1955

ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī: His Life and Thought

Leo Neubart

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‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kawākibī: His Life and Thought

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Moshe Perlmann

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'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kāskīdī

His Life and Thought

by

Leo Neubart

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College

for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

1955
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled
'ABD AR-RAHMAN AL-KAWAKIBI
HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT

by

Leo Neubart

Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Moshe Perlmann

Rupiab Gatai

J.C. Haweit

Date 1/31/55
Preface

The literature dealing with 'Abū al-Raḥmān al-Kawkabī, his life and thought, is extremely limited, and what has been written is practically unobtainable at American institutions of learning. Copies of Kawākibī's two published books, the Ḳawākib al-Ḍa‘īf and Tabāt al-Ijtīhād, are not readily accessible at public or university libraries of the United States.

I wish to record my great indebtedness to Mr. D'A BD. AR-RAHMĀN AL-KAWĀKIBĪ, for having taken a personal interest in the preparation of this present study and having spared no effort to secure from some of his Syrian friends a copy of one of Kawākibī's publications and other pertinent literature. Deeply felt gratitude is expressed to Mr. Joseph A. Degher, distinguished Arab bibliographer of the American University of Beirut, for his invaluable bibliographical assistance and his persistent endeavors to locate some of the necessary source materials. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Yarik Z. Turaya, eminent scholar and professor of law at the University of Istanbul for offering his expert opinion about Kawākibī's possible connections with agents of the Young Turk movement, and for graciously presenting to the
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writer his personal copy of Abdullah Cevdet's Turkish translation of Vittorio Alfieri's Della Tirannide, this rendition being unavailable in the United States, but essential to substantiate with documentary evidence deductions made in this study. With keen appreciation I wish to acknowledge the untiring efforts of Dr. Moshe Perlmann of Dropsie College who was most helpful with bibliographical research, enlightening comments, scholarly advice and critical evaluation, and who was most generous in making available countless hours of his time for consultation and manuscript reading.

Arabic terms used in this dissertation are rendered in English transliteration according to the system of transcription ordinarily followed by recognized authorities in the field of Islamic studies.

Where sources cite Muslim dates, the corresponding Christian dates, established on basis of the conversion table of dates (included in the Atlas of Islamic History, compiled by Harry W. Hazard), are given in parenthesis.
List of Abbreviation used in Footnotes of this Study

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<td>Encyclopedia of Islam</td>
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<td>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientaliache Sprachen zu Berlin</td>
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<td>Revue du Monde Musulman</td>
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<td>Die Welt des Islams</td>
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<td>GAL</td>
<td>Carl Brockelmann</td>
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A. R. K. | 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibī
U. Q.    | Umm al-Qurā
T. I.    | Taba'i al-istibdād

References to the literary works of 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibī are submitted according to the pagination of the latest reprints of the books (Cairo 1931), unless otherwise indicated.
System of Transliteration

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Hamza in the beginning of word ignored, in the middle or end of word indicated by ' .

Long vowels are transliterated in the following manner: ُ ِ ٌ َ

Ta marbūta at end of separate term or phrase not indicated.

Tashdīd transcribed by doubling of consonant except in the ending َ which is transliterated: َّYa.
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Introduction

Very little information is available about the life and literary activities of 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi whose ideas of religious, social-educational and political reforms have considerably influenced pan-Islamic thinking of his time and appreciably stimulated subsequent nationalist stirrings among the Arabs. To date neither of Kawakibi's major literary works, the *Umm al-Qura* (the mother of the towns) nor the *Taba'i al-istibdad* (the nature of tyranny) has been translated into any Western language. Pertinent data concerning the author's books given in the two standard works on Arabic literature and bibliography are incomplete. For example, neither makes mention of the important fact that the second edition of the *Umm al-Qura* was serially published in the fifth volume of *al-Manar* (1902/03), and thus brought to the attention of relatively wide reading circles throughout the Islamic

1. Qur. 6.92 and 42.5
All Qur'anic references and quotations are taken from the English translation by Richard Bell,

*The Qur'an* Vol. 1 (Edinburgh 1937)
Vol. 2 (Edinburgh 1939)

The term *Umm al-Qura* is "usually taken as denoting Mecca, but more probably Medina," Bell op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 124

2. GIL, Supplement 3
Yusuf E. Sarkis *Mu jam al-matbu'at al-arabiyya wa-l-mu arraba* (Cairo 1928) col. 1574/6
world. Carl Brockelmann's bibliographical references to literature related to the subject are meagre and poorly selected. For instance, reference is made to a wholly insignificant passage of an article published in the twenty-third volume of al-Mashriq, while the earliest, most comprehensive and undoubtedly most reliable biography of Kawakibī, written by Muhammad Rashīd Rida, is not cited.

The relevant literature written in Western languages is limited to two brief descriptions of Kawakibī's life and works, a number of general statements in the introduction to a collection of documents bearing on the development of the 'Arab Question'.

1. Louis Cheikh – "al-adab al-'arabīya wa-l-mu'arraba" al-Mashriq· Vol. 23 (Beirut 1925) p. 383
   Nejla Izzeddin – The Arab World, Past, Present and Future (Chicago 1953) pp. 89-90
4. Ettore Rossi – Documente sull' origine e gli sviluppi della Questione Araba (1875-1944) (Rome 1944) pp. XII-XIII
and a few valuable remarks concerning the position of Kawākibi in
the pan-Islamic and Arab national movements.

Arabic materials include articles written by a number
of distinguished contemporaries of Kawākibi, a section in the
dictionary of Aleppo personalities, a chapter in the "Who is Who"

1. Richard Hartmann

2. Riḍā Jurjī Zaydān

3. Samī al-Kayyālī

4. ‘Aṣṣad Kawākibi

5. Nadīm Kawākibi

6. Ya‘qūb Sarrūf

7. Burḥān ad-Dīn ad-Deghestānī

8. Muḥammad Rāghib at-Tabbah

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1. Richard Hartmann

"Arabische Politische Gesellschaften bis 1914"
Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islam-
vissenschaft (Leipzig 1944) pp. 439-467

2. Riḍā Jurjī Zaydān

"as-sayyīd A. R. K."

al-Ḥilāl Vol. 10 (Cairo 1902) pp. 594-596

3. Samī al-Kayyālī

"A. R. K."
al-Ḥadīth Vol. 21 (Aleppo 1948) pp. 89-103

4. ‘Aṣṣad Kawākibi

"A. R. K."
al-Ḥadīth Vol. 26 (Aleppo 1952) pp. 542-554

5. Nadīm Kawākibi

Introductory notes to the partial reprint of Ṭabā’i al-istibdād in
al-Mīr wa-s-Sūdan (Cairo 1905) pp. 1-8

6. Ya‘qūb Sarrūf

"as-sayyīd A. R. K."
al-Muṭṭatat Vol. 27 (Cairo 1902) pp. 622-624

7. Burḥān ad-Dīn ad-Deghestānī

"A. R. K."
ath-Thaqafā Vol. 5 (Cairo 1943) pp.610-611

8. Muḥammad Rāghib at-Tabbah

'Ilām an-nubālā’ bi-ta‘rīkh Ḥalāb ash-Shabba’
Vol. 7 (Aleppo 1926) pp. 507-524
1) of Eastern celebrities, a passage in a history of Arab journ-
2) alism and scattered data in a three-volume history of Kawäkibä's
3) native Aleppo.

All this literature contains more of an eloquent
tribute to the man than an analysis of the substance of his think-
ing. More valuable contributions are passages on Kawäkibä in two
4) of Ahmad Amin's works, each including a brief survey of the Umm
5) el-Gurä and the Taba'i' al-istibdad, and a chapter in an anthol-
ogy on Arab thought which formulates some of the underlying
principles in the Taba'i' al-istibdad.

The present study offers a biography of 'Abd ar-Rahman
al-Kawäkibä, a discussion of the Umm al-Gurä and the Taba'i' al-

1. Jurji Zaydan Tarajim mashahir ash-sharo
Vol. 1 (Cairo 1924) pp. 322-324

This passage is almost identical with the author's article
2. Philip D. Tarazi Ta'rikh as-sihafa al- arabia
Vol. 2 (Beirut 1913) pp. 221-223
3. Kamil al-Ghazzi Nahr adh-ghahab fi ta'rikh Halab
Vol. 1-3 (Aleppo 1924-1928)

4. Ahmad Amin Za'ma' al-islah fi al-agr al-hadith
Fayd al-Khatir Vol. 7 (Cairo 1949) pp. 249-279
(The two chapters are almost identical)
5. Ra'if al-Khuri al-fikr al-arabi al-hadith
(Beirut 1943) pp. 204-212
Istibdād, an analysis of Kawākibī's thinking, as reflected in these books, and of the impact which his ideology seems to have had on subsequent Islamic and Arab movements.

'Abd ar-Raḥman al-Kawākibī flourished during the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, first in Ottoman-dominated Aleppo and then in British-controlled Egypt. The years of Kawākibī's active life coincided with turbulent political and intellectual developments which came in the wake of ever-increasing contact between Eastern and Western civilizations.

Kawākibī was an enthusiastic follower of the revolutionary ideas of the Young Turks, a zealous advocate of Islamic reformism, and an ardent supporter and propagandist of what might be termed 'Arab nationalism' which for him meant Islamic revival under Arab leadership. Full comprehension of his doctrines is possible only by constant reference to the intellectual currents which moulded them, social-political stirrings brought about by the penetration of French democratic-revolutionary concepts into the territories of the Ottoman Empire giving rise to vigorous demands for constitutional-administrative reforms which ultimately fused with distinctly nationalist sentiments, and religious trends determined by the recognized need for revitalization of Islam lead—
ing to widespread agitation for religious modernism.

The Penetration of French Revolutionary Ideas

For centuries the Islamic world had been unresponsive and hostile to cultural influences emanating from Christian Europe. The current of French revolutionary ideas which since the end of the eighteenth century began to flow into Egypt under the impact of Napoleon's occupation of the country and Muhammad 'Ali's ambitious programs of reform, and into Turkey as the result of uninterrupted contacts with and pressures by European powers, was the first intellectual movement of foreign origin which in modern times ultimately succeeded in penetrating into the fabric of Muslim thinking. Rapid economic, political and military expansion of European interests throughout the Islamic East may have been an important contributory factor towards making certain articulate elements of the indigenous population more receptive to the process of Westernization, but "the initial attraction of their ideas — is 1) rather to be found in their secularism." It was felt that acceptance of concepts such as "liberty, equality, constitutionalism, nationality, patriotism" and others was not bound to jeopardize

the beliefs and traditions of Muslim civilization. Indeed, while the invasion of Western material culture and political slogans created in the East new patterns of identity and gave rise to new social aspirations, which "were affecting the very basis of group cohesion," they never succeeded in replacing or appreciably weakening the old brotherhood of faith within the religious community.

Modernism of Islam

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, under the impact of Western influences, a group of progressive Muslim intellectuals became increasingly conscious of the decay of Muslim society and the seeming clash between European concepts and Eastern traditions. The first to face the issue squarely was Jamal ad-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897) who was perturbed by the backwardness of the Islamic world and firmly convinced that Islam, properly understood, was not incompatible with ideas of progress. Afghānī’s fundamental teachings aimed at clarification of the doctrine of tawḥīd (Profession of God’s unity), effacement of superstitious beliefs and practices and diffusion of religious-moral education. His methods of religious re-orientation were the assertion of the right of ijtihād (legitimacy of free examination of the religious

1. idem
sources) by authoritative Islamic scholars of the present and the emphatic rejection of the need for taqlid (uncritical acceptance of legal decisions by the theologians of the Middle Ages).

Afghani was an indefatigable activist, regarding political independence as a pre-requisite for progressive development. Hence he sought the unification of all Muslim peoples for a common struggle against foreign encroachments upon their lands, and regeneration of the Islamic countries by education, constitutional liberalism and religious modernism. Thus, Afghani became the first Muslim in modern times to propagate the idea of Pan-Islamism, the unity of the Islamic world under the central leadership of a caliph.

Afghani's disciple Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) gave the concepts of Islamic modernism theological formulation. Like his teacher, 'Abduh believed in the evolutionary development of Islam, advocated free examination and re-statement of the usul (basic religious sources) and called for purification of the faith from the evil influences of later bid'a (innovations). He vigorously condemned the excesses and heresies of the mystical orders without outright rejection of all Sufi "accretions" to the teach-
ings of orthodox Islam. The methods of 'Abduh's liberal, but realistic thinking can be exemplified by citing his attitude towards the saint-cult which had become popular and largely accepted as part of official Islam by *ijma* (consensus) of the 'ulama' (religious leaders). While strenuously opposing superstitious practices of the Sufi brotherhoods engaged in saint-worship, Muhammad 'Abduh did not question the legality of the tenets and rituals of the cult itself. He simply took the compromising stand that "Muslims are not required to believe in the miracles attributed to the saints or to their powers of intercession."

Salafiya

A brief discussion of the Salafiya doctrines is relevant to the understanding of Kawakibi's religious views which are largely those of the Salafiya extremists of al-Manar.

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2. For comprehensive analysis of the Salafiya doctrines see Henri Laoust "Le reformisme orthodoxe des Salafiya" *Revue des Études Islamiques* Vol. 6 (Paris 1932) pp. 175-224

3. *al-Manar*, the most articulate mouthpiece of the Egyptian Muslim reformers, was founded by Muhammad Rashid Rida at the end of Shawwal 1315 H (March 1898). see *al-Manar* Vol. 1, p. 1. For brief summary of the program of *al-Manar* see Charles C. Adams *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London 1933) p. 181
Salafīya designates the doctrines of the Muslim reform movements which tend to refer back to the beliefs and practices of the salaf (the early ancestors, the Islamic community which preceded the period of the orthodox legists). The term is usually applied to the Indian Ahl al-Hadīth and to the wing of the Egyptian modernists grouped around Muhammad Rashīd Rida (1865-1935), founder and editor of al-Manar. Actually, ideas somewhat similar to theirs were the underlying principles of the Wahhabī revivalists, although the latter preferred to refer to themselves by the appellation muwahhidūn (Unitarians). The difference between the moderate reformers and followers of the Salafīya is that the latter replaced the doctrines of the great Islamic scholar al-Ghazzālī (1058-1111) who endeavored to reconcile traditional scholasticism with Sufi intuitive beliefs and rituals by those of the Ḥanbalite fundamentalists and intransigent polemicians Ibn Tāmīya (1263-1328) and his disciple Ibn Qayyīm al-Jawzīya (1292-1350) who were most vigorous opponents to the blind

1. In his discussion of al-Manār, H. Lammens states that "Rashīd Rida, who proclaims himself 'Arab and Quraish', is a fanatical admirer of Ibn Taimiya and has done nothing but accentuate the Wahhabite tendencies of the school."
H. Lammens Islam, Beliefs and Institutions (New York 1926) p. 212

2. Henri Laoust Le califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Rida (Beirut 1938) p. 255
acceptance of the legal decisions by the orthodox law schools and most uncompromising foes of all Ṣufi "innovations." The difference between the fanatical Wahhabis and the more rational Salafis is that the former regarded as their ultimate aim the abolition of the "accretions" to the early teachings of Islam and the return to the cultural level of the age of Muhammad and the first four caliphs (ar-rashidūn), while the latter considered such a return only a pre-requisite for renewal of social conditions, unhampere by legal casuistry.

