local customs and social frameworks were absorbed and integrated into the religious life of the Muslim in imaginative ways doing justice to the rich heritage of the nation's past as well as to the virtues of Islam as a universal religion. The result was, and in most cases is, the emergence of a unique way of "Islamic" life, quite distinctive in many respects from its counterparts in other regions of the world.

But in recent times modernity, the present one with its bankrupt imperatives such as the escalation of nuclear arms race and unchecked disparity between the haves and the have nots, brings out a new type of response from an increasingly (although still small in numbers) militant group, mostly from university campuses, demanding a literal adherence to the "true words of God" expressed directly in the Holy Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions. This kind of 'Scripturalism', admittedly not a just word to use here, denotes a rejection of the past adaptive ways of Islam as a religion 'living' in a concrete local tradition, replete with nuances enabling it to peacefully accept religious, ethnical and cultural (even political) plurality as the single most important principle regulating the life of the nation in the past. Tolerance is the catchword, now challenged by an increasingly strict and one-sided adherence to universal dictums not yet adapted to local needs. Is the new development within the Islamic polity" apt to be named "Islamic fundamentalism"? As stated before, there is no easy answer to this question. (Typescript from author, c 1984)

Note: Abdurrahman Wahid died on December 30, 2009.

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A Radical Islamist View of Democracy and Women

The following is based largely on interviews with Ustad Ja'far Umar Thalib, the commander of Laskar Jihad, in 2000. Note that the phrase ahlus sunnah wal jamaah (Indonesia spelling of the Arabic ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a) is the usual label Sunni Muslims use for themselves.

Laskar Jihad is the paramilitary division of the Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah (most simply translated as the Sunni Communication Forum) or FKAWJ, an organisation formed by a group of hardline Muslim leaders in early 1998 to promote 'true Islamic values'. FKAWJ is controlled by a 60-member board of patrons (dewan pembina), of which Ja'far is chairman. Most board members are leaders of pesantren or prominent preachers and it is their followers who form the core of the Laskar Jihad.

FKAWJ doctrine is notable for its narrow Islamism and exclusivism. Although most of Indonesia's main Islamic organisations regard themselves as ahlus sunnah wal jamaah, FKAWJ believe that only they can rightly use this ascription. For example, Ja'far states that neither Nahdlatul Ulama nor Muhammadiyah can claim to be genuinely ahlus sunnah wal jamaah because they have deviated from the Qur'an and example of the Prophet Muhammad and have doctrines which are corrupted by non-Islamic sources

FKAWJ also rejects democracy as 'incompatible with Islam' and refuses to support any political party, including the more Islamist parties. According to Ja'far, 'in democracy, people who don't understand anything, and they are the majority, elect their leaders without any educated considerations at all. They only elect those that give them money or say what they want to hear.' By these means, religious minorities and nominal Muslims have been able to 'thwart the application of Islamic law' in Indonesia. In a genuine Islamic society, it is God's law rather than the will of the people that is supreme. FKAWJ calls for democracy to be replaced by a council of experts ([lit: people of loosing and binding]) dominated by Islamic scholars who are learned in Islamic law. The council would have the power to appoint the head of state and control government policy."

Its attitudes to women also place it outside the mainstream. Women are not permitted to hold leadership positions in FKAWJ and cannot join Laskar Jihad. For Ja'far, FKAWJ's main responsibility to women is 'to educate them and then marry them to pious men who are capable of preventing them from falling into sin. Men's role is to supervise women and ensure that their behaviour is properly Islamic.' Ja'far has three wives, each of whom wears Middle Eastern-style black gowns and headdresses which cover their faces.

(Fealy, "Inside the Laskar Jihad" in Inside Indonesia, http://insideindonesia.org/content/view/500/29/)

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Chapter 20 Globalization

Some definitions of "globalization"

The tendency of world investment and business to move from national and domestic markets to a worldwide environment.

A complex series of economic, social, technological, cultural, and political changes seen as increasing integration, and interaction between people and companies in disparate locations.

Globalization refers in general to the worldwide integration of humanity and the compression of both the temporal and spatial dimensions of planetwide human interaction. ...

 (Globalization, cultural) a phenomenon by which the experience of everyday life, as influenced by the

diffusion of commodities and ideas, reflects a standardization of cultural expressions around the world. . . .

Source: http://www.google.co.nz/search?hl=en&source=hp&q=globalization+
definition&meta=&aq=0&oq=globalization

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What is terrorism?

Like other tendentious terms, it is hard to define, but I would suggest the following characteristics:

1. It involves violence or the threat of violence to people or damage to property.

2. It is public, aimed at an audience that it seeks to terrorize into doing or not doing something, or to influence the action of a government or weaken a government.

3. It has a political or ideological goal.

4. This goal is immoral or, at least, the action is incommensurate with the goal (otherwise they are "freedom fighters").

5. Its victims may usually be described "innocent" or "non-combatants" in relation to the goal in question.

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Terrorism before al-Qaeda

(Incomplete list; some may not qualify because of item 4 in the list above)

• Russian anarchists in the late 19th century

• Jewish groups in Palestine about 1945-8,

• Palestinian groups, secular and Islamist, especially since 2000.

• Protestant and Catholic groups in Northern Ireland;

• Greek Cypriots before independence (1950-60)

• Mau Mau in Kenya before independence (1950s)

• Basque separatists in Spain

• Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka 1983-2009 (said to have carried out more "martyrdom" operations than all the others together).

• French and Muslims in Algerian war of independence (1954-62)

• Algerian government and Islamists in the 1990s.

• Mujahidin-i Khalq in Iran assassinated government leaders in 1981

Terrorism is less an "Islamic" phenomenon than a "modern" phenomenon.