**Islamic Reformism and Protestantism**

Intellectual-religious fermentations in the Islamic world which commenced with emergence of the revivalist movement inspired by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1791) show striking similarities with many aspects of the earlier Christian reform movement, the Reformation, the religious revolution in Western Europe. Wahhabism, based on rigid puritanism, and later Islamic modernism came as reaction against the decrepitude of official Islam, the Reformation arose from objections to doctrines and practices in the medieval Catholic Church. The Islamic reformers advocated free investigation of the basic sources of their religion, Qur'ān and Sunna, rejecting the principle of uncritical acceptance
of authoritative decisions by the orthodox theologians of the Middle Ages and condemning later corruptions of the faith. The Christian dissidents (Protestants) likewise opposed religious "innovations" which were viewed as aberrations from and alien to the pristine and unadulterated teachings of the Gospels, called for greater devotion to the study of the Bible, fanned discontent with the prevailing depravity and empty formalism of the Church and militantly encouraged repudiation of religious authoritarianism.

Considering the similarities between the fundamental principles and objectives of the Christian and Islamic reform movements, it is not surprising that Muslim adherents to the modernist doctrines displayed a certain amount of sympathy for Protestantism. Muhammad 'Abduh, for example, states:

"When Western peoples began to manifest a greater interest in education, they set out to break the chains of tradition. It was decided to restrict the power of the spiritual leaders and restrain them when they violated religious commandments or corrupted their meanings. In the wake of this development there emerged among the Christians a school (footnote in the French translation: by this is meant Protestantism which, according to Muhammad 'Abduh, is very kindred to Islam) which demanded religious reforms and the return to the simple and
pristine faith. Some Protestant sects profess a belief which is similar to that of Islam; if not for recognition of the mission of Muhammad, the tenets of Islam differ from those of Protestantism only in name and rituals, not in spirit."

This sympathetic attitude toward Protestantism is expressed by Kawakibi in his statement that Catholicism discards the Gospels replacing them by its own interpretations and "accretions," just as Jewish traditionalism turns away from the Torah and clings to the Talmud. On the other hand, non-Muslims, whose beliefs are closest to those of Islam and whose entrance into the community of the faithful is most desirable, are the Protestants and the Kara'ites.

Kawakibi defends his view by stressing the affinity between Muslims seeking "right guidance" from Qur'an and Sunna exclusively, and Protestants who (unlike Catholics) strictly adhere to the texts of the Biblical Scriptures and repudiate all "accretions" which are not rooted in the Gospels, such as concepts of religious authoritarianism, dogmas of papal infallibility, monachism, intercession and saint-worship. He further states that

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1. Muhammad 'Abduh Rishārat at-tawāhid
   French translation by B. Michel and Moustafa Abdal Razik pp. 131-132
2. As-sayyid al-Furati
   Umm al-Qura Reprint (Cairo 1931) p. 31
   Henceforth referred to as U. Q.

- 19 -
the Catholics prohibited due inquiry into the Gospels for the purpose of acquiring accurate comprehension of the idea of Trinity which is the basic dogma of Christianity as "Profession of God's Unity" (tawhid) is the fundamental doctrine of Islam. But finally Protestantism emerged returning the Christian faith to its original simplicity and encouraging arts and sciences which subsequently began to flourish among Western nations, in spite of stubborn opposition by the Catholic priesthood.

Kawakibi's criticism of traditional Islam as comparable to the spirit of Protestantism is vigorously expressed in the statement of the English delegate to the fictitious all-Muslim conference:

"We Muslims of Liverpool, recent converts to Islam, have as former Protestants a traditional tendency to refer for religious guidance only to basic religious sources, the Qur'an and Sunna, repudiating all that is not infallible. We abandoned the faith of our fathers and people in order to embrace the religion of Muhammad, but not that of the Hanifites, Shafi'ites, Malikites or Hanbalites."

An attitude similar to that of the Protestants is,

1. U. Q. p. 124
2. ibid. p. 92 A zealous partisan of the Manar-Salafiya doctrines Kawakibi considers it inconceivable that a former Protestant accustomed to seek religious guidance only from the Biblical Scriptures should accept the traditional view of Islam that every believer must follow one of the four madhahib (orthodox rites)
according to Kawākibī, displayed by "the Karaites, a small Jewish group that accepts the teachings of the Torah and Psalms, but rejects the Talmud, that is the interpretations and additions of the learned doctors and sages (al-ābbar wa-1-hakhamīm)."

The Emergence of a National Consciousness

In Western Europe prior to the seventeenth and in the Islamic East down to the latter part of the nineteenth century, group identity of the people was based exclusively on common religious bonds reinforced by dynastic loyalties.

"Mankind was divided not into Germans, and French and Slavs and Italians, but into Christians and infidels. A Mohammedan in the nineteenth century, if asked about himself and his loyalties, would have answered that he was a Mohammedan and his loyalty was due to Islam and to his prince, who was a Mohammedan prince. A Christian, in Europe of the latter Middle Ages, would have given a similar answer."

Christians regarded themselves as forming a separate community based on the universality of a supra-national creed, and as "people of God" they rejected ideas of loyalty to a specific

1. ibid. p. 93
country. Hostility or profound indifference to concepts of national particularism has, until recently, been clearly apparent in Muslim society which viewed the brotherhood of the believers in Allah as transcending all boundaries of different and distinct nationalities.

It was natural that the diverse elements of the people evinced certain nationalist sentiments such as attachment to a common language and homeland, but notions of linguistic, racial or territorial identification did not lead to the growth of a political consciousness which is the basis of modern nationalism.

In Western Europe the advance of Protestantism heralded the transition from a religious to a nationalist orientation of the masses.

"For the people in whose midst it (Protestantism) arose it meant the awakening of their national consciousness." 2)

"Through the Reformation religion became a symbol of nationality everywhere and provided the means of moulding and expressing national personality." 3)

Among the innumerable factors responsible for this development the most important seem to have been:

1. cf. Frederick Hertz
   Nationality in History and Politics
   (New York 1944) pp. 103-104
2. Kohn op. cit. p. 22
3. Hertz op. cit. p. 118
a. the plurality of religious reform movements, each tending to adapt itself to ethnic-cultural realities and prevailing customs and traditions of its specific locale, and all vehemently opposing concepts of supreme ecclesiastical authorities, and

b. the conduct of religious services in the vernaculars of the indigenous peoples.

As a matter of fact, Eastern churches, whether Catholic or Orthodox, generally perform their rituals in the native languages of the religious communities, Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic and Coptic. But, while as the result of evolutionary developments the vernaculars underwent constant changes, the churches clung to archaic forms of expression sanctified by their usage in sacred books and liturgy, but increasingly unintelligible to the common peoples. The ossified church languages were used by the educated classes for literary purposes, but were out of touch with popular sentiments, and hence not conducive to awakening nationalist feelings. On the other hand, the cultural activities of the Protestants stressing translations of Bible and liturgy as well as delivery of sermons in the languages of the masses helped consolidate the

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1. see Royal Institute of International Affairs
   The Middle East (London 1950) pp. 59-61

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1) Vernaculars and lend them a new dignity. This new religious literature understood by the masses was instrumental in developing an intense nationalist consciousness.

Formation of a National Consciousness in Asiatic Turkey

The beginnings of nationalist stirrings in the Ottoman-dominated territories of Asia date back to the second half of the nineteenth century. The growth of the idea was an evolutionary process, starting with an awareness of and pride in national language, literature and history, giving rise to a political consciousness expressed in vigorous denunciation of Ottoman misrule and despotism and the demand for sweeping constitutional reforms, and ultimately leading to the formulation of distinctly nationalist programs.

Reforms in Turkey, the Young Turk Movement, Ottomanism and the Beginnings of Turkish Nationalism

Since the early part of the nineteenth century internal politics of Turkey were dominated by the quest for reforms in order to reverse the process of imperial decay which was gaining momentum under the impact of ever-increasing foreign pressure and interven-

tion, and as the result of the growing nationalist stirrings among and revolts of the Christian subject peoples, the Greeks having been the first to gain their political independence recognized by the Treaty of London in 1832.

The process of modernization was begun by Sultan Selim the Third (1789-1807) and vigorously continued during the reign of Sultan Mahmud the Second (1808-1839), Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861), and Sultan Abdüllaziz (1861-1876). Chiefly responsible for most of the reform measures were four Ottoman statesmen, Resid Pasa, Ali Pasa, Fuad Pasa and later Michat Pasa, each occupying high government posts including that of grand vezir. At first the Ottoman government envisaged the initiation of effective improvements of the military establishments which constituted the foundation of the State. European instructors and officers were engaged to help re-organize and re-train the Turkish army and navy. During their tours of duty in European capitals, some Ottoman diplomats became intimately acquainted with Western political concepts. Resid Pasa, who, during his service as envoy extra-ordinary in London, had become an enthusiastic supporter of constitutional and parliamentary forms of government succeeded in winning Sultan Abdüllaziz for his plans to introduce liberal reforms into the Ottoman government structure.

1. Carl Brockelmann History of the Islamic Peoples
   English translation by Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann
   (New York 1947) pp. 360-361
Besides the attempts to overhaul the military, administrative, judicial and financial machinery of the Empire, one of the chief objectives of the reform movement was the diffusion of modern education. The study of European languages regarded as the key to the cultural values of Western civilization became widespread, the interest in French having been especially keen. "The admission of the French language into the educational curriculum is the most revolutionary measure in the history of Ottoman culture." 1)

In the wake of greater acquaintance with Western writings a transformation of the whole intellectual outlook was inevitable. Thus, since the middle of the nineteenth century, a rapid transition of Turkish cultural tastes, from traditional Islamic to progressive European orientation, can be observed. Turkish intellectuals sent by their government to Western countries, particularly to France, in order to pursue advanced courses of study in diplomacy and on scientific subjects became deeply imbued with the spirit of French classics and revolutionary political concepts, and upon returning home they began to engage in endeavors to modernize the Turkish language and disseminate Western ideas.

These literary and political activities were spearheaded by three men: Ibrahim Sinasi (1827-1871) and his disciples and collaborators Namik Kemal (1840-1883) and Ziya Paşa (1830-1880).

Sinasi was educated in France where he allegedly participated in the French Revolution of 1848. Back in Turkey, he set about to remodel the Turkish literary idiom in order to render it suitable for the expression of modern European concepts. Sinasi was joined by the young poet Namik Kemal and later also by Ziya who was then serving as secretary to the palace.

In the early 1860's Ziya, in association with several of his educated and politically conscious contemporaries called into being the "New Ottoman Committee." The aims of this organization, numerically small but impressively articulate, were: a) political education and propaganda, and b) the active struggle for administrative reforms along progressive principles of government.

It was inevitable that Ziya incurred the ill-will of Ali Paşa, then grand vezir of Sultan Abdülaziz, who, though reform-minded, was vigorously opposed to the "radical" schemes of the young propagandists. To nip the new activist movement in the bud, Ali Paşa banished its leading spirits from the capital. In 1867, Ziya, Namik Kemal and other intellectuals who had joined the

1. Brockelmann, op. cit. p. 389
"New Ottoman Committee" fled to Europe. Ziya spent the next four years in Paris, London and Geneva until in 1871, shortly after the death of Ali Paşa; he was granted the much-desired permission to return to his native country.

In Paris the forward-looking young Ottomans were called "Young Turks" (Jeune Turcs), the members of this group being the spiritual fathers of the Committee of Union and Progress. However, "the leaders of this group of the 1860's called themselves the New Ottomans (Yeni Osmanlılar). The name is a good indication of their outlook."

During the 1870's the New Ottomans were vigorously and incessantly preoccupied with spreading the concept of "Ottomanism" which can be defined as the attempt to transform the Empire into a progressive multi-national State granting equal rights to all its citizens without distinction of race, language and religion. The New Ottomans were devoted patriots, their nationalism being the belief that "the empire could be reformed and revived within the framework of Muslim tradition and religious law, which they thought was sound enough, and progressive and elastic enough, to

allow the adaptation of new institutions from Europe." From the writings of the New Ottomans, however, transpires their firm belief in Muslim-Turkish superiority. This contradiction prompted Ziya Gokalp, regarded as the spiritual founder of modern Turkish nationalism, to state that "the Tanzimat leaders and Young Turks were not sincere in their recognition of the national rights of the various communities, but used the ideal of Ottomanism as a cloak for the Turkification of the State."

After a brief flurry of liberalism during which Sultan Abdulhamid (1876-1909) was forced to promulgate a constitution, the Ottoman administration reverted to its traditional regime of despotism. The Constitution of 1876 was suspended, the Ottoman parliament which had met for only two sessions sine die adjourned, Midhat Pasa, the founder of Ottoman constitutional law, dismissed from government service, and the Young Ottomans were forced again to leave the country.

The evolution from Ottoman patriotism to Turkish na-

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1. idem
2. Uriel Heyd Foundations of Turkish Nationalism (London 1950) p. IX
3. ibid. p. 73
4. For detailed analysis of the development of "Ottomanism," ethnic Turkish nationalism and Turkish constitutionalism see E. Rossi "Dell' Impero Ottomano alla Repubblica di Turchia" Oriente Moderno Vol. 23 (Rome 1943) pp. 359-388
tionalism began at the end of the nineteenth century and culminated in 1909 with the Young Turks' assumption of government powers.

During the Greek-Turkish war of 1896 we encounter the beginnings of a distinctly ethnic Turkish national consciousness emotionally stirred by Mehmet Emin's poetry which exalted the heroism of the Turkish soldiers. The term "Turk" heretofore regarded as a synonym of barbarism was glorified in Emin's poems one of which opens with: "I am a Turk, my religion and race are noble."

Beginnings of Arab Nationalism

Arab self-consciousness in Central Arabia was the result of Islamic reformism. The Wahhabi movement which aimed at religious revival held non-Arabs, Berbers, Persians and Turks responsible for the existence of Sufi orders and the spread of their superstitious beliefs and practices, and considered itself, Muslim Arabs of the Hanbalite rite, pre-eminently qualified to bring about purification of Islam from later corruptions. This 'Arab Idea' of the Wahhabis which was taken over by the Salafi modernists became the core of 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi's nationalist thinking.

While in Arabia the rise of nationalist feelings came

1. ibid. pp. 370-371
as the result of internal developments within the Muslim community, the evolution from Wahhabi reformism to Arab self-consciousness, national sentiments in Syria and Lebanon were aroused during the latter part of the nineteenth century among the Christian Arabs of the area under the impact of two external stimuli:

1. the discriminatory attitude of the Ottoman authorities towards non-Muslim subjects, and

2. the cultural activities of the foreign missions.

In the Ottoman Empire which was an Islamic State the citizen status of the Muslim Arabs was fundamentally different from that of the Christian Arabs. The Muslim Arabs were fully integrated citizens; even when they voiced displeasure with the government, they retained their respect for the sultan because of his position as caliph. The small group of intellectuals, among them Kawākibī, who denounced existing conditions and demanded political reforms, used as target of their attacks the despotic regime of the sultan, not his suzerainty. A nationalist sentiment expressed in aspirations for political independence or even local autonomy was not voiced by Muslim Arabs prior to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Although attempts were made during the nineteenth century to modernize the political structure of the Ottoman Empire,
and the Hatti Humayun of 1856 committed the government to institute complete legal and social equality among all Turkish subjects without regard to their race or religion, the Christian Arabs were not significantly raised from their position of inferiority. Hence they did not identify themselves with the State, and they felt no kinship to either Ottoman or Arab cultures as both were thoroughly Islamic. This situation made it possible for Christians who were educated in foreign mission schools to be brought increasingly under Western cultural influences.

While educational activities of the Jesuits in Syria and Lebanon had initially no bearing on the movement of nationalist ideas among the Arabs, the efforts of the Protestant missions, active in Lebanon since the third decade of the nineteenth century, gave a powerful impetus to a nationalist awakening. The Protestants who lay a great stress on reading the Gospels and performing church rituals in the native language of the people secured the best literary talents for the purpose of translating the Bible into Arabic. A printing press was brought into Beirut in order to fill the need for school texts and manuals, and higher education

1. Text of document in J. G. Hurewitz
   Documents of Near East Diplomatic History Mineographed) (New York 1951) pp. 74-79
2. For thorough analysis of the position of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire see Davison op. cit. pp. 344-364
stimulated by founding in 1866 the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut. All these activities led to revival of the Arabic language and appreciably contributed to the ultimate emergence of a strong national consciousness.

Subsequently the Catholic missions began also to display greater concern for teaching Arabic in their schools. As the result of the efforts by the missionaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, Christian Arabs became increasingly interested in literature, history and other fields of learning. With the founding of cultural societies they embarked upon a process of intellectual renaissance.

Influenced by Western thought Christians who "could not subscribe to the pan-Islamic idea which was a modern political expression of the old community of Islam" soon formulated the thesis that the Arabs were one of the great nations in history, and that the Christian Arabs had a significant share in the development of pre-Islamic and Islamic Arab culture, many phases of which had no relation to religion. This inspired Christians to take greater pride in the Arabic language and Arab history, and to seek the co-operation of Muslim Arabs for the task of reviving

their joint civilization and its return to past glory and power. This was the beginning of Arab nationalist thinking which in its initial stage was not finding an echo in Muslim circles whose religious and social aspirations were tied to those of the entire Muslim community, its center of gravity being the Ottoman Empire and the caliphate.

1. There is no evidence to support the statement that "the ideas (nationalist) which had originally been sown by Christians were now - roughly at the turn of the century - finding an increasingly receptive soil among Moslems." Antonius: op. cit. p. 95

Writings and activities of individual Muslim Arabs, among them predominantly Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi, are rather isolated phenomena which did not immediately find "a receptive soil among Moslems."
The almost complete lack of a nationalist consciousness among the Muslim Arabs prior to the First World War is more accurately described in the statement that "the war of 1914 found Muslim feeling still predominant. Most Muslim Arabs were still for the Turks, who found sympathy also in British occupied Egypt. But the pressures of the war years and the activities of the Allies led to a rapid development of Arab nationalism." Lewis: op. cit. p. 174
The Biography of ‘ Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi  

The course of ‘ Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi’s life can be roughly divided into three periods: 1) his youth and the greater part of his adulthood in Aleppo, 2) his brief, but intellectually most productive sojourn in Egypt, and 3) his extensive journey across many lands of the Islamic world.  

On June 22, 1902, a few days after Kawakibi’s sudden death, the editor of al-Manar published the first part of his friend’s biography, the second part of which appeared in the ensuing issue of the periodical dated July 7th. During the month of July additional biographical sketches were published by important Arabic journals of Cairo. All these articles and eulogies, written as tribute to the memory of the departed friend and colleague, contain the earliest available data about the story of ‘ Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi’s life.  

For the Aleppo period additional materials which can be considered primary are the pertinent chronicles of the city,
as well as notes and recollections of Dr. As'ad Kawakibi, 1) 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi's surviving son who for years has dedicated much of his life to assembling relevant biographical data and the unpublished manuscripts of his late father. A few heretofore unknown details of Kawakibi's childhood and youth are given in a biographical sketch prepared by his son which, according to Sami al-Kayyal, editor of the Aleppo monthly journal al-Hadith, "will clarify to the historian many obscurities in the life of 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi." 2)

For the two years of Kawakibi's voluntary exile in Egypt we have the above-mentioned articles published in Cairo during June and July of 1902 as well as later writings by some of Kawakibi's intimate friends and newspaper colleagues, all of them distinguished men of the Arabic press and literature. 3)

1. As'ad Kawakibi op. cit.
2. As'ad Kawakibi is currently preoccupied with preparing a new edition of the Tabā'i al-istibdād which will include additions written by his father after publication of the book. see As'ad Kawakibi op. cit. p. 550
   (same article) al-Hadith Vol. 23 (Aleppo 1953) pp. 271-276
   Muhammad Kurd 'Ali al-Mudhakkirat Vol. 2 (Cairo 1948) pp. 210-212
Of Kawākibī's experiences and literary activities during his trip across the greater part of the Islamic world we have little knowledge beyond the itinerary which he followed; but to judge by the unusually articulate character of the man, it may be assumed that invaluable notes and accounts were included in the memoirs which, according to the statement of his son, Kawākibī wrote during the journey. Publication of these memoirs was prevented by the author's sudden death which occurred shortly after his return to Egypt. These manuscripts must have been among the papers of Kawākibī which were seized by Ottoman agents.

Kawākibī's Birth and Early Youth

'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kawākibī was born in Aleppo on the twenty-third of Shawwal 1265 H (September 6, 1849) as recorded in the official vital statistics registry of the city. He was

1. As'ad Kawākibī op. cit. p. 553
2. As'ad Kawākibī states that his father was born on Shawwal 23, 1271 H (July 3, 1855) as inscribed on a marble plate attached to a window of the family residence in Aleppo. As'ad Kawākibī op. cit. p. 543

However, a basic error in the argument given as explanation for the apparent discrepancy between 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kawākibī's official date of birth and that allegedly listed on the above-mentioned marble plate invalidates the son's statement. His explanation is as follows: When in 1876 Sultan Abūlhamīd (note continued on page 38)
the descendant of two illustrious families, on the paternal side

1) his genealogy going back to the Safavid Amir Ibrahim of Ardabil.

2) His father, the learned Shaykh Ahmad al-Kawakibi, was treasurer of the religious court of the city of Aleppo, member of the administrative council of the vilayet, instructor at the great Umayyad

(continued from page 37)

proclaimed a constitution, his father, then twenty-three years old, was keenly interested in representing his province as deputy to the Ottoman parliament, but ineligible for election, as, according to As'ad Kawakibi's statement, the constitution required of elected representatives a minimum age of twenty-five. But, in order to achieve his ambition, his father persuaded the local authorities to change his official date of birth to Shawal 23, 1265 H.

This information was allegedly furnished by As'ad Kawakibi's uncle Mas'ud al-Kawakibi (the younger brother of 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi).

see As'ad Kawakibi op. cit. p. 543

Actually, the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 made a minimum age of thirty mandatory (article 68), and thus the alleged legal manipulation advancing Kawakibi's age from twenty-three to twenty-nine would still not have met the requirement of the electoral law.

For brief analysis of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 see Eric Pritsch "Die Osmanische Verfassung vom 23 Dezember 1876"

MS03 Vol. 26/27

(Berlin 1924) pp. 165-167

1. Ibrahim of Ardabil was the father of Junayd who was responsible for the transformation of the Sufi community of the Safavid shaykhs into a priestly state, see W. Hinz Iran Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert (Leipzig 1936) p. 126 and p. 22

see also Brockelmann op. cit. pp. 318 ff.

2. For details of Ahmad al-Kawakibi's life and works, see at-Tabbah op. cit. Vol. 7 pp. 401-402
Mosque and teacher and director of the Madrasa Kawākibiyya. He died on Dhū-l-Hijja 25, 1300 H (October 23, 1883). Kawākibī's mother was 'Afiya, the daughter of Mas'ud Āl, Mufti of Antioch. Afiya Kawākibī passed away in 1276 H (1859). 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawākibī's younger brother, Muḥammad Mas'ud (1865-1929) attained prominence in the political and intellectual life of Syria.

After his mother's early death, the boy 'Abd ar-Rahman was taken to Antioch where he was raised by his aunt Lady Ṣafiya, a well educated, highly cultured and keenly intellectual woman who for three years took care of her nephew and taught him to read the Qur'ān and speak Turkish, widely used in the Antioch-Alexandretta area. Upon young Kawākibī's return to Aleppo he attended the private school (kuttab) of Shaykh Tahir al-Kalzi where he was trained in Arabic, Persian and Turkish linguistics, and the rudiments of

1. This school was founded in Aleppo by Muhammad Kawākibī, one of A. R. K.'s ancestors. The school is connected with the famous Mosque of Abī Yahya al-Kawākibī.

2. at-Tabbah op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 45-46

3. In 1908 Mas'ud al-Kawākibī was elected to represent Aleppo in the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies; in 1923 he became a member in al-majma' al-īlmi al-ārabi (Arab Academy) of Damascus.

For details about life and works of Mas'ud al-Kawākibī, see Muhammad Raghīb at-Tabbah:

al-Allama Mas'ud al-Kawākibī
Majallat al-majma' al-īlmi al-ārabi
Vol. 10
(Damascus 1930) pp. 44-50
the traditional Islamic course of studies. Two years later the boy was again sent to Antioch where he entered a school of high repute which had on its faculty some prominent relatives on his mother's side including Lady 'Afīfa's uncle Najib who later became private tutor of Khedive Tawfiq's son 'Abbās Hilmi. In 1282 H (1865) Kawākibi returned to his hometown where he attended for a while the Madrasa Kawākibīya, the curriculum of which included courses in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, in the traditional religious disciplines of Muslim theology and jurisprudence, and in modern subjects.

Since his early youth Kawākibi was an avid and diligent reader of books and periodicals dealing with history, political and natural sciences. His attainment in both, canon and civil law, were so considerable that in 1881 the Ottoman authorities appointed him to membership on the board which examined and licensed Aleppo candidates for the legal profession.

Recognizing the variety of subjects which Kawākibi studied at one time or another Rashīd Riḍā remarked that "I do not know whether Kawākibi distinguished himself especially in any particular branch of the arts or sciences, but I am certain that the profundity of logical thinking and keenness of understanding displayed in every field of his diverse learning enabled him to
apply each specific subject more skillfully than professional experts."

With reference to the depth of Kawakibi's (alleged) thinking transpired in the pages of the Tabā‘ī al-istibdād, Rida expressed his amazement at the ease with which Kawakibi treated such difficult scientific subjects as "ethics, political sciences, the history and culture of various nations," although his training in these disciplines had been limited to mere reading of Turkish and Arabic books and newspapers.

Kawakibi's Government Offices

The story of Kawakibi's career in government service is recorded in two official documents:

1. Tarīḵat al-ḥal ar-rasmiya (curriculum vitae) endorsed by al-Mushir 'Uthman Pasha, Wali of Aleppo, and

1. Rida op. cit. al-Manar Vol. 5 p. 241
2. idem
3. For complete Arabic translation of both Turkish-written documents, see Rida op. cit. al-Manar Vol. 5 pp. 238-239 and at-Tabbah op. cit. 'Ilam an-nubala' Vol. 7 pp. 508-509
4. 'Uthman Pasha served two times (though not in succession) as Wali of Aleppo, his first term commenced on Rabi‘-ath-thani 1304 H (January 16, 1887), see al-Ghazzal op. cit. Vol. 3 p. 413
His second appointment to the office of governor was made on (note continued on page 42)
2. Tarjamat al-hal ar-rasmiyya authenticated by al-Wazir

Kā'if Pasha, Wāli of Aleppo.

In 1293 H (1875), at the age of twenty-eight, Kawākibī entered government service with his appointment to the editorship of the administration's official weekly bulletin of Aleppo, the bi-lingual (Turkish-Arabic) Furāt (Euphrates). For five years Kawākibī was connected with the Furāt. On Rabī' al-awwal 5, 1295 H (March 10, 1878) he became honorary secretary ("honorary" implying performance of service without remuneration) of the Aleppo education commission. On Jumādā-th-thānī 2, 1298 H (May 2, 1881) he was named writer of deeds (court-recorder) for the court of

(continued from page 41)

Jumādā-th-thānī 15, 1310 H (January 4, 1893), see ibid. p. 422

"Uthman Pasha was considered one of the most prominent figures during the reign of Abdūlhamid "who endeared himself to the sultan, when, during his service as Wāli of Hijaz, he attempted to assassinate Mīḥāṭ Pasha, the champion of the Young Turks."