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A Muslim statement on "9/11"

"The undersigned, leaders of Islamic movements, are horrified by the events of Tuesday 11 September 2001 in the United States which resulted in massive killing, destruction and attack on innocent lives. We express

our deepest sympathies and sorrow. We condemn, in the strongest terms, the incidents, which are against all human and Islamic norms. This is grounded in the Noble Laws of Islam which forbid all forms of attacks on innocents. God Almighty says in the Holy Qur'an: 'No bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another' (Surah al-Isra 17:15)."

[Signatures include leaders of the Muslim Brothers, Jama'at-i Islami, Hamas and others]

(MSANews, September 14, 2001)

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Suicide in Islam?

In response to "martyrdom operations" it is commonly argued that suicide is forbidden in Islam. Here are two hadith that bear on the subject. The first bears directly on the issue of suicide and is often referred to. The second bears less directly on it but might be used by those favoring "martyrdom operations". (SAAS abbreviates the Arabic for "May God bless him and grant him peace.)

A man went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, "I bear witness that you are truly the Messenger of God. The Prophet said, "What is the matter?" He replied, "The person about whom you just mentioned that he was one of the dwellers in the Fire and the people were surprised at this and I said to them that I would bring news about him, and then I went out in search of him till I found him very seriously injured. He hastened his own death. He placed the blade of his sword on the ground and its tip at his chest and then pressed himself against that and killed himself." Thereupon the Messenger of God (SAAS) remarked, "A person performs the deeds which to the people appear to be the deeds befitting the dweller of paradise, but he is in fact one of the dwellers of the Fire. And in truth a person does an act which in the eyes of the public is one which is done by the dwellers of the Fire, but the ßperson is one among the dwellers of Paradise." (*Sahih Muslim*)

Awf ibn Harith said, "O Messenger of God, what makes the Lord laugh with joy at His servant? He answered, "When he plunges into the midst of the enemy without armour." Auf drew off the coat of mail that was on him and threw it away; then he seized his sword and fought the enemy till he was slain. [*Sira* of Ibn Ishaq]

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Some Figures on Muslim Populations of Four Western Countries

	CIA	PEW	CIA	PEW
France	6,405,779	3,554,000	10.0%	6%
Germany	3,046,201	4,026,000	3.7%	5%
UK	1,650,057	1,647,000	2.7%	2.7%
United States*	1,843,273	2,454,000	0.6%	0.8

2009 Population Data (CIA World Factbook, http://www.factbook.net/muslim_pop.php, accessed 15/12/09

 Pew Research Center report of Mapping the Global Muslim Population, as of 8 October, 2009 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_Muslim_population accessed 15/12/09

*Another source, Muslim Population Worldwide for 2008, gives figures similar to the CIA except for the U.S., for which it gives 6,420,000 and 6.12%. This disparity of figures for the U.S. is well known.

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Four countries: immigration and attitudes

	Large scale immigration from:	Main ethnicities	Predominant Attitude of host country
France	1950s	N. African	Assimilationist
Germany	1962 inter-gov't agreement	Turkish	Separatist
United Kingdom	1950s	South Asian	Multi-culturalist (with reservations)
United States	1965	Diverse	Integrationist (with reservations)

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Tariq Ramadan on the basis for living in a Western country:

1. A Muslim is involved in a contract with the country in which he lives.

2. European legislation allows Muslims to practice at least the basics of their religion;

3. Concept of *Dar al-Harb* is outdated; Europe is *Dar al-Da'wa* or *Dar al-Shahada,* "the West is space where the *shahada* can be pronounced, respected and witnessed."

4. Muslims should see themselves as full citizens.

5. European legislation does not prevent Muslims from making choices in accord w their religion.

6, "Dialectical" relationship to the environment, ". . . a coexistence which would not be *peace in separation* but *living together in participation*"

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Can the Shari'a be applied among Muslims in the Western world?

• Certain aspects of Shari'a are already followed, e.g. in *ṣalāh*, *zakāh* etc.

• Matters relating to marriage etc. are sometimes adjudicated by arbitration by Muslim scholars and recognized by the state (e.g. UK)

• What about matters where secular law and Shari'a law differ, e.g. in matters of human rights, gender issues.

• Who determines the interpretation of the Shari'a in given cases?

• Must one system of law, that of the state, have the final say in all cases and for all people?

• Must there be a set of moral principles outside of any particular system of law that is recognized by all?

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Archbishop of Canterbury on Shari'a

From "Civil and Religious Law in England: a Religious Perspective" Archbishop Rowan Williams, 7 February 2008.

 I have been arguing that a defence of an unqualified secular legal monopoly in terms of the need for a universalist doctrine of human right or dignity is to misunderstand the circumstances in which that doctrine

emerged, and that the essential liberating (and religiously informed) vision it represents is not imperilled by a loosening of the monopolistic framework.

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Fazlur Rahman on Prophetic Revelation

"There were moments when [the Prophet], as it were, 'transcends himself' and his moral cognitive perception becomes so acute and so keen that his consciousness becomes identical with the moral law itself. "Thus did we inspire you with a Spirit of Our command: You did not know what the Book was, But We have made it a light." (Qur'an 42:52). But the moral law and religious values are God's Command, and although they area not identical with God entirely, they are part of Him. The Qur'an is, therefore, purely divine. . . . When Muhammad's moral intuitive perception rose to the highest point and became identified with the moral law itself . . . , the Word was given with the inspiration itself. The Qur'an is thus pure Divine Word, but, of course, it is equally intimately related to the inmost personality of the Prophet Muḥammad, whose relationship to it cannot be mechanically conceived like that a of a record. The Divine Word flowed through the Prophet's heart." (Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London: Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1966, pp. 32-33)

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Abdulkarim Soroush on Prophetic Revelation

(*From* "The Word of Mohammad" *An interview with Abdulkarim Soroush By Michel Hoebink   December 2007*, http://www.drsoroush.com/English/Interviews/E-INT-The%20Word%20of%20Mohammad.html, accessed 28/7/2008)

But the Prophet is also the creator of the revelation in another way. What he receives from God is the content of the revelation. This content, however, cannot be offered to the people as such, because it is beyond their understanding and even beyond words. It is formless and the activity of the person of the Prophet is to form the formless, so as to make it accessible. Like a poet again, the Prophet transmits the inspiration in the language he knows, the styles he masters and the images and knowledge he possesses.