Ibid. in 1881 Mīḥāṭ Pasha was banished for life to Ta'īf. "after repeated attempts to poison him he was strangled on April 10, 1883."

E., Vol. 3 p. 432

Kā'if Pasha, the last governor under whom Kawākibī served, was appointed wāli on Sha'ban 5, 1313 H (January 31, 1896), see al-Ghazzi, op. cit. Vol. 3 p. 426

2. The Furāt was founded in Muharram 1284 H (May 1867) as a weekly bi-lingual bulletin of the government. For a year (from the fiftieth to its one hundredth issue) the Furāt came out in three languages, Turkish, Arabic and Armenian, see ibid. p. 393

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first instances and on the sixteenth of the same month to the position of usher of the court (ma'mur al-ijra'). On Ramadān 7, 1298 H (August 5, 1881) Kawākibī was appointed honorary member of the committee charged with examination of candidates for the legal profession, on Rabī' al-awwal 21, 1299 H (February 10, 1882) he became honorary director of the Aleppo official printing establishment. By order of the Ministry of Justice in Constantinople, dated Dhū-l-Qa'da 22, 1299 H (October 1, 1882), Kawākibī was appointed permanent member of the commercial court in the Aleppo province, retaining his position of deed-writer in the court of first instances. In 1303 H (1885/6) he was dismissed from the latter office and sent to prison on the charge of complicity in a conspiracy against the governor. In 1304 H (1886/7), after his release from confinement, Kawākibī was returned to his former position of court-usher. On the twenty-third of Rajab 1310 H (February 11, 1893), after having been out of government service for four consecutive years pursuing his private law practice, he was named president of the Aleppo city council (ra'īs balādiyyat Ḫalab). This was the last appointment listed in the official tarjama signed by Uthman Pasha.

1. see below pp. 54-55
2. The Aleppo city administration had a council (majlis) consisting of a president (ra'īs) and eight members (six Muslims, one Christian and one Jew), see al-Ghazzī, op. cit., Vol. 1 p. 351
3. Kawākibī's appointment to the presidency of the balādiyya was made by Uthman Pasha who had become Wali of Aleppo on the fourth of January 1893, see supra p. 42
The second official personal record includes all the data given in the first curriculum vitae adding the government positions in which Kawakibi served after 'Uthman Pasha's term of office as Wali of Aleppo.

On Rabii'-al-awwal 29, 1312 H (September 30, 1894), Kawakibi was appointed chief secretary of the religious court. In the same year, on Dhul-Hijja 28 (June 22, 1895), he also became inspector of the government tobacco monopoly for the area of the Aleppo vilayet and the Dayr az-Zur mutassarriya. He resigned from the religious court, but returned to it on Dhul-Hijja 9, 1314 H (May 13, 1897). On Rabii'-al-awwal 7, 1315 H (August 6, 1897), Kawakibi was appointed president of the Aleppo Chamber of Commerce and Industry and chairman of the local agricultural bank.

On Rajab 22, 1316 H (December 7, 1898), he was named judge of the religious court of Rashiya, which is located in the vilayet of Damascus.

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1. This appointment was made by Hussein Pasha who had become Governor of Aleppo on Muharram 11, 1312 H (July 15, 1894), see al-Ghazzali, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 423.

2. This appointment was made by Rif'at Pasha who had been appointed Wali of Aleppo on January 31, 1896, see supra p. 142.

3. Neither Rida nor at-Tabbah give year, but following the chronological arrangement of the record it must be 1315 H.

4. Year not given by Rida or at-Tabbah. As'ad Kawakibi lists the date of this appointment as the end of 1316 H, see *As'ad Kawakibi, op. cit.*, p. 546.
The diversity of Kawākibī's important and responsible positions such as newspaper writing and editing, practice of civil and religious law, supervision of commercial establishments, office management, executive administration and the like, attests to the man's versatility, and his reliability in almost any assignment of public trust.

**Kawākibī's Business Activities**

Of the numerous business enterprises in which Kawākibī was engaged the most important was in the tobacco trade. An agreement which he concluded with the Ottoman Government stipulated that he was to purchase all the tobacco consigned to Aleppo and its adjacent territory, take charge of the manufacture and distribution of the tobacco, and pay the administration a fixed sum of money. The first contract with the central authorities was for three years, but serious conflicts with 'Arif Pasha, Wālī of Aleppo, at that time, forced Kawākibī to abandon the tobacco concession before the expiration date of the agreement.

After the dismissal of 'Arif Pasha, Kawākibī went to

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1. 'Arif Pasha became Wālī of Aleppo on Ramaḍān 12, 1307 H (April 24, 1890); see al-Ghazzī op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 416
2. 'Arif Pasha was succeeded by al-Mushīr 'Uthman Pasha; see As ad Kawākibī op. cit., pp. 551-552. 'Uthman Pasha's appointment was made on January 4, 1893, see above p. 42

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Constantinople in order to negotiate for a new contract. Having great confidence in his competence for the tobacco trade Kawakibi was prepared to buy the monopoly for an area including Aleppo and its adjacent territory, as well as the vilayets of Damascus and Beirut. Relatives, however, dissuaded him from taking on such a vast territory, and he ultimately signed a ten year contract with the government which gave him the tobacco concession for Aleppo and Dayr az-Zur.

Kawakibi was successful in his business operations, but within a few years after conclusion of his agreement with the administration an insurrection of Armenians resulted in killing of two officials of his company and plundering of the tobacco stock in a number of localities. Because of unsettled conditions Kawakibi was anxious to disengage himself from his contract obligations. He blamed the Wali of Aleppo for his huge financial losses which, he asserted, could have been prevented if the governor had rushed troops to restrain the rebellious Armenians from pillaging the assets of his company.

Kawakibi’s Building Projects

Kawakibi envisaged a number of important building

1. The Armenian insurrection broke out during Sha’ban 1313 H (February 1893), see al-Ghazzi, op. cit., Vol. 3 pp. 426 ff.
projects, but most of the concessions granted him by the authorities were never exploited or ended in failure. Concessions for which application was made to the government show that Kawākībī intended to:

1. build a harbor at Suwaydīya and a railroad from it to Aleppo;

2. divert the river Sajūr and bring it to Aleppo in order to relieve the water shortage of the city;

3. channel the waters of an over-abundant spring at the foot of a mountain in the vicinity of Idlib into the township.

The waters of the spring had submerged the surrounding land and turned it into a stagnant, disease-breeding swamp. Kawākībī had studied technical and agricultural aspects of the problem and concluded that the project was feasible, and might have improved the inadequate water supply in Idlib, dried up the marsh land and turned it into cultivable soil.

4. provide electric light for Aleppo, Birejek, Mar'ash and 'Urfa by exploitation of a waterfall on the Orontes in the vicinity of Darḵūsh that belongs to the Jīr ash-Shughur.

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1. The plans submitted in 1313 H (1895/6) to the office of Wālī Ra'īf Pasha, were discarded. As ad Kawākībī claims that he has in his possession his father's drafts of this project, see As ad Kawākībī op. cit. p. 547
A thorough technical study had convinced Kawakibi that his plan could be carried out.

5. undertake exploitation of the copper mines at Arghana in the vilayet of Aleppo.

Kawakibi was granted this concession, but after three years of operation the contract was revoked by the authorities.

The Personal Character Traits of Kawakibi

Kamal al-Ghazzl states that since his early youth Kawakibi distinguished himself by his nobility of character, generosity to friends and relatives, contempt for falsehood, deceit, jealousy and slander, his passionate desire for freedom and intense hatred of selfish men. The people of Aleppo generally referred to him as "father of the weak" (abu-đ-da’a’af‘a’). Kawakibi was pious, but far from being a religious fanatic. In the spirit of equality and tolerance he freely associated with Christians and

1. As‘ad Kawakibi speaks of his father’s project to exploit the waterfall of Daphne in Antioch for the electric illumination of Aleppo and Antioch, idem.
1) According to Rashid Riḍa, the most distinctive character features of Kawākibī were clemency, patience, kindness, honesty, determination, courage, humility, compassion for the weak and love of the poor. "I, like everyone who knew him, have been astounded by his habit of patiently deliberating which was carried to such an extent that I began to say that I could see Kawākibī philosophically meditate even before he decided to return the greeting of salām extended to him."

2) The Social Activities of Kawākibī

Kawākibī established what he called a markaz (center) located between the place of his residence and the government offices. People with legal problems came to the center in order to ask for Kawākibī's advice. Usually he succeeded in conciliating the contending parties and saving them from resorting to court procedures. But when litigation was absolutely necessary, Kawākibī referred the case to a lawyer whom he deemed most capable of handling the case in question. The center became so popular "that it was almost more frequently visited than the

1. Zaydān op. cit. al-Hilāl Vol. 10 pp. 596-597
2. Riḍa op. cit. al-Manar Vol. 5 p. 239

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Kawakibi, the Administrative Reformer

Kawakibi's constant transfers from one government department to the next seem to be attributable to his unceasing attempts to introduce administrative reforms in every office to which he was appointed. The statement of Rashid Rida "that the intention of everything that Kawakibi did or tried to do was determined by its usefulness to the public" is in line with Kawakibi's stated opinion "that the best of the community is the one that is most useful to it" (khayr an-nas anfa'ihum li-n-nas).

In order to circulate his reform ideas Kawakibi's first undertaking was to publish an independent political newspaper. With the assistance of Hashim 'Attar he founded in 1295 H (1878) the weekly Shahba' (ash-Shahba' is a surname of Aleppo). The paper was edited by Kawakibi with the

1. ibid. p. 278
2. ibid. p. 240
3. T. I. p. 116; also U. Q. p. 162
4. The date of publication given by Rida as 1293 H (1876/7), see Rida op. cit. al-Manar Vol. 5 p. 238, is erroneous. At-Tabbah states that he had the opportunity to see the twelfth issue of the Shahba' which was dated Jumada-th-thani 29, 1295 H (June 30, 1878). He found a copy of this issue in the possession of As ad al-'Ayntabi, a (note continued on page 51)
active support of a group of Aleppo intellectuals. Because of the intransigent tone of its political liberalism, the organ was closed by the government after it had published only fifteen issues. A year later, in the month of Sha'ban 1296 H (July 1879), Kawakibi, in association with the above-named Hashim 'Attar, established another political mouthpiece, the bi-lingual (Turkish-Arabic) \textit{I'tidal} (moderation). At first the authorities presumed that the \textit{I'tidal} would pursue a moderate political course as its name seemed to suggest, but when continued criticism and opposition made its attitude towards the administration unmistakably clear, the publication

(continued from page 50)

prominent citizen of Aleppo.

at-Tabbâh \textit{op. cit.} Vol. 7 p. 523

Tarazi states that the \textit{Shahba\textsuperscript{1}} was founded on May 1, 1877;

Tarazi \textit{op. cit.} p. 223

The dates given by at-Tabbâh and Tarazi are not necessarily contradictory. While originally conceived as a weekly, it is quite possible that a year elapsed before the twelfth issue of the publication came out. The date furnished by Tarazi is also in agreement with al-Ghazzi\textsuperscript{2} statement that the \textit{Shahba\textsuperscript{1}} was founded in 1294 H (January 16, 1877 - January 5, 1878).

al-Ghazzi \textit{op. cit.} Vol. 3 p. 404

1. \textit{idem}

2. at-Tabbâh states that he saw the first issue of the \textit{I'tidal}; also in the possession of the above-named Aleppo citizen, the paper was dated Sha'ban 5, 1296 H (July 25, 1879).

At-Tabbâh \textit{op. cit.} Vol. 7 p. 523

The same date is also given by Tarazi,

Tarazi \textit{op. cit.} p. 223

The \textit{I'tidal} was owned by Hashim 'Attar, and edited by Kawakibi and Sa'id Bek ibn 'Ali.

al-Ghazzi \textit{op. cit.} Vol. 3 p. 406
was suppressed by the government.

In the course of his government service Kawakibi endeavored to initiate a great number of needed administrative improvements. When he served as president of the city council, he had, over the opposition of most local merchants, iron chains affixed on roads leading to the centre of a big city market, his purpose being the prevention of the heavy camel traffic in the congested bazaar area from endangering the lives and obstructing the free movement of the people. Kawakibi showed a keen concern for the operations of subsidiary departments of the city administration. Thus, for example, he was not afraid to attack the corruptive practices in the management of the local steel yard. This concession of vital interest to the public was monopolized by one wealthy citizen whose close relations with high government circles enabled him to conduct his operations without outside interference. However, when he heard of the newly appointed president of the city council who insisted that every official, no matter how high his rank and position, was accountable for his handling public affairs, he hurriedly offered Kawakibi an annual payment of over 40,000 piasters in return for official non-interference. Realizing the public treasury's need for funds Kawakibi consented to the deal without, however, taking a penny for himself. When the wali heard of the
increase in public revenue, he demanded his share, but Kawākibī refused to comply.

To combat dishonesty among government workers Kawākibī increased their salaries, because he was aware that inadequacy of the employees' income was the prime cause for taking bribes.

After Kawākibī was dismissed from the office of baladīya chief, the wālī insisted that Kawākibī return to the public treasury the increments paid to city officials during his term in office, and that he also refund the money spent for purchase of the iron chains placed on the city roads.

When chief secretary of the religious court Kawākibī set about to improve prevailing physical conditions and administrative procedures which he deemed intolerable. For this purpose he spent money from his own pocket, where public funds were not available. Kawākibī divided the waiting area of the court into two sections, one for men and one for women, separated by curtains which he had personally donated. Seating accommodations were provided for everyone who had to wait for his turn to appear before the judge. Time schedules were arranged and registers set up.

1. Kawākibī could do this because he was a member of a wealthy office-holding family of Aleppo.
In his office of tobacco inspector Kawakibî was annoyed by the fact that of all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire the Aleppo vilayet was the only one to run up a deficit in this monopoly. He ascribed this deplorable condition to activities of hundreds of people engaged in smuggling tobacco into and selling it throughout the province. Rashîd Rida credits Kawakibî with "admirable wisdom shown in paying the smugglers a regular stipend in order to prevent them from carrying on their illegal trading."  