But his personality also plays an important role in shaping the text. His personal history: his father, his mother, his childhood. And even his moods. If you read the Koran you feel that the Prophet is sometimes jubilant and highly eloquent while at other times he is bored and quite ordinary in the way he expresses himself. All those things have left their imprint on the text of the Koran. That is the purely human side of revelation.

A human view of the Koran makes it possible to distinguish between the essential and the accidental aspects of religion. Some parts of religion are historically and culturally determined and no longer relevant today. That is the case, for instance, with the corporal punishments prescribed in the Koran. If the Prophet had lived in another cultural environment, those punishments would probably not have been part of his message.

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Soroush on diversity

(*From an interview published in the Tehran daily Jameah in 1998 and in the book: Siyasat Nameh*)

Q. Are you weakening the traditional outlook or are you basically trying to negate monolithic thinking? Or is your quarrel the same old quarrel of the mystics and the jurists. Or is the whole thing simply a product of your political extremism?

A. What I'm doing is introducing rivals, alternatives and companions. That is to say, if you imagine a solitary figure standing on the stage, what I'm doing is introducing a few other figures, who may be taller or shorter, onto the stage. In the realm of knowledge, I seek plurality. I came upon this notion when I was studying the philosophy of history. Before the revolution, the only such philosophy current in our country was the Marxist philosophy of history. Motahhari and Shariati's philosophy of history, too, was the Marxist one in another guise. They asked the same questions. The only difference was that they offered different answers. Bear in mind here that the framework of any technique is the questions it asks, not the answers it presents. In fact, the agenda had been set by the Marxists, not by them . When I was studying the philosophy of science and the history of science abroad, the first thing that caught my eye was not that the Marxist philosophy of history was wrong but there were a number of other schools of thought on the subject. However, the only school of thought that had engaged and gripped our minds - making us ask questions about « the engine of history » and « the stages of historical development » - was Marxism. One side replied that the engine of history was « class struggle », the other replied, no, it is « religion ». But they were both answering the same question. That's when it dawned on me that there was a need for other frameworks in which other questions could be raised. This was enough to break the unwarranted spell cast by the Marxist philosophy of history.

I stressed this same point repeatedly later in a book I wrote on the philosophy of history and in the various courses I taught at university. In other instances, too, I have done exactly the same thing. The fact of the matter is that the history of humanity has developed in an inherently pluralistic way. In other words, history is full of alternatives and parallel lines. Linear and one-dimensional history is a figment of the imagination of history professors, not a product of the history-making masses. Looking for and seeing parallel lines gives one an open-mindedness and breadth of vision that can solve a host of problems.

Yes, if other viewpoints and traditions are brought onto the stage, the traditional viewpoint will no longer be the be all and end all of all history and knowledge. But why should I worry about that? I have only presented the rivals, I haven't created them.

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Muhammad Sa'id al-'Ashmawi on interpretation of the Qur'an

(From W. Shepard, "Muhammad Sa'id al-'Ashmawi and the Application of the Shari'ah", International Journal of Middle East Studies 28 (February 1996): 44.)

The Qur'an, as the revelation of God, is the main source of the Shari'a, but interpreting it is a complex task which requires considerable background knowledge. Almost all of the verses of the Qur'an were revealed to particular situations which are the "causes of revelation" (*asbāb al-tanzīl* or *asbāb al-nuzūl*) and which must be known and taken account of since they determine the meaning of the text. He insists on "causes" (*asbāb*) not "occasions" (*munāsibāt*) of revelation if by the latter one means a purely external or accidental relation between the event and the text. For example, that favorite Islamist text, "Whoever does not rule (*yaḥkum*) by what God has revealed, they are the *kāfir*s", was revealed in relation to the Jews of Muhammad's time who refused to put certain rules of the Torah into effect and was not intended for Muslims, according to Al-'Ashmawi. Likewise, the passage, "Do not take Jews and Christians as friends. . .", was directed to a particular situation of conflict with the Banu Qurayza and is not to be taken as a general directive on intercommunal relations. One must also pay attention to the meanings of terms at the time of revelation, for many have changed their meanings since then, as has the term *sharī'a* itself. For example, at the time of revelation the word *yaḥkum*, in the passage cited above, did not refer to government but to the action of a judge or mediator. The Qur'an uses another term for the political actions of rulers, *amr* (command). Hence it is inappropriate to apply this passage to government.

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Amina Wadud on interpretation of the Quran

(Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1992, p. 10, 30, 63)

Therefore each new Islamic society must understand the principles intended by the particulars. Those principles are eternal and can be applied in various social contexts.

For example, in Arabia at the time of the revelation, women of wealthy and powerful tribes were veiled and secluded as an indication of protection. The Qur'an acknowledges the virtue of modesty and demonstrates it through the prevailing practices. The principle of modesty is important – not the veiling and seclusion which were manifestations particular to that context. These were culturally and economically determined demonstrations of modesty. Modesty is not a privilege of the economically advantaged only; all believing women deserve the utmost respect and protection of their modesty – however it is observed in various societies. (10)

This method of restricting the particulars to a specific context, extracting the principles intended by the Qur'an through that particular, and then applying those principles to other particulars in various cultural contexts, forms a major variation from previous exegetical methodologies. The movement from principles to particulars can only be done by the members of whatever particular context a principle is to be applied. Therefore, interpretation of the Qur'an can never be final. (10)

A hermeneutical model which drives basic ethical principles for further developments and legal considerations by giving precedence to general statements rather than particulars could solve many problems in applications. (30)

Overall, my analysis tends to restrict the meaning of many passages to a particular subject, event or context. These restrictions are based on the context of the verses or on application of general Qur'anic concepts of justice. (63)

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Appendix: Sayyid Qutb: An Evolving View of Government in Islam

The following from Social Justice in Islam is placed here as an appendix because of its length. See under Chapter 17 for details of Qutb's life. While Milestones and In the Shade of the Qur'an are better known, Social Justice in Islam offers a more systematic presentation of his social and political views and also affords an opportunity to trace the development of his ideas from the beginning of his Islamist period to almost the end of his life. The book was written in 1948 and first published in 1949. It was republished five times: in 1950 (or 1951), in 1952 (before the Free Officers' coup), in 1954 (before he was imprisoned), in 1958 (during his imprisonment) and in 1964 (while he was briefly out of prison). In each of the editions there are revisions by the author reflecting his current views, the greatest change coming between the 1958 and 1964 editions. The 1964 edition is the one that is still in print and has presumably been read by the most people and is the most radical. A comparison of the various editions makes it possible to trace the development of Qutb's views on a number of issues.

This selection is a translation of the fifth chapter of Social Justice in Islam, as found in my book, Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A translation and critical analysis of "Social Justice in Islam" (Al-'Adalah al-ijtima'iyyah fi al-islam), Leiden: Brill, 1996. (ISBN 90-04-10152-7) *Website:* http://www.brill.nl/default.aspx?partid=18&pid=2673*) and is reproduced here with the publisher's permission. The main text translates the last and most radical edition, while the footnotes and indented paragraphs indicate the points at which the*

earlier editions are different. Notes in brackets are found at the end of paragraphs that are either unchanged or completely changed. Paragraphs are numbered for convenience of reference; they are not numbered in the Arabic editions. The abbreviation SAW stands for the formula "may God bless him and grant him peace", commonly used after the Prophet's name.

There is also an English translation of the first edition, Social Justice in Islam, translated by John B. Hardie, revised by Hamid Algar (Oneonta, NY: Islamic Publications International, 2000).

One can profitably read the main text of this selection without reading the footnotes. The reader may, however, like to work out from the footnotes some of Qutb's earlier and generally less extreme ideas.

A few minor modifications from the published version of Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism have been made here, mainly in the footnotes. Footnotes that I consider not to be of value to the student are deleted and a couple of explanatory notes are added. A few Arabic words in parentheses are deleted from the main text and three paragraphs (21, 22 and 37) that were in an appendix are placed indented at the appropriate place in the main text.

Chapter 5. Government in Islam

1. Every discussion of "social justice in Islam" must include a discussion of "government in Islam", in accordance with the basic principle we laid down when we were discussing the nature of Islamic social justice, namely, that it deals with all aspects of life and all kinds of activity, just as it deals with both spiritual and material values, which are inextricably intermixed. [No change.]

2. Government is related to all of this, in addition to the fact that the enforcement of legislation is finally dependent on it, as is the maintenance of all aspects of society, the achievement of justice and harmony, and the distribution of wealth according to the principles prescribed by Islam. [No change.]

3. A full treatment of government in Islam would be lengthy and would require a separate study, but since our purpose in this book is to explain only that aspect of government which bears on social justice, we will try so far as possible to limit ourselves to this. The difficulty in studying Islam is that the enquirer finds that all aspects of it are interconnected and cannot be separated from each other. The whole of this religion forms a unity; worship and human relations (*mu'âmalât*), conduct of government and management of wealth, legislation and moral guidance, belief and behavior, this world and the world to come, all of these are well coordinated parts of an integrated mechanism, and it is difficult to single out one of them for discussion without dealing with the others too, but we shall try, so far as possible.

* * * *

4. Some who discuss the Islamic system – whether the social system or the system of government or the form of government – make an effort to show relationships and similarities between it and the other kinds of systems that humanity has known in ancient and modern times, before and since Islam. Some of them believe that they find strong support for Islam when they show a relationship between it and some other ancient or modern system.

5. This effort reflects nothing but an inward feeling of defeat in the face of the human systems that humans have formed for themselves in isolation from God, for Islam gains nothing if there are similarities between it

and other systems, and loses nothing if there are not. Islam presents to humanity an example of a completely integrated system the like of which is not found in any other system the world has known before or since Islam. Islam does not try and has not tried to imitate any of the other systems, or to establish any relationship or similarity between itself and them, but rather chooses its own unique and distinctive path and presents to humanity a complete cure for all its problems.

6. It may happen in the development of human systems that they coincide with Islam sometimes and diverge from it sometimes, but Islam is a complete and independent system and has no connection with these other systems, neither when they coincide with it nor when they diverge from it, for such divergence and coincidence are purely accidental and in scattered parts. Agreement or disagreement in partial and accidental matters is of no consequence. What matters is the basic view, the particular conception, and Islam has its own basic view and its own particular conception from which the parts branch out. These parts may coincide with or diverge from the parts of other systems but after each coinciding or divergence Islam continues on its own unique path.

7. The principle upon which the Islamic system is based differs from the principles upon which all human systems are based. It is based upon the principle that sovereignty (*ḥākimiyya*) belongs to God alone, and He alone legislates. The other systems are based on the principle that sovereignty belongs to man, and it is he who legislates for himself. These two basic principles do not coincide, and therefore the Islamic system cannot really coincide with any other system, and cannot be called anything but "Islam". [Last ed. only.]

8. It is not the task of the Islamic enquirer, when he undertakes to discuss the Islamic system, to seek out similarities to or agreements with any other system, ancient or modern. These similarities and agreements — in addition to being superficial and partial, arising from mere coincidence in matters of detail, and not in the general conception or the basic view — add nothing to the strength of Islam, as some defeatists think. The right way is for them to present the bases of their religion in and of themselves in the total faith that these bases are complete, whether they agree with all other systems or disagree with all others. The very effort to find support for the Islamic systems in similarities to or agreements with other systems is a sign of a defeatist attitude as we have said, and is an effort that will not be made by a Muslim enquirer who has a true knowledge of this religion and investigates it in the right way.