Kawakibî was ceaselessly engaged in introducing necessary reforms, but what was most unusual "that for needed improvements Kawakibî spent more than what he received as compensation for his services, a phenomenon rarely encountered in the East."  

The Opposition of the Aleppo Authorities to Kawakibî  

It has been previously mentioned that persistent efforts to initiate administrative reforms weakened Kawakibî's tenure in government service. At times his clashes with the authorities were followed by drastic measures. In the beginning of 1304 H (1886) Kawakibî was suddenly dismissed from his

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1. Rida, op. cit.  
2. ibid. p. 277  

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office of court-recorder and, together with a group of Aleppo notables, sent to prison on charges of instigating the attempted 1) assassination of Jamīl Pasha, then Wālī of Aleppo. On the twelfth of Rabī‘ al-awwal, 1304 H (December 9, 1886), when Jamīl Pasha was appointed Governor of Hijaz to be replaced by ‘Uthman Pasha, then Wālī of Hijaz, Shakir Pasha was ordered to substitute for the newly appointed wālī until his arrival to Aleppo. Shakir’s first official act was to release the prisoners held on the above-mentioned charges.

The extra-ordinarily corrupt and oppressive regime of ‘Arif Pasha who in April 1890 was appointed Wālī of Aleppo provoked the anger of Kawakibi who instigated a number of distinguished citizens to complain to the proper authorities of the central administration in Constantinople. Urged by and in collusion with a group of prominent Aleppo personalities, the governor had a constable testify that Kawakibi was scheming to found a subversive organization its aim being the over-

1. On Safar 16, 1304 H (November 14, 1886) an Armenian lawyer attempted to shoot the wālī. For details of this incident, see al-Ghazzā’i op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 410-411.
2. Jamīl Pasha was appointed wālī in 1297 H (1879/80), see ibid. p. 406 and dismissed from this office on Rabī‘ al-awwal 12, 1304 H (December 9, 1886), see ibid. p. 413.
3. idem
4. cf. supra p. 45.
throw of the government. The accused was sent to jail, his office and private residence searched, his books and papers confiscated. It is alleged that the investigating official placed among Kawakibi's papers a forged document "which, in distorted handwriting, contained an appeal to consuls of foreign powers urging them to foment war against the Ottoman administration and free the country from the oppressor." On advice of the wali the local Department of Justice decided to try the defendant on charges of treason. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to a term in prison. The fact that, according to the penal code, an act of treason made capital punishment mandatory provided Kawakibi with the pretext of calling to the attention of higher authorities the judiciary incompetence of the Aleppo court and demanding a re-trial by the court of another locality. The Ministry of Justice in Constantinople acceded to the request and transferred the case to Beirut. When more than fifty witnesses presented themselves to testify against Kawakibi and pretended to know all about an alleged conspiracy, the presiding judge concluded that the incident was a trumped-up charge, and he unhesitatingly acquitted the defendant.

1. As'ad Kawakibi op. cit. p. 551
Kawakibi's Journey to Egypt

Kawakibi never took up his official duties in Rashiya.

It is related that the government had made the appointment at the instigation of Kawakibi's enemies who wanted to remove him from the vilayet of Aleppo. When they noticed Kawakibi's reluctance to depart for Rashiya they hired a group of ruffians who lay in wait for him and wounded him in the chest. As soon as Kawakibi had sufficiently recovered from the injury and was able to leave his sick bed, he decided to leave the country. In the beginning of 1317 H (1899), under the pretense of proceeding to the locality of his new position, he secretly left Aleppo heading for Egypt where he arrived sometime during the latter part of 1899.

On the day prior to his departure Kawakibi paid a visit to his friend Kamil al-Ghazzal whom he informed of his

1. Nadim Kawakibi op. cit. p. 7
2. idem

Kawakibi left Aleppo in the beginning of 1317 H (1317 H commenced on May 12, 1899 and ended on April 30, 1900), see As'ad Kawakibi op. cit. p. 552, following his appointment to the religious court of Rashiya which was made at the end of 1316 H (1316 H commenced on May 22, 1898 and ended on May 11, 1899), see ibid. p. 542

Kawakibi's own statement that he left in the beginning of Muharram 1316 H (May 1898), see U. Q. p. 4, can hardly be taken as historic fact. The information is as fictitious as the entire book in which it is furnished.
intention to travel to Constantineople in order to have his latest appointment changed. Al-Ghazzi, however, was aware of Kawakibi's intense desire to publish his Siyilj Jam'Iyat Umm al-Qura the manuscript of which Kawakibi had shown him on a previous occasion. As, under prevailing circumstances, printing of a political book was possible only in Cairo, removed from Ottoman censorship, al-Ghazzi warned his friend to stay away from Egypt whence the Turkish authorities would not permit him to return home on account of his well-known critical views of the government. As suspected by al-Ghazzi, on the following day Kawakibi left the city accompanied only by his son Kazim.

Kawakibi arrived in Egypt at a time when the intellectual life of the country was astir as the result of the struggle between religious orthodoxy and progressive modernism. The Manar published since March 1898, first as a weekly and then as a semi-monthly periodical, had become the most articulate mouthpiece of the Muslim reformers. The views of the conservative religious elements backed by the venerable Azhar were voiced in the daily Mu'ayyad which 'Ali Yusuf had founded.

1. Reported by Kamil al-Ghazzi as quoted by al-Kayyali op. cit. pp. 94-95
in the end of 1889.

The Literary Works of Kawākibī

Both of Kawākibī's major literary works, Umm al-Qurā and Tabā'i al-istibdād, were pseudonymously published in Cairo with no date or place of publication affixed to the early editions. The manuscript of Umm al-Qurā, initially prepared in Aleppo, underwent six revisions before it was finally reduced to print under the title of Sijill Jamʻiyat Umm al-Qurā (The Proceedings of the Mecca Conference). This early edition of the Umm al-Qurā may be the one referred to as Sijill mudhakarat.

1. The first issue came out on December 1, 1889, see 'Alī Yūsuf Muntakhabat al-Muʻayyad 1890 (Cairo 1906) p. 1
   Al-Muʻayyad was pledged to a policy of loyalty to the Ottoman sultan and bitter opposition to British colonialism. For detailed information, see 'Umar ad-Dasuqī ash-Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf al-Kitāb Vol. 3 (Cairo 1948) pp. 232 ff.
   Martin Hartmann The Arabic Press of Egypt (London 1899) pp. 11-14, p. 55
   J. M. Landau Parliaments and Parties in Egypt (Tel Aviv 1953) pp. 140 ff.
   Adams op. cit.

2. cf. supra p. 58

3. Riṣā op. cit. al-Manār Vol. 5 p. 279
   Most copies of the first printing of this edition were bought up by Turkish agents and disposed of. There is no evidence that any of those copies are still in existence.
jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura aw mu’tamar an-nahda al-islamiya (The Account of the Deliberations of the Mecca Conference, or the Congress for Islamic Revival). The first edition of Umm al-Qura seems to have come out in 1318 H (1900/1901), and within a year after its publication a second printing allegedly came off the press.

The book contains the verbatim proceedings of an imaginary conference for Islamic revival, allegedly held at Mecca during the month of Dhu-l-Qa‘da 1316 H (that Muslim month began on March 13, 1899), and an appendix outlining the characteristics and functions of the proposed Arab caliphate. The most important passages of the composition are:

1. Agenda of the Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura;
2. Symptoms of Decay;
3. Discussions of the causes which led to the decadent conditions,

Carl Brockelmann designates this edition of U. Q. as the second, considering the fourth edition of U. Q. the first.
2. As‘ad Kawkibi op. cit. p. 548
Rida states that "when he (Kawkibi) left for Egypt, the first thing he did was to print the Si‘illi Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura."
Rida loc. cit.
3. As‘ad Kawkibi loc. cit.
5. ibid. pp. 19-20
6. ibid. pp. 19-64
1) What is true Islam?
2) Summary of the causes of decline,
3) The introduction to the canun (constitution) of the proposed Jam‘iyat ta‘lim al-muwahhidin (the society for the education of the faithful) containing the resolutions passed by the Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura,
4) The constitution of the projected organization,
5) The distinctive features of Arabia and its people, properties which pre-eminently qualify them for the assumption of leadership in the struggle for religious rejuvenation,
6) The proposed Arab caliphate, its organizational structure and functions.

Roughly the Umm al-Qura can be divided into two parts:

1. The decline of Muslim society and the causes which brought about this situation, and
2. Suggested remedies, religious and practical education of the masses through founding of legally constituted societies, controlled by the proposed Jam‘iyat ta‘lim al-muwahhidin, and attainment of religious unification of the Muslim world through establishing an Arab spiritual caliphate.

2. ibid. pp. 136-152  5. ibid. pp. 193-197
After publishing *Umm al-Qura* Kawakibi, a complete stranger upon his arrival in Egypt, rapidly became known in the literary circles of Cairo. Some of the most distinguished Arab journalists and newspaper editors were counted among his intimate friends, Muhammad Rashid Riḍa of *al-Manār*, Jurji Zaydan of *al-Hilal*, ‘Alī Yusuf of *al-Mu‘ayyad*, Ibrāhīm Salīm an-Najjar of *al-Musaffam*, and Muḥammad Kūr ‘Alī associated with many important papers and periodicals, to name only a few.

Rashīd Riḍa expressed a generally held opinion when he stated that "the reader of the book (i.e. *Umm al-Qura*) is inclined to conclude that the author of the composition spent most of his life engaged in extensive research in the present conditions, historical records, scientific and literary achievements, and customs and traditions of the various Muslim peoples." While Riḍa, as an individual and as editor of *al-Manār* generally identified himself with most of Kawakibi's views, he emphatically dis-

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1. Zaydan *op. cit.* *al-Hilal* Vol. 10 p. 595
2. In Cairo Kawakibi was greatly influenced by the Arab intellectuals, but before his coming in close contact with the religious modernists of Egypt, he considered himself primarily a Young Turk. The writer shares the view of Professor Tarık Z Tunaṣ (expressed to him in a personal letter dated June 18, 1954) that "from the ideas (contained in T. I. and U. Q.) it can be concluded that Kawakibi himself was a Young Turk who had the opportunity to learn a lot from his Jewish and Christian friends. In Cairo, a hospitable asylum for Young Turk refugees, Kawakibi could easily obtain the books, pamphlets and manuscripts of the Turkish revolutionaries."
3. Riḍa *loc. cit.*
agreed with his friend on what he called an un-Islamic concept, i. e., the proposed separation between religious and political authorities.

In March of 1902 al-Manar called the attention of its readers to the Sijill Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura and published the author's exhortation which prefaces his book:

"Thou that comest across these studies —

Know that these investigations form a logical chain of inter-related ideas, one gradually leading to the next, therefore the beginning and the end of the book should not be studied separately. Superficial paging through the publication is not enough, diligent reading is absolutely essential. If you are one of the rightly guided, you will examine these writings from cover to cover before exposing them to criticism. But if you do not care to concern yourself with your obligations to your faith and yourself, being an adherent to the principle of taqlid (uncritical acceptance of authority), a captive of imaginations, removed from and indifferent to original thinking, then I adjure you not to commit an act of negligence to which I have become accustomed.

1. Rida
2. Rida

loc. cit.
"Sijill Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura“ (Review of the book) al-Manar Vol. 4 (Cairo 1901/02) p. 956
Pass this study to one of your fellow men, so that he may form his opinion."

In the above-mentioned issue of al-Manar the editor reviewed Umm al-Qura and also spoke of a promise which he had made to the author of the book to the effect that the entire composition, apart from some minor textual revisions "made necessary by exercising sound judgment", would be serially published in the next, i.e. the fifth volume of al-Manar.

In his brief review Rashid Riṣā described Umm al-Qura as a remarkable treatise dealing with problems of Islamic reform. The author of the work, a distinguished philosopher and student of social sciences, named in the book "as-Sayyid al-Furāṭī" and serving as the elected secretary of his imaginary Jam‘īyat Umm al-Qura collected the views of all religious reformers and transmitted them in the form of discussions carried on during the twelve meetings of the fictitious Mecca conference.

The congress is depicted as having been attended by twenty-two delegates, each representing one specific region of the Islamic world. The deliberations allegedly dealt with three cardinal problems:

1. idem, in U. Q. p. 2
1. Religious, social and political conditions of the Islamic countries,

2. Explanation of the causes which led to the prevailing decrepitude, and the proposition of methods for improving the situation, and

3. (In the end of the book) the forty-eight articles of the code drafted by the conference for the Jam‘iyat ta‘līm al-muwahhidin which it proposed to call into being.

"But in the course of debating political issues some members of the (fictitious) conference are alleged to have made a number of derogatory remarks with regard to the Ottoman State. These statements that only the "initiates" (al-khawass) should consider are bound to hurt the majority of the people. Therefore, when we publish the book in the issues of the next volume of al-Manar, I shall delete what was unfortunately printed."

As announced, in the fifth volume of al-Manar the text of Umm al-Qura was serially reprinted, the name of the

1. The text of U. Q. in the following sections of al-Manar Vol. 5
pp. 26-32       pp. 381-385
pp. 65-71       pp. 501-502
pp. 105-110     pp. 668-678
pp. 141-146     pp. 703-710
pp. 182-190     pp. 771-778
pp. 222-228     pp. 825-826
pp. 304-308     pp. 826-833
pp. 344-349     pp. 859-864
pp. 899-910

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author not being mentioned. Bearing no title the book was simply introduced as \textit{al-kitab al-maw'ud bi-nashibi} (the book the publication of which was promised). At the end of the last section the editor makes a statement part of which is repetition of what he had already mentioned in the last issue of the preceding volume, namely that the author of \textit{Sijill Jam'iyat Umm al-Qura} had given \textit{al-Manar} the authority to correct the wording of the original and delete from the text certain derogatory remarks with reference to the Government of the Ottoman Empire. However, in answer to the request by the public for an unexpurgated version of the composition Rashid Rida declared that the regular readers of his journal, familiar with the high standards and editorial policies of \textit{al-Manar}, were completely confident that the text would be published in full, modified only by occasional substitution of more precise phraseology or accurate terminology for less appropriate expressions used in the original.