9. In the course of its origin and development, the world has known a number of systems, but the Islamic system is not one of these systems. It is not like them nor is it derived from them as a group. It is a system which stands on its own, independent in its thought and unique in its methods, and we must present it as something independent, because it originated independently and has proceeded independently on its way. [No change.]

10. Because of these considerations, we cannot accept Dr Haykal's interpretation of the Islamic world as an "Islamic Empire", nor his statement that "Islam was an imperial power" for there is nothing further from the true understanding of the spirit of Islam than to speak of it as imperial, however much we may distinguish between the meaning of Islamic empire and empire in the currently familiar sense. Nothing is further from an understanding of the true nature of the relationships in the Islamic world than to speak of it as an Islamic empire!   [No change.]

11. It is strange that Dr. Haykal, in his discussion of Islamic government in *Hayât Muhammad* (*The Life of Muhammad*) or *Al-Siddîq Abu Bakr* or *Al-Fârûq 'Umar*, seeks the true inner difference between the nature of Islam and the nature of the other systems the world has known, and yet is induced to use these expressions by virtue of the hold that foreign phenomena have over his thinking as well as by the similarities between some manifestations of Islam and those of imperialism and by virtue of the fact that he has not noticed that basic divergence between a system based on the sovereignty of God alone and another system based on the sovereignty of man!

12. Perhaps the point of formal similarity is that the Islamic world was composed of a number of provinces with widely differing races and cultures ruled from a single center. This is a mark of empire! But it is merely an outward mark. What matters is the way the center views the provinces and the nature of the relationships between them. [No change.]

13. Anyone who studies the spirit of Islam and its way of governing knows for certain that it is the furthest thing from the empires we know today. For Islam gives equality to the Muslims from all parts of the world, and it rejects racial, national and regional partisanship. In accordance with this spirit it does not make the provinces into colonies, nor places to be exploited or milked for the sole benefit of the center. Every province is a member of the body of the Islamic world, and its people have the same rights as those of the center. If some provinces were governed by a governor from the Islamic center, he governed by virtue of being a Muslim qualified for the position and not as a colonial ruler, while many of the liberated provinces were governed by one of their own people, but only because he was a Muslim qualified for this position. Likewise, the moneys collected in any province were first spent within it and then if anything was left it was sent to the public treasury of the Muslims to be spent upon the Muslims in general as needed and not be appropriated by the people of the center at the risk of impoverishing the provinces, as is the practice in empires.

14. All of this sets a great distance between the Islamic world, or more accurately the Islamic ummah, and an empire. To speak of Islam as imperial is to introduce a term that is foreign both to the spirit of Islam and to its actual history. It is more appropriate to say that it was worldwide in its tendency because of its strong idea of the unity of the world and its goal of gathering all humanity under its banner of equality and brotherhood.

15.   Dr. Taha Husayn has been more precise when, in the introduction to his book, *Al-Fitnah al-Kubrà - 'Uthmân* (*The Great Civil War - 'Uthman*), he discusses the Islamic system of government in comparison to all other systems and says that it differs in its basic nature from others, and this is the truth when one looks at the spirit and nature of government and not at its outward details. [No change.]

16.   However, Dr. Taha Husayn makes this statement of his the premise of a very different and dangerous conclusion, and this is that Islam in the form it achieved in the time of the Apostle of God (SAW) and the two leaders after him was a lofty anomaly which humanity could not sustain for long. This is the tune sung by the orientalists and their disciples in Islamic countries as a preface to the claim that Islam is not suitable to be the system of government in these days. [Last ed. only.]

17.   Likewise, I cannot accept the talk that we hear about "the socialism of Islam" or "the democracy of Islam" or other such efforts to mix the system made by God (S) with systems made by humans, bearing the human stamp and characterized by the human mixture of imperfection and perfection, error and accuracy, weakness and strength, fancy and truth . . . while the divinely ordained system of Islam is free from these characteristics and is perfect and comprehensive and completely untouched by error. [Last ed. only.]

18. Islam presents independent solutions to the problems of humanity, deriving them from its particular conceptions, its own essential method, its authentic bases, and its distinctive means, and when we discuss it we must not use other doctrines and theories to interpret it or add them to it. It is a complete method and a harmonious unity, and the introduction of any foreign element into it is liable to ruin it – like a delicate and perfect mechanism which may be put out of operation by a single foreign piece – or to appear like an incongruous patch on it.

19. In summary, this is the point I have to make because many who have absorbed into their culture and

thinking foreign pieces from the machinery of alien systems think they are giving Islam new strength when they graft these systems onto it, but this is a dangerous illusion which ruins Islam and makes its spirit inoperative. At the same time it betrays a hidden feeling of defeat even though they don't openly admit defeat. [No change.]

* * * *

20. The Islamic system is based on two fundamental ideas derived from its over-all conception of Divinity, of the universe, life and man: the idea of the unity of humanity in race, nature and origin, and the idea that Islam is the general world-wide system and that God accepts no other system because He accepts no other religion than Islam, and religion - in the Islamic understanding - is the general system that governs life.

21. As for the idea of the unity of humanity in race, nature and origin we have already discussed this when speaking of "the foundations of social justice in Islam."