Indeed, apart from the omission of the passage in which Kawakibi speaks of his keen anticipation that the Khedive of Egypt would actively support the \textit{Jam'iyat ta'lim al-muwahhidin}, deletion of two paragraphs mentioning the Turks' indifference to the interests of the Islamic community as displayed by their shameless

1. Rida \textit{al-Manar} Vol. 5 p. 910
2. U. Q. pp. 188-189
abandonment of vast Muslim-inhabited territories in Spain, Asia 1) and Africa, and the elimination of the draft of a secret writing 2) code, the textual revisions made by the editor were few and immaterial.

The deleted section concerning the Egyptian viceroy is part of the statement by the chairman of the Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura with reference to the temporary headquarters of the projected Jam‘iyat ta‘lim al-muwahhidin which, according to a resolution 3) passed by the Mecca conference, was to be in Egypt, the abode of knowledge and freedom, and because it was strongly hoped that His Excellency ‘Abbas the Second would protect the agents of the society and support their endeavors. The chairman further mentioned that the khedive was well known for his religious zeal and Arab-national enthusiasm. Kawakibi continues with praises of Khedive ‘Abbas who, it is asserted, was greatly concerned with social, political and scientific progress of his country. The author concludes with the statement that all the reforms which were initiated in the Ottoman Empire by liberal Turks were patterned after those which had been previously put into effect in Egypt. The version

1. U. Q. p. 211
3. The Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura had resolved that the central office of the proposed society be temporarily located at Port Said or Kuwait, see U. Q. p. 173
of *al-Manār* simply states that the delegates of the Jam‘iyat
*Umm al-Qurā* resolved to establish the temporary center of the
proposed society in Egypt because the country was an abode of
learning and freedom.

A later edition of *Umm al-Qurā*, entitled *Umm al-
Qurā* ay ḍabt wa-mufāwādat wa-mucarrarat mu‘tamar an-nahda al-
islāmiya (Mecca, that is organization, discussions and resolutions
of the congress for Islamic revival) seems to have come out
after Kawākibī’s death because the author’s name, ar-Raḥḥāla al-
Kawākibī (the traveller al-Kawākibī), never mentioned in editions
published during his lifetime, is given on the title page of the
book. The publisher also remarks (on title page) that with the
passing of the author the literary circles have lost a great writer
(faqadat bihi al-kuttāb a‘zam katib).

After the Turkish revolution of 1908, the publishing
company “matba‘at at-taṣāqaddum” of Cairo printed what it called
(on title page) the fourth edition of *Umm al-Qurā* with a pref-
ace by Ibrāhīm Fāris, editor of the book and owner of “al-maktaba
ash-sharqiya.” This edition entitled *Umm al-Qurā* ay ḍabt muṣawā-
adat wa-mucarrarat mu‘tamar an-nahda al-islāmiya is designated as

1. *al-Manār* Vol. 5 p. 360
2. This is the early edition to which the writer refers; for pas-
sages omitted from the reprint of *U. Q.* of 1931
3. This edition has been taken as the first edition of *U. Q.*, see GAL loc. cit.
the composition of as-Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi, the late scholar and patriot (faqīd al-'ilm wa-al-waṭan al-marrhum) and contains a biographical sketch of the author.

In his foreword to the fourth edition, the editor Ibrahim Faris states:

"Since the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution the light of liberty has been radiating over all the Ottoman lands. Speech and press are free again after they had been suppressed for a period of thirty years. Heads bow at the mere mention of the names of those of whom it was prohibited to speak, because only their gallant struggle during this long epoch made it possible that life was restored to us after its extinction, strength after feebleness, and liberty after enslavement, and that the Ottoman nation could embark upon a new age which seems to herald a glorious future, full of boon and bliss. And the credit, nay all the credit for this most heavenly favor, is due to those who gave their all in order to attain this cherished aim. Some of them died as martyrs during the struggle, other are still alive sharing with their Ottoman brethren joy and happiness. Among those who played a major

1. 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi
   Umm al-Qura
   Fourth edition
   (matba'at at-tacaddum of Cairo, no date)
   pp. 5-8
   This biographical sketch is a reprint of Jurji Zaydan's article "as-Sayyid A. R. K." al-Hilal Vol. 10 pp. 594-6
role in smashing the shackles of ignorance and freeing the minds from the straps of tyrants and oppressors, was the distinguished scholar, lost to learning and homeland, the late 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi, author of *Tabā'ī al-istibdād* and *Umm al-Qura*. These two books can be counted among the most outstanding publications in which the intellectuals take pride, and from which they obtain light in the darkness of oppression.

This present book, i.e. *Umm al-Qura*, was printed three times; the copies of the first edition were bought up by imperial order (from the office of the sultan) and burnt as an offering on the altar of tyranny and enslavement. Then it was printed again and again, but the second and third editions were so eagerly received by the educated that all the printed copies were sold out.

As the people in the Ottoman lands were kept from this precious literary contribution — 'during the tyrannous regime' the mere presence of a copy in somebody's dwelling was sufficient to bring doom upon the owner — we deem it a cultural service to enable our Ottoman brethren to get acquainted with *Umm al-Qura*. Therefore we decided to prepare a fourth edition which, unlike the preceding ones, contains
a picture and biographical sketch (taken from al-Hilāl) of the author. Great concern was shown for perfecting the print and improving the quality of the paper. The product turned out very handsomely, a valuable contribution to literature and learning.

Ibrāhīm Fāris
Owner of al-maktaba ash-sharīya.

Soon after his arrival in Cairo Kawākibī became a regular literary contributor to the local Arabic press; most of his columns appeared in the daily Mu‘ayyad, to whose owner ‘Alī Yusuf Kawākibī had been introduced by his friend Rashīd Riḍā. In one of his articles Kawākibī urged his newspaper colleagues to devote more of their columns to discussions of the problems of despotism, its nature, causes and effects on human society. While there was little response on the part of his fellow journalists, Kawākibī dealt with the pertinent issues in a series of articles which allegedly “the reading public welcomed and immensely enjoyed.” When the first column on the subject of tyranny was anonymously published in al-Mu‘ayyad, the readers of the article generally presumed that its daring author was no other than Muḥammad

Abduh who alone was considered capable of displaying such a revolutionary spirit. However, it soon became common knowledge that ‘Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi, a recent immigrant from Syria, was the writer of the popular articles.

Prompted to make the scattered and fragmentary literary contributions the subject of a more fundamental and comprehensive study, Kawakibi began to prepare what became his second major work, the *Taba'i‘ al-istibdad wa-masari‘ al-isti‘bad* (the nature of tyranny and the battlegrounds of enslavement). The book was published by the *matba‘at al-tawfic* printing company, name of the author given as "ar-Rahhala K."

Since a review of the study appeared in the March 11, 1901 issue of *al-Manar*, it is evident that the first edition of the *Taba'i‘ al-istibdad* must have come out, at the latest, in the beginning of 1901. The work includes all pertinent materials previously published as newspaper articles and products of additional research, "some of it being the product of my research, some of it what I quoted from others."

The treatise as a whole can be regarded as ‘Abd...
طبرّائع الإستباد
ومصادر الاستعباد

وهي
كما حق وصيحة في واد أند ذهب اليوم مع الرج،
لقد تذهب عدا بالواد
مجرها
هو الرحلة.

حقوق الطبع محفوظة

طبعة المطبعة العامة لشعر الجاهلية
ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi's political philosophy, his critical exposition of the Islamic governments. The author, however, strongly emphasizes that his verbal attacks are not directed against any specific ruler or government, his primary objective being to make the people of the East recognize that they themselves are causing the deplorable situation in which they find themselves, and that "perhaps those that have a spark of life left in them may feel impelled to correct matters before they die."

The book consists of an introduction defining the terms "tyranny" and "tyrant," and the following eight chapters dealing with the impact of despotism on human society:

1. Tyranny and Religion
2. Tyranny and Science
3. Tyranny and Glory
4. Tyranny and Money
5. Tyranny and Morals
6. Tyranny and Education
7. Tyranny and Progress
8. Tyranny and the Rescue from it

1. idem
2. ibid., pp. 3-11
3. ibid., pp. 12-27
4. ibid., pp. 28-34
5. ibid., pp. 34-52
6. ibid., pp. 52-66
7. ibid., pp. 67-84
8. ibid., pp. 84-98
9. ibid., pp. 98-122
10. ibid., pp. 123-136
The revolutionary tone of Kawakibi's publications actuated the royal palace of Sultan Abdulhamid to issue a sentence for Kawakibi's execution and confiscation of his property. Both, the Umm al-Qura and Taba'i al-istibdad, were banned from the territories controlled by the Ottoman authorities; nevertheless they were "secretly circulated among Arab nationalists in Syria." In order to prevent circulation of the two books in Egypt, agents of the Turkish government visited the Cairo book shops buying up most of the copies of the first editions. Within a year, however, the second editions of the two works were published. In 1902/03 the second edition of Umm al-Qura was serially reprinted in the Manar. In 1905 the greater part of the Taba'i al-istibdad was included in the Dalil Migr wa-as-Sudan (Indicateur de l'Egypte et du Soudan).

The manuscript of another work by Kawakibi, entitled Saha'iif Quraysh (Pages of Quraysh), was ready for the press, but the author's prolonged journey and then his sudden death prevented publication. Allusion to this work was made

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs op. cit. p. 19
2. cf. supra pp. 66-68
3. The lasting popularity of Kawakibî's writings is evidenced by the fact that the maktaba tijariya al-kubra of Cairo made another reprint of both books as late as 1931.
by Kawakibi in his introductory note of the *Umm al-Qura* in which he calls on the readers to anticipate further publications by the *Jami'at ta'lim al-muwahhidin* which would bear the title *Sahif Quraysh* and play an important role in the scholastic and moral rebirth of the Islamic world. A fourth book, entitled *al-'azma li-llah*, was also in preparation; the introduction to this study, a political treatise, was read by Kurd 'Ali. In all probability, the unpublished manuscripts of both, the *Sahif Quraysh* and *al-'azma li-llah*, were among Kawakibi's papers which, shortly after his death, were seized by Ottoman agents in Cairo and sent to Constantinople.

When, after his prolonged journey, Kawakibi returned to Egypt, he added to the *Taba'i 'al-istibdad* many passages which were written by the author on the margins and between the lines of a printed copy of the book and, where space was not sufficient, on separate sheets. The enlarged version of the *Taba'i 'al-istibdad* was the only manuscript which did

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   This passage is omitted in the 1931 reprint of *U. Q.*
3. After Abdulhamid's deposition As'ad Kawakibi searched for the manuscript of the *Sahif Quraysh* in the national libraries of Constantinople, but could find no trace of it. As'ad Kawakibi, *op. cit.* p. 549
4. A few selections from the unpublished additions to *T. I.*, see *al-Hadith* Vol. 26 pp. 555-558
not fall into the hands of the sultan's servants who searched Kawākibī's dwelling after his death. Upon noticing the approach of the Turkish agents, the author's son Kazīm hurriedly hid the book in an excavation which was in the kitchen of the house. When, ten days later, the manuscript was removed from its hiding place, legibility of the pages had been injuriously affected. Kazīm Kawākibī took the book to his late father's friend Rashīd Ri̇ā who, in later years, made repeated attempts, but apparently with little success, to reconstruct the text.

In 1920, when Ri̇ā was in Damascus in order to attend the Syrian congress, he met with Asʿad Kawākibī who took from him the manuscript with the solemn promise to try his best to solve the problem of the partially effaced additions. With application of chemical solutions he ultimately succeeded in improving the condition of the injured pages and rendering the manuscript legible. Only less than fifty words could not be satisfactorily restored. Since the early 1930's Asʿad Kawākibī has been planning to prepare a new edition of the Tabaʿī al-ʿalistibdād to consist of the original text supplemented by all subsequent additions, but circumstances seem to have prevented him from carrying out his plan. In September of 1952 Asʿad Kawākibī made the statement that "I am still waiting for the
first possible chance to get the manuscript ready for the press and publish it, and with the help of God this will be very soon."

**Kawakibi's Practical Political Activities in Egypt**

While there is no concrete evidence or reliable reference that, during his brief span in Egypt, Kawakibi was engaged in any political schemes, it seems almost inconceivable that the man who in Aleppo fought despotism with no regard to his personal security should, when extricated from the clutches of the sultan's oppressive regime, not have participated in activities directed against Turkish tyranny.

Rashid Riḍā who was more intimately acquainted with Kawakibi than any of his contemporaries made no mention of any political activities in which his friend was engaged. This 'silence', however, may have been merely motivated by Riḍā's concern for the *Manar* and its readers scattered in all parts of the Ottoman Empire. The recollections of Kawakibi's close friend Ibrahim Salīm an-Najjar, however, suggest that Kawakibi was politically active and incessantly preoccupied with secret

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1. As'ad Kawakibi *op. cit.* P. 550
intrigues.

A later publication ascribed to Kawākibī the actual initiation in Egypt of a secret organization which aimed at materialization of the pan-Islamic and Arab-nationalist ideas unfolded in the *Umm al-Qura*. This latter statement was not substantiated by its author with references to his sources of information. The writer may have simply been relying on his literal interpretation of the concluding proclamation in the *Umm al-Qura* which reads:

"Whoever wishes to aid the Jamū‘at *Umm al-Qura* with advice, work or money, and desires to correspond with the organization, can write to its agency (not mentioning its name) addressing his letter to the city ______ P. O. B. _______. If the addressee wishes to remain anonymous he can use a fictitious name and, after his receipt of an answer, start availing himself of the "secret writing code"

1. **ah-Najjar** *op. cit.* pp. 119-120
The statement is made that 'Abbas the Second aspired to the caliphate, and further that 'Ali Yusuf, familiar with Kawākibī's secret activities cemented the cordial relations between the khedive and Kawākibī. At the suggestion of 'Ali Yusuf, Kawākibī was allegedly sent to Aden in order to contact the Arab shaykhs and dignitaries and convince them of the Egyptian viceroy's extra-ordinary suitability for the position of caliph. However, there is no reliable evidence to support the allegation that 'Abbas actually sought after the caliphate.

explained at the end of this book. Important individuals such as powerful political dignitaries and wealthy personages who want to give their active support may ask for a special emissary to be sent by the society in order to contact them personally."