> *lThe following longer version of paragraph 21 and also paragraph 22 are found in the earlier editions.*
>
> 21. [Eds. 1-5] As for the idea of the unity of humanity in race, nature and origin we have already discussed this when speaking of "the foundations of social justice in Islam" and have indicated that the rights that Islam extends to *dhimmīs* and to idolaters who have a treaty with the Muslims stand on a purely human basis, there being no difference between the people of one religion and those of another, since the matter refers ultimately to common human factors. If Islam commanded its adherents to fight against the idolaters, this was only a defensive war to repel aggression. "Leave is given to those who fight because they were wronged - surely God is able to help them." "Fight in the way of God with those who fight with you, but aggress not: God loves not the aggressor." It is a war to repel material aggression against the Muslims so that they may not be seduced from their religion, and to remove the material obstacles from the path of the message (*da'wa*), so that it may reach all people.
>
> 22. [Eds. 1-5] In fulfilling its treaty obligations to non-Muslims Islam goes even to the extent of refraining from helping Muslims against non-Muslims with whom the Muslims have a treaty: "If they ask you for help, for religion's sake, it is your duty to help them, except against a people between whom and you there is a compact." This is an ideal example of care to fulfill treaty obligations, based on a broad, world-wide view of humanity which transcends local interests and limits aims, even in matters connected with religion.

23. As for the idea that Islam is the general world-wide system and that God accepts no other system, it is derived from the fact that Muhammad (SAW) is the Apostle of God to all people and that he was the seal of the prophets, and that his religion is the soundest religion. "We have sent thee not, except to mankind entire." "We have not sent thee save as a mercy to all beings." "The Apostle of God and the seal of the prophets." "Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed my blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion." "Surely this Qur'an guides to the way that is soundest."

24. "Religion (*al-dīn*)" in the Islamic understanding is synonymous with the word "system (*niẓām*)" in modern terminology, with the complete meaning of a creed in the heart, ethical principles in behavior and Shari'ah in society . . . All of this is contained in the concept "religion" in Islam. Therefore there cannot be a system that God accepts and Islam confirms unless it is this system derived from the doctrinal conception of Islam and represented in administrative systems and acts of legislation derived from the Islamic Shari'ah and from nothing else. The most important thing is that those who are part of this system fully recognise the divinity (*ulūhiyya*) and supreme authority (*rubūbiyya*) of God and do not arrogate to themselves the right to issue

laws and regulations because this is the right of God alone in Islam. At this point the Islamic system diverges fundamentally from all human systems. [Last ed. only.]

25. But, even so, Islam does not compel others to embrace it, "No compulsion is there in religion; rectitude has become clear from error." Indeed, it grants them the fullest freedom and protection in conducting their religious rites, and has such a sensitive concern for this freedom that it imposes Zakat and Jihad on Muslims only and in place of these takes *jizyah* from the *dhimmīs*, since they share with the Muslims the protection afforded by the Islamic state and thus they must all share in its expenses. But it does not make these expenses Zakat for the *dhimmīs* - as it does not impose participation in Jihad upon them - unless they consent and accept, because Zakat is an Islamic obligation and a form of worship specifically for Muslims - and likewise is Jihad - and it does not want to compel Dhimmis to perform a specifically Muslim act of worship, so it taxes them on a purely financial basis, divesting it of the religious character found in the obligation of Zakat, and it excuses them from Jihad in defense of the Abode of Islam, whose security and comfort they enjoy. This is the highest possible degree of sensitive concern for justice in dealing with others.

27. The fact that the Islamic system is based on these two ideas has had an effect on its nature and orientation, making it careful in its legislation and in its moral guidance, in its conduct of government and finance, and in the other systems that it includes, to legislate not for one race or one generation but for all nations and all generations. Thus it follows comprehensive human principles in all its legislation and administrative provisions and setting the general foundations and broad principles and leaving many of the applications to the development of time and the emergence of specific needs.

28. This orientation toward general principles is clear in the conduct of government, which is the specific concern of this chapter. [No change.]

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29. The theory of government in Islam is based on the testimony (*shahāda*) that there is no god but God, and when one confesses that divinity belongs to God alone he thereby confesses that sovereignty in human life belongs to God alone; and God (S) exercises sovereignty in human life on one hand by directly controlling human affairs by His will and determination (*qadar*) and on the other hand by establishing the basic order of human life and human rights and duties and relationships and mutual obligations by His Shari'ah and His program. In the Islamic system, nobody is associated with God, neither in His will and determination nor in His Shari'ah and program. Any other theory would be idolatry (*shirk*) and unbelief (*kufr*). Therefore, it is not possible for humans to set up systems of government with laws and ordinances on their own authority, for to do this is to reject the divinity of God and at the same time claim the characteristics of divinity for themselves, and this is clear unbelief. [Last ed. only.]

30. By this principle the Islamic system of government differs fundamentally from all systems of government and all social systems invented by mankind. This makes it unacceptable to mix the name of Islam with the names of human systems. [Last ed. only.]

31. Government in Islam is based, after acceptance of the sole Divinity and sovereignty of God, on justice on the part of the rulers, obedience on the part of the ruled, and consultation between rulers and ruled. These are broad basic lines from which branch out other lines that lay out the shape and form of government after the preceding principle has laid out its nature and essence.

32. (a) Justice on the part of the rulers: "Surely God commands justice" . . "When you judge between the people, judge with justice" . ." "And when you speak be just, even if it should be to a near kinsman" . . . "Let not hatred for a people move you to be unjust; be just - that is nearer to godfearing" . . "The most beloved of

men to God on the Day of Resurrection and the one seated nearest him will be a just leader, and the most hated by God on the Day of Resurrection and the most severely punished will be a tyrannical leader."

33.   This is the absolute justice whose balance is untilted by love or hatred, whose principles are unchanged by affection or enmity, the justice that is unaffected by family relations between individuals or by hatred between nations, so that all members of the Islamic Ummah enjoy it irrespective of rank or ancestry, of wealth or prestige, and other nations also enjoy it even if there is hostility between them and the Muslims. This is the pinnacle of justice which no international law and likewise no national law has as yet achieved or even approached.

34.   Those who reject this will have to revert to the justice that strong nations mete out to weak ones, to the justice meted out between those who are at war with each other. They will have to revert to the justice the White men give the Red people and the Black people in the United States, the justice that the White give the Colored in South Africa, the justice that the Communists, the pagans, and the Crusaders give the Muslims in Russia, China, Yugoslavia, India, and Ethiopia, just to mention a few cases since these are contemporary conditions well known to everyone.