The fictitious character of the entire composition does not permit the final proclamation to be taken as concrete evidence for the actual existence of a secret society. The realistic descriptions in the *Umm al-Qurā* have occasionally misled distinguished readers; thus, for example, the Egyptian scholar A. Sanhoury erroneously presumed that Kawākibī's imaginary Mecca conference had really been held. He states:

"The first of these works (*Umm al-Qurā*) is an account of the congress for Islamic revival which in 1893 convened at the initiative of 'Abd ar-Raḩīm al-Kawākibī. This was perhaps the first Islamic congress in modern times."  

**Kawākibī and the Khedive 'Abbas the Second**

The cordial relations which existed between the khedive and Kawākibī throughout his brief stay in Egypt came

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   This passage is omitted in the 1931 reprint of the book.
2. A. Sanhoury *Le Califat* (Paris 1926)  p. 558

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in all probability as the result of Kawākibī's association with the Mu'ayyad, which enjoyed the patronage of 'Abbas the Second. It was not unusual to find Kawākibī among the invited guests at a khedivial party. In turn, the author of the Umm al-Qurā is very emphatic about 'Abbas' alleged religious zeal and Arab enthusiasm. This friendship lasted till the end. When Kawākibī died, the Egyptian viceroy arranged for the last rites, an impressive funeral at government expense and attended by a personal representative of the palace.

**Kawākibī's Trip across the Muslim World**

After publishing his two books Kawākibī left Egypt for an extended journey of which we know so little. He began to travel along the eastern and southern shores of Africa visiting Abyssinia, Harar (an Islamic sultanate in the eastern part of Ethiopia) and Somaliland. He continued his journey on the shores of southern Asia, across the Indian Ocean, and entered the Arabian Peninsula where he met with many of the Arabian princes and tribal shaykhs. From Arabia Kawākibī moved on

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1. al-Kayyālī op. cit. pp. 101-102
2. U. Q. p. 183
3. The trip was arduous, particularly in Arabia. Kawākibī reported as having had unusual physical stamina is alleged to have travelled on camel-back for more than thirty days across the desert to Yemen. Kurd 'Allī op. cit. Vol. 2 p. 210

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to Karachi, then to Bombay, Java and finally to the southern shores of China. From there he turned back stopping at Masqat where he met with Signor Sula, the political officer of Italy, who had been a friend of his in Aleppo. An Italian warship chanced to be anchored at Masqat harbor, and on recommendation of the Italian agent Kawakibi was given permission to travel aboard the vessel as a passenger. The voyage took him along the coast of East Arabia, through the Red Sea, past the shores of North Africa, the cruise terminating at the port of Brindisi. From Italy Kawakibi returned to Egypt.

Kawakibi's Death

The fallibility of human memory seems to account for contradicting versions concerning Kawakibi's end. Recollections of different witnesses agree only on the date and suddenness of Kawakibi's death. Whatever the direct cause of the end, a fatal stroke, a heart attack or an act of poisoning, the circumstances in which it occurred are indeed obscure.

On the last day of his life Kawakibi, while visiting at the residence of Kurd 'Ali, complained about a severe pain in the arm. About an hour after he had left, Kazim Kawakibi
came to tell Kurd 'Ali that his father had just passed away.

As'ad Kawakibi, repeating the information given him by his brother Kazim states that in the evening of Rabi'-
al-awwal 5, 1320 H (June 11, 1902) his father, in company of his son, visited the Yalzad coffee house. After sitting for a while over a cup of coffee, Kawakibi began to feel a severe pain in his abdomen. Immediately they got up and went home. When by midnight Kawakibi's pains had not ceased, the son went out to call on the nearest physician. When he returned to the house accompanied by a doctor, his father was already dead.

Some friends and relatives still believe that Kawakibi was poisoned by an agent of the Turkish government at the Yalzad coffee house.

On the following day, the news of Kawakibi's death rapidly spread in Cairo. All newspapers and periodicals of the city carried eulogies expressing the sincere grief of the Egyptian writers, poets and scholars at the sudden death of a man whom they had respected for the profundity of his knowledge and loftiness of his ideals. Rashid Rida opened the biograph-

2. As'ad Kawakibi op. cit.
ical sketch of his friend with the statement that the Islamic East was struck by the tragic loss of a prominent Muslim reformer, gifted student of civilization and outstanding philosopher of human society. The editor of al-Muatataf concluded his eloquent eulogy with the remark that "if Kawākibī had not come to settle in Egypt, he would have died in Syria with no one ever to know of the man's keenness of mind and nobility of character."

The funeral of Kawākibī had been arranged for and financed by the Egyptian government. When interment took place at the cemetery of Bāb al-Wazīr, Muhammad Ḥafiz Ibrāhīm, the celebrated poet of the Nile (1873-1932) was in tears, and he wrote on the grave of his departed friend the following verses:

"Huna rajulu-d-dunyā, huna khayru maẓlūmin,
huna khayru kāṭībin,
qīfū waqrā'ū ʿumm al-Kitābī
wa-sallīmū ʿalayhi,
fa-hadha-l-qabru gabrū-l-Kawākibī."

1. Rida op. cit. al-Manār Vol. 5 pp. 237-240
2. Ibid. p. 237
3. Sağruf op. cit. p. 624
4. As'ad Kawakibī op. cit. p. 554
(Here lies a man of the world, the finest of the oppressed,
here lies the most distinguished of the writers,
stop to recite the opening of the Qur'an
and extend the greeting of peace,
for this grave is the grave of Kawkabi).

Ten years later, the remains of Kawkabi were transferred to another cemetery where some of the most illustrious men of Egyptian history lie buried. The poet of the Nile wrote on a marble plate the identical verses which he had inscribed on the first grave of the departed.

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1. Post-Qur'anic usage call the Fatiha (first Sura of the Qur'an) as containing the essential contents of the book Umm al-Kitab." E. I. Vol. 4. p. 1012. The Fatiha is held in great veneration by Muslims. "It is repeated over sick persons as a means of healing and also recited as an intercession for the sake of the departed." D. I. p. 125
CHAPTER II

Kawakibi’s Patterns of Thinking

Of the variety of cultural influences which are discernible in Kawakibi’s literary works the main intellectual currents that charted the author’s eclectic and seemingly contradictory mode of thinking were the fundamental principles of Islamic religious modernism particularly those advocated by the Salafiya reform movements, and the social and political doctrines proclaimed by the French revolutionary thinkers. Kawakibi’s inconsistency is reflected in the fact that, at times, he zealously supports the views of Islamic modernists who summarily reject all phases of Westernization beyond the adoption of progressive scientific techniques and, at other times, enthusiastically embraces the ideology of secular modernists, particularly that of the Young Turk revolutionaries who advocated the unreserved acceptance of European political thought.

Kawakibi is a religious, social and political reformer whose principal objectives can be summarized as:

1. The reform of the Islamic community according to the teachings of the Salafiya,
2. the enlightenment of Muslim society about Western progressive social and political concepts, and their adaptability to Eastern conditions, and

3. the grant to the Arabs of a leading position in the movement for Islamic revival.

Kawakibī's steadfast adherence to the doctrines of the *Salaflva* is expressed by his insistence on the return to the ancestral beliefs and patterns of conduct; his stern condemnation of the fanaticism exhibited by the followers of the different *madhāhib* (religious rites); his plea for the suppression of the superstitious beliefs and practices of the Sufi fraternities such as saint-worship, intercession and the like, but also his rejection of what the early mystics considered conditions of spiritual perfection such as extolling the virtue of asceticism and poverty; his urgent call for social, religious and economic reforms; and his practical suggestion to spur learning by having text-books and methods of instruction revised and improved.

*Qur'ān and Science*

Unlike Indian modernism which pursued a policy of adaptation to modern European civilization, the Egyptian *Salaflva*
school proposed that Islam had nothing to borrow from the West, that everything was explained or implied in the Qur'an and Sunna, the problem being to discover in the texts the modern equivalents. In his discussion of the tactics employed by the adherents of the Salafiya doctrines, H. Lammens shows, by citing a number of examples from al-Manar how the attempt was made to find in the Qur'an the basis of even the most daring modern theories 1)

"not excepting Darwin's natural selection."

Kawakibi states that many findings of scientific research ascribed to modern European and American scholars were already revealed in the Qur'an, either implicitly or explicitly. For example, the theory that the substance of the universe is the ethereal atmosphere is found in the Qur'anic verse: 2)

"Then He straightened Himself up to the sky, which was smoke." The fact that the universe is in perpetual motion is implied in the verse: 3)

"(To the sun it belongs not to overtake the moon, nor does the night outstrip the day); but each in an orbit, they journey on." The theory of the separation of the celestial bodies is similarly explained by the passage: 4)

"(Have not those

2. T. I. pp. 24-27
3. Qur. 41.10
4. Qur. 36.40
who have disbelieved considered that) the heavens and the earth were a cohering mass, and We split them apart."

The suggestion that the moon was split from the earth is conveyed by the verse: "The hour was drawn near, the moon has been split." The proposition that the organic world including man emanated from an inorganic substance is corroborated by: "We have created man of an extract of clay." The invention of photography, the scientific method of arresting the shade, is implied in the verse: "Hast thou not noticed how thy Lord hath stretched out the shadow? If He had so willed He would have made it motionless; then We made the sun an indicator."

Kawakibi and Western Political Thought

Kawakibi's political education and his enthusiasm for Western social concepts are deeply rooted in the reform ideas spread by the progressive Turkish intellectuals during the Tanzimat (reform) period, and in the frustration which came as the result of Sultan Abdulhamid's re-imposition of tyrannous and oppressive government. The Umm al-Qura and Tabā'ī al-istibdād are permeated with ideas taken from the

1. Qur. 21:31
2. Qur. 54:1
3. Qur. 23:12
4. Qur. 25:47
works of Rousseau, Montesquieu, Alfieri and many other Western social and political thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While a great deal of Kawākibi's knowledge of European thought was undoubtedly obtained from secondary source materials, articles in Arabic, Turkish and Persian newspapers and periodicals which he voraciously read, it is possible to determine a number of primary sources which seem to have been the channels of transmission which acquainted him with Western concepts.

In the first place, we must take into consideration that since the middle of the nineteenth century the flourishing literature of Turkish translations from the literary works of European classics and French political thinkers increasingly acquainted the Turkish educated youth with French revolutionary ideals.

We can safely assume that Kawākibi was familiar with Rousseau's Le contrat social and Montesquieu's L'esprit des lois because in the Tabā'i al-istibdād mention is made of a few Turkish and Arab literary figures who engaged in polit-

1. Concerning the subject of Turkish translations from Western works, see Brockelmann op. cit. pp. 389-393, and O Hachtmann "Türkische Übersetzungen aus Europäischen Literaturen" Vol. 6 (Leipzig 1918) pp. 1-23
ical research, amongst them (Namik) Kemal and Rifat at Bek. The former's Turkish translation of Rousseau's *Le Contrat Social* "made it (i.e., Rousseau's work) known to many Arab intellectuals whose knowledge of foreign languages was restricted to Turkish." The latter is credited with having prepared an Arabic translation of Montesquieu's *L'esprit des lois*. In 1893, Asaf Yusuf (Effendi) ibn Hammām published another Arabic translation of Montesquieu's work, this rendition being entitled *Usūl an-nayamīs wa-sh-shara'i*. While the extent of Kawākibī's familiarity with the above-mentioned works can only be conjectured, his thorough acquaintance with Vittorio Alfieri's *Della Tiranide* is too evident to leave any doubt.

Arab writers, natives of Syria, generally reject any reference to Western works which allegedly moulded the political and social thinking of Kawākibī. While maintaining that the lack of familiarity with any of the European languages made Kawākibī's acquaintance with Western literature inconceivable, they all emphasize Kawākibī's thorough knowledge of Turkish, but disre-

1. T. I. p. 4
2. al-Khuri
3. J. Tajir
4. Sarkis
5. cf. below pp. 90 ff.
6. Rida at-Tabbah

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1) op. cit. p. 96
2) op. cit. col. 2
3) *Marakat at-tarjama bi-miṣr khilal al-carn at-tasi‘ ashar* (Cairo 1945) p. 56
4) op. cit. pp. 279
5) *I’laman* Vol. 5 p. 517
6) *al-Manar* Vol. 7 p. 119

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gard that his linguistic background enabled him to study the
Turkish translations from European works prepared by Sinasi,
Kiya, Kemal, Cevdet and many other gifted poets and journalists.
The Egyptian scholar Ahmad Amin, not sharing the bias of Kawakibi's Syrian compatriots, was fully aware that "he cited in
it (i.e. Tabâ'î al-istibdad) many passages from the work
of Alfieri." As to the problem of language, Amin suggests
that Kawakibi must have learned about Alfieri's political views
from "what was translated to him privately."

What all Arab students of the Tabâ'î al-istibdad,
including Ahmad Amin, generally disregard is the fact that in
January 1898, or well over two years before Kawakibi began to
write his series of articles on the nature of tyranny for the
Egyptian daily Mu'ayyad, a Turkish translation of Vittorio Al-
fieri's Della Tirannide prepared by the Young Turk revolu-
tionary poet-physician Dr. Abdullah Cevdet was published in Geneva,

1. Amin op. cit. p. 254
2. Alfieri's Della Tirannide, published shortly before the
outbreak of the French Revolution was, as early as the be-
ginning of the nineteenth century, available in a number
of French and German translations; see
Guido Bustico Bibliografia di Vittorio Alfieri
(Florence 1927) pp. 65-66
3. Amin op. cit. p. 253
4. For information about the life and works of Cevdet see
E. I. Supplement pp. 55-60
Switzerland.

Considering the striking similarities in form and substance between *Taba'i al-istibdad* and *Della Tirannide*, it must be presumed that Kawakibi, since his early youth a tireless student of all political writings which were accessible to him, was acquainted with Cevdet's translation of Alfieri's study; in fact, it seems most likely that it actually motivated him to present to the Arabic-reading public his analysis of the problems of tyranny. It appears wholly incomprehensible that Kawakibi, all his life a relentless foe of despotism, but never preoccupied with a scholarly treatment of the subject itself, should almost overnight complete a detailed study of tyranny, its characteristics, causes and effects.

1. The first edition of this translation entitled *Istibdad* came out on January 6, 1898, see Abdullah Cevdet *Istibdad* Second Edition, containing reprint of introduction to the first edition (Cairo 1909) p. 17

2. Erroneous dates are usually given for the first printing of Cevdet's translation, the year 1901 cited by Hechtmann *op. cit.* p. 23, and also by Martin Hartmann *Dichter der Neuen Turkei* (Berlin 1919) p. 48, or the year 1900 by E. I., E. I. Supplement p. 56; these dates being somewhat later than the publication of Kawakibi's relevant articles in the *Mu'ayyad* (sometime during the second part of the year 1900).