35.   The important thing about the justice of Islam is that it has not been merely theories but has been applied in practical life, and actual historical experience records well attested examples of it, the details of which will appear in the appropriate place since here we are concerned to present merely the Islamic "principles" as the authoritative texts show them.

36.   (b) Obedience on the part of the governed. "O believers, obey God and obey the Apostle and those in authority among you" The fact that this verse groups together God, the Apostle, and those in authority tells us the nature and limits of this obedience. Obedience to one in authority is derived from obedience to God and the Apostle, because the one who holds authority in Islam is not obeyed for his own sake, but is obeyed only because he submits to the authority of God and recognizes His sovereignty and then carries out the Shari'ah of God and His Apostle, and it is from his recognition of God's sole sovereignty and then his execution of this Shari'ah that his right to obedience is derived. If he departs from either one he is no longer entitled to obedience, and his orders need not be carried out. The one to whom the prophetic mission was entrusted (SAW) says: "A Muslim must hear and obey whether he likes it or not, unless he is commanded to disobey God; in that case he must neither hear nor obey." He also says, "Hear and obey, even if if your governor is an Ethiopian slave with a head like a raisin, as long as he follows the Book of God (may He be exalted)." It is clear in this Hadith that hearing and obeying is conditional upon following the Book of God Almighty. So there is no absolute obedience to the commands of the ruler nor an obedience that continues even if he abandons the Shari'ah of God and His Apostle.

37. [Eds. 1-2] "If someone sees a tyrannical authority who profanes what God has made sacred, violates the compact of God, disobeys the Sunna of the Apostle of God, and acts with sin and enmity among the servants of God, and if he does not try to change him by deed or word, he shares his sins in God's sight." [¶ 37.1]This Hadith stipulates the duty of trying to change the ruler who is rebelling against the Shari'ah, by action or at least by speech. This is a further positive step beyond the negative step of withholding obedience.

38. We must distinguish between the ruler's undertaking to enforce the religious Shari'ah and his deriving his authority from a religious characteristic inherent in his person. The ruler has no religious authority that he receives directly from heaven, as was the case with some rulers of ancient times in the kind of government called "theocracy", but he becomes a ruler only by the absolutely free choice of the Muslims. They are not bound by any choice made by his predecessor, nor is the position inherited within a family. Then after that his authority derives from his undertaking to enforce the Shari'ah of God without claiming for himself any right to initiate legislation by an authority of his own. So, if the Muslims do not accept him he has no authority, and if they do accept him but then he abandons the Shari'ah of God, no obedience is due him.

39.   In this we see the wisdom of the prophet – may God bless him and grant him peace – in that he did not appoint his successor (khalîfah) after him. Had he done so it might have given grounds for thinking that the successor derived a personal religious authority from the fact that the prophet (SAW) had chosen him.

40.   Islam does not know any official "religious" body like the "clergy" of the Christian church. Islamic government is not something carried out by a specific official body; rather it is any form of government in which the Islamic Shari'ah is enforced, and in which the ruler recognizes that sovereignty belongs to God alone and that his task is not to go beyond enforcing the Shari'ah. If the meaning of "religious government" in any religion is that a particular group is the one to take charge of government, then religious government is completely rejected in Islam, and there is no excuse for anyone to understand that government in Islam requires anything more than enforcing the Islamic Shari'ah, after the recognition that God alone (S) has the right of sovereignty. [Not in ed. 1.]

41. Every government that is based on the principle that God alone has sovereignty and then enforces the Islamic Shari'ah is Islamic government, and every government that is not based on the recognition that God alone (S) has sovereignty and does not enforce this Shari'ah, is not recognized by Islam, even if it is run by an official religious group or bears the name of Islamic. [Not in ed. 1.]

42. The obedience of the governed is to be given only if and as long as the ruler recognizes that government belongs only to God and then enforces the Shari'ah of God without any other condition than just government and obedience to God. [Not in ed. 1.]

43.	(c) Consultation between the rulers and the ruled: "Take counsel with them in the affair" . . . "Their affair is counsel between them." So, consultation (shūrà) is one of the principles of government in Islam, and it involves more than merely government, because it is fundamental to the life of the Muslim Umma, as the verse shows. As for the manner of consultation, no particular system has been specified, so its application is left to existing circumstances and needs. The Apostle (SAW) used to consult with the Muslims on matters about which there was no revelation and accept their opinion on worldly matters in which they were more knowledgeable than he, such as battle positions and strategies. He listened to their opinions at the battle of Badr and encamped some distance away from it. He also listened to their opinion on digging the Trench, and he listened to them in the matter of the prisoners, against the opinion of 'Umar, until a revelation came supporting 'Umar. As for anything on which there was a revelation, then in the nature of the case there was no scope for consultation, since such matters are religiously settled and fixed.

44.	Likewise the Caliphs used to consult the Muslims. Abu Bakr took consultation concerning those who withheld the Zakat, and then acted according to his view that they should be fought. At first 'Umar opposed this, but then he accepted the view of Abu Bakr and was convinced by it, after God opened his mind to it and he saw that Abu Bakr was determined to do this. Abu Bakr also consulted the people of Mecca concerning the war in Syria, in spite of the opposition of 'Umar. 'Umar also took consultation over the question of entering a plague-striken country and came to an opinion; then he found a text from the Sunnah that supported him and so he kept to his course. This consultation did not follow any established or formally defined system, because the practical circumstances determined who should be consulted (*ahl al-shûrà*) in each period so clearly that there was no uncertainty about it. In general there is ample space for various kinds of systems and methods which are not defined by Islam, as it is content to lay down the general principle [of consultation].

45.	However, the Islamic movement in every period determines by its very nature who should be consulted (*ahl al-shûrà*) from among those with experience, prestige and good judgment, and it does so with an ease unknown in human systems. [Last ed. only.]

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46.	The ruler therefore has no rights that do not belong to an individual Muslim - except for obedience to his command, advice, and assistance in enforcing the Shari'ah. [No change.]

47.   Although the Prophet (SAW) was not only a ruler but also the one who brought the Shari'ah and set the legal limits for the ruler within the sphere of the rights that Islam gives him, and his successors (khulafā') followed his prescriptions, as we shall see in the chapter on the historical reality [of Islam], he allowed people to take retribution from him when they had the right to it, unless they choose to forgive him. Once a creditor came to him and spoke harshly to him, and the Muslims became very upset, but he indicated that they should leave [the man] alone, since anyone with a case has the right to speak. He also said (SAW), "I have a right to only one-fifth of your booty, and that fifth is expended on you.

48.   He said to his tribe and his relatives, "O Tribe of the Quraysh, you must purchase your own souls [by your good deeds]; I am no avail to you in God's presence. Oh 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib [his uncle], I am of no avail to you in God's presence. O Safiyyah, aunt of the Apostle of God, I am of no avail to you in God's presence. O Fatimah, daughter of Muhammad, ask for whatever you wish of my possessions, but I am of no avail to you in the presence of God." He said to 'Ali and Fatimah, the most beloved of people to him, "I cannot give to you and leave the poor members of the community with their bellies wracked by hunger."   On [another] occasion he said to them, "I cannot serve you and leave the poor hungry." He also said "Among the People of Israel the practice was that when one of their nobility stole they would not punish him, but if one of the lower class stole, they would cut off his hand. If Fatimah were to steal, I would cut off her hand."

49.   Thus the ruler has no legal or financial rights beyond those of the ordinary Muslims, nor does his family.

50. No ruler may oppress people in either body or spirit, nor may he disrespect them, nor infringe on their possessions. If he enforces the punishments and obligations [of the Shari'ah], that is the limit of his authority over people, and God protects them from his authority [beyond that], in their spirits, bodies, honor, and possessions. [No change.]

51.   Islam has safeguarded these spirits, bodies, honor and possessions by clear general commands, in such a form as to leave no doubt as to its concern to assure security, peace, and honor to all. [No change.]

52.   "O believers, do not enter houses other than your own houses until you first ask leave and greet the people thereof." . . "And Do not spy." and the Hadith, "The blood, honor, property of every Muslim is forbidden to every other Muslim" . . and a life for a life and retaliation for wounds.

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53.   But while Islam limits the authority of the leader (imām) in matters concerning his person, it gives him the broadest possible authority in looking after the welfare (ma□āli□ mursala) of the community in those matters concerning which there is no authoritative text (na□□) and which develop with new times and conditions. The general principle is that the Muslim leader (imām) whose authority is based on the Shari'ah of God may make as many new decrees as he finds new problems in order to carry out God's statement, "He has laid on you no impediment in your religion" and in order to achieve the general goals of Islam in improving the condition of the individual and of the community and of all humanity, within the bounds established in Islam and on the condition of justice, which must characterize the leader (imām).

54.	The leader (*imām*) must put an end to whatever causes any sort of harm to the community and he must undertake whatever brings benefit to the community, as long as he does not violate any of the authoritative religious texts (*naṣṣ)*.

55.	These are wide powers which cover all aspects of life. The achievement of social justice in all its forms is included within these powers. In the financial area, for example, the ruler may go beyond the obligation of Zakah and impose other taxes in order to achieve the proper balance and equilibrium, to eliminate ill-feeling and resentment, and to relieve the community of the evils of extreme luxury and hardship, and of the accumulation of money on the hands of a few people, provided that he does not go against an authoritative text or a basic principle of Islamic life. For he may not strip people of all their possessions and leave them poor, or take control of their whole livelihood so that he can abase them and make them his slaves, thus depriving them of the ability to carry out their obligation to speak freely in advising him, to keep an alert watch over his actions, and to change whatever is objectionable whatever its source. Individuals cannot do this unless they have private sources of income which the leader (*imâm*) and his deputies do not control. The necks of slaves must bow to the one who owns their sources of income!

56.	The actual history of the Islamic community includes many examples of this care for the broadly defined welfare (*masâlih mursalah*) of the community, without forsaking the basic principles of Islamic life that we have indicated. It may be applied at any time, since Islam is not a rigidified system and its detailed application is not limited to any one age or one environment. Islam only wants to affirm the basic Islamic principles whose features are defined by God, to keep Muslim society from being absorbed into the Jahili societies, and to preserve its ability to lead these societies which it came to lead.

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57.	So far we have dealt with the "legal" aspect of government in Islam, but beyond this is the "voluntary" aspect in which moral guidance goes beyond what the legislation requires, after the manner of Islam in all its requirements and systems.

58.	Thus government in Islam is based more on conscience than on legislation. It is based on the fact that God is present at every moment with both the ruler and the ruled, watching over both. "Any servant to whom God puts in charge of a flock, if he fails to guide it well, he will never see a trace of Paradise." . . . "Consume not your goods between you in vanity; neither proffer it to the judges, that you may sinfully consume a portion of other men's goods, and that wittingly." [No change.]

59.	The shepherd and the flock both require the supervision of God in all that they do, and it is the fear of God that is the final guarantee of the establishment of justice. We have already seen that Islam entrusts to the properly trained human conscience great responsibilities in matters of both law and economics. If there is no fear of God in that conscience then there is no guarantee, for the law can always be twisted or evaded, and the ruler, the judge and the people can be deceived. [No change.]

60.	One is not to understand from this that the Islamic social system is based upon conscience alone, but what must be understood is that Islam has another guarantee besides that of mere legislation, and this gives it an advantage - in terms of actual achievement - over systems that rely only on legislation, without support from the conscience or the feelings. [Lacking in eds. 1-2.]

61.	We shall see later that this conscience that Islam fosters and trains has accomplished momentous things that seem like miracles, in the life of the Muslims down through the ages. [No change.]