The writer of this study is greatly indebted to Dr. Tunaya, professor at the University of Istanbul, for having presented to him his personal copy of Cevdet's *Istibdad*, this work not being available at any of the American institutes of learning.
The question why the above-mentioned list in the *Tabā'ī al-istibdad* (Turks and Arabs who engaged in political research) does not include the name of Abdullah Cevdet to whose work Kawākibī was so greatly indebted cannot be definitely answered. Maybe Kawākibī, a refugee himself, considered the safety of Cevdet, a Young Turk living in exile because of his revolutionary activities. Apart from this Kawākibī had to conform to the pro-Ottoman policy of *al-Mu'ayyad* which published his articles on tyranny.

Much of Kawākibī's enthusiasm for the democratic principles of progressive Western governments is evidenced by his declaration that "the most significant achievement of the civilized nations is the establishment of government by law, legislation by the people and jurisdiction by the court."

The *Tabā'ī al-istibdad* and, to a lesser degree, *Umm al-Qurā* abound with references to the words and spirit of the French revolutionary thinkers and their disciples. When Kawākibī calls upon the young of his people to learn that "they were created free to die in honor," and to act according to the principle that "I am free and shall die free," it sounds like an echo

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1. T. I., pp. 121-122
2. T. I., p. 115, also U. Q., p. 162
of Rousseau's immortal proclamation: "man is born free" and "to live and die free." Kawakibi's comparison of tyrannous government with the conduct of a savage wood-cutter who will chop down a tree in order to derive an immediate material benefit makes one think of Montesquieu’s definition of despotic government:

"When the savages of Louisiana are desirous of fruit they cut the tree to the root, and gather the fruit. This is the emblem of despotic government."

Kawakibi’s Tabā’i’a al-īstibdād and Alfieri’s Della Tirannide

The unmistakable similarities in form and substance between Kawakibi’s Tabā’i’a al-īstibdād and the work of the Italian poet-philosopher Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), entitled Della tirannide (of tyranny), published in 1789,

1. Jean Jaques Rousseau
   \textbf{The Social Contract and Discourses}
2. ibid. p. 158
3. ibid. p. 217
4. Baron de Montesquieu
   \textbf{The Spirit of Laws} Vol. 1
   Translation by Thomas Nugent (New York 1899) p. 57
5. For information about Alfieri, his life and thought, see Gaudence Megaro \textit{Vittorio Alfieri Forerunner of Italian Nationalism} (New York 1930)
6. Vittorio Alfieri \textit{Le Opere di Vittorio Alfieri} Vol. 10 Della Tirannide (Padova 1820)
shortly before the outbreak of the French Revolution, will be shown by placing together a few passages selected from the two studies.

Similar to the tri-partite division of Kawakibi’s 

Tabē’i al-istibbad 

Alfieri’s Della Tirannde consists of the following three parts:

1. Definition of "Tyrant" and "Tyranny"
   "cosi sia tiranno" (what is a tyrant?)
   "cosa sia la tirannide (what is tyranny?)

2. The Impact of Tyranny on Human Society
   "della paura" (about fear)
   "dell' ambizione" (about ambition)
   "della religione" (about religion)

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1. While the final manuscript of this study was being typed, the Oriente Moderno published an article by Sylvia G. Haim entitled "Alfieri and al-Kawakibi" in Oriente Moderno Vol. 34 (Rome 1954) pp. 321-334

In answer to the problem which confronted S. Haim as to how Kawakibi could have become acquainted with the political theories of Alfieri, Ettore Rossi mentioned in a supplementary article that in all probability Kawakibi was familiar with Gevêt's Turkish translation of Della Tirannde, see Ettore Rossi "Una traduzione turca dell' opera della tirannde di V. Alfieri probabilmente conosciuta da al-Kawakibi" op. cit. pp. 335-337
"del falso onore" (about false honor)
"del lusso" (about luxury)

3. How to abolish Tyranny

"come si possa rimediare alla tirannide" (how can tyranny be abolished)

"con quel governo gioverebbe più supplire alla tirannide" (by what government is tyranny best replaced)

Analogous passages

1. Kawakibī

"Tyranny also includes constitutional form of government (ḥukūma ḍustūrīya) in which the executive and legislative authorities are separate (al-mufarraqa fīhā quwat at-tashrī'ī 'an quwat at-tanfīdha), because this also, neither eliminates nor alleviates tyranny, unless the executives are responsible to the legislators and these, in turn, answerable to the people who know how to exercise control and demand an accounting."

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1. T. I. p. 8

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Alfieri

"As definitely tyrannous must also be regarded any government in which he who is charged with administering the laws does not account for their execution to the authority that enacts them." (ma è tirannide piena altresì ogni qualunque governo, in cui chi è preposto all' eseguire le leggi non dà pure mai conto dalla loro esecuzione a chi le ha create)

While Montesquieu considered the preservation of liberty assured by the mere separation of the three branches of government, executive, legislative and judiciary, both, Alfieri and Kawākībī, are very definite in designating as tyrannous any government in which the executive agency and elected legislature are not separate, the former responsible to the latter. But Kawākībī's formulation of this principle (regarding certain constitutional governments as tyrannous) seems to indicate that, unlike Alfieri, Kawākībī distinguished between the type of constitutional government in which the executive and legislative branches are separate, the former accountable to the latter, and another, also constitutional, in which

1. Alfieri op. cit. p. 16
the executive and legislative departments are completely separate and, according to Kawākibī's thinking, mutually independent, taking the latter as abetting tyranny.

2. Kawākibī

"Political tyranny is the result of religious tyranny (al-istibdād as-siyāsī mutawallid min al-istibdād ad-dīnī), - both cooperate with one another in humiliating man (baynahuma - at-taʿawum bi-tadhilīl al-insān), - one exercising spiritual domination, the other physical control." ¹

Alfieri

"Among many peoples, civil tyranny was created out of religious tyranny, often both united, almost all the time did they cooperate with one another" (fra moltissimi populi dalla tirannide religiosa veniva creata la tirannide civile; spesso si sono entrambe riunite in un ente solo; e quasi sempre si sono l'una l'altra ajutate).

"This double conspiracy brings about a twofold enslavement" (e da questa doppia congiura la doppia universal servitù).

3. Kawākibī

"Religious teachings threaten man with all sorts of calamities during his lifetime and enduring punishment after

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¹ T. I. p. 12
² Alfieri op. cit. p. 75  ³ ibid. p. 34

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death — but (those of Catholicism) made provisions for a refuge from these fears, salvation being in human custodians, bishops and priests (ḥujjāb min al-bashār, hum al-šāhār wa-l-qusūs) and their tolls in the form of payments for humiliating confession (dhullat i’trāf) and forgiveness (ghifra’).

Alfieri

"The doctrine of hell-fire which gave rise to the idea of confession contributes to humiliate, impoverish and hence enslave the Catholic peoples. In order to buy redemption from punishment — these people give the priests not only what they can spare, but what they absolutely need." 2)

4. Kawakibi

"The tyrant is aware that enslavement will endure only as long as the subjects are stupid and ignorant." 3)

Alfieri

"The tyrant wants people to be obedient to the despotism of one, and at the same time be stupid, vile and immoral." 4)

5. Kawakibi

"The extent of a ruler's despotism can be measured by the

1. T. I. p. 13
2. Alfieri op. cit. p. 84
3. T. I. p. 28
4. Alfieri op. cit. p. 32
despots."

Alfieri

"In tyranny positions of honor are distributed by one, mostly to people of noble birth whose ancestors have already been accustomed to slavery and obedience."

Kawākibī

"The greed to accumulate money, an immoral desire in itself (ḥirṣ at-tamawwul, wa-huwa at-ṭam‘ al-qabiḥ) is more manifest under tyrannous governments than under just ones, but the wealth of individuals living in a just regime is more harmful than the money of the rich under a tyrannous administration, because the former is used to corrupt the morals of the people (ifsād akhlaq an-nās), to destroy equality (wa-ikhlāl al-musawāt) and bring about tyranny (wa-ījād al-istibdād), while the latter is squandered for purposes of ostentation and personal aggrandizement (fī-l-ubaha wa-t-ta‘āzm), immorality and debauchery (fī-l-fisq wa-l-fujūr)."

Alfieri

"While accumulating money is immoral whether it is pursued
in a republic or in a tyranny, it is more detrimental in
the former than in the latter (lo scopo - - è vizioso
nell' uno e nell' altro governo; e più ancora nelle re-
pubbliche che nelle tirannidi;) because, while in the re-
public excessive wealth is sought to corrupt the citizens
and destroy equality, in tyranny money is acquired for the
purpose of satisfying personal vices and lust for luxury
(perché in quelle si cercano le ricchezze excessive o per
corrompere i cittadini, o per soverchier l'ugualianza;
in questa, per godersela nei vizj e nel usso)."

9. Kawakibi

"Glory is the attainment by man of a place of love and
respect in the hearts of the people, and this is a natural
and noble desire of every individual."

Alfieri

"Honor (glory) can be simply defined as the desire and
the right to be honored by the many."

In Kawakibi's study the entire chapter entitled
"al-istibdad wa-l-majd" (tyranny and glory) containing a
discussion of majd (real glory) as distinct from tamajud

(false glory) is almost identical with Alfieri's analysis of
1) onore and false onore, the former sought in republican, the
latter in tyrannous regimes, the former serving the people, the
latter assisting the despot.

10. Kawākibī

"Tyranny weakens, corrupts or exterminates natural and fine
inclinations (al-amyāl at-tabīʿiya wa-l-ḥasana). It makes
man deny the bounties of his Creator because he does not
really own them. It turns him malevolent towards his people
because they make tyranny possible. It causes the citizen
to lose attachment to his homeland because he does not feel
secure in his place of residence. It weakens his affection
for his family because he cannot count on the permanence
of his association with it. It shakes the individual's
trust in his friends because they may be compelled to harm,
even kill him."

Alfieri

"Tyranny by its nature weakens and destroys human feelings.
We do not love the fatherland because we do not have one,
we do not love parents, wife and children because we are
not certain of having them, we do not have real friends:

because they are liable to, and unfortunately often do
turn into informers."

11. Kawākibī

"A nation may sometimes take revenge on the tyrant (wa-qad
tangam ‘alā-l-mustabidd), but it only seeks to avenge it-
self on his person, not to free itself from tyranny."  
Alfieri

"In Oriental tyranny, if the system becomes extra-ordinarily
oppressive, the people may take vengeance on the tyrant,
while they do not destroy nor alleviate tyranny."

While Kawākibī speaks of vengeance on the tyrant
in general, Alfieri singles out the Asiatic despot. In another
passage, however, Kawākibī also makes a distinction between the
attitudes exhibited by Western and Eastern peoples towards des-
potism. He states that "the Eastern peoples, for example, are
distressed over the regime of the tyrant, but once he is liqui-
dated they do not think of who should succeed him."

While Kawākibī declares that "the nation which
does not in its entirety or majority feel the pains of tyranny

1. Alfieri. op. cit. p. 146  
2. T. I. pp. 131-132  
3. Alfieri op. cit. p. 128  
4. T. I. p. 32
does not deserve freedom," Alfieri only raises the question: "Does a people that does not feel the pains of tyranny deserve it or not?" And then he concludes that "in tyranny those deserve to remain slaves who, although they have an idea about freedom, prefer to live in slavery."

In discussing methods of eliminating tyranny Kawakibi maintains that "before opposing tyranny, the desired aim must be clearly defined and agreed upon by the overwhelming majority of the people." Alfieri declares similarly: "How to abolish tyranny? The will or the opinion of all, or the majority makes the existence of tyranny possible. The will or the opinion of all can truly destroy tyranny." Both, Alfieri and Kawakibi, agree that there is no quick way to overthrow a despotic regime, and sharing the views of the Italian philosopher Kawakibi concludes that the very cruelty of the oppressor, extraordinary circumstances such as military defeat, undisguised contempt for religion, famine and the like may result in spontaneous outbursts of insurrection against despotism.

1. T. I. p. 131
2. Alfieri op. cit. p. 178
3. ibid. pp. 181-182
4. T. I. p. 132
5. Alfieri op. cit. p. 183
6. ibid. pp. 184-185
Kawakibi freely draws, directly or indirectly, from the literary treasures of Western thinkers, but being a Salafiya doctrinaire he asserts that the principles of freedom, democracy and opposition to tyranny have already been expounded in the Qur'ān, Sunna and the histories of the first four caliphs. "Islam rests on the political foundations of 'democratic administration' (al-idāra ad-dīmugraṭiyya) that is 'republicanism' (al-‘umūmiyya) and 'aristocratic consultation' (ash-shūrā-l-aristuqraṭiyya) that is 'the council of the notables' (shūrā-l-ashraf)."

Like many Muslims before him, Kawakibi saw the democratic structure of Islam reflected in the Qur'ānic concept of the shūrā expressed in the verses: "Their affair being a matter of council amongst them," and: "consult them in the affair." The latter passages which refer to the Muslim community in general are interpreted as implying that advice is to be sought from the public. To support his argument that the Qur'ān is in favor of aristocratic consultation Kawakibi cites the encounter of Moses with Pharaoh who "Said to the nobility round him: Do this is a magician knowing, who intends

1. T. I. p. 20
2. Qur. 42.6
3. Qur. 3.153
to expel you from your land by his magic, so what do ye command?" And they addressed the king saying: "Put him and his
brother off (a while), and send among the cities rounders-up;
Let them bring thee every magician knowing." But the notables
did not reach their decision before seriously debating the case
which is described in: "So they disputed their affair amongst
themselves" -- that is, their opinion --, "and talked secretly
in confidence" -- that is -- their public discussion led to
a dispute, and they carried on a secret debate, as it is cus-
tomary in modern consultative assemblies.

According to Kawakibi, the idea of freedom of
thinking is expressed in the verse: "Ye have your religion,
and I have mine." Kawakibi who had suffered so much from
Ottoman despotism defended the scholars' right of protection
from persecution and tyranny by citing the Qur'anic passage:
"Let neither writer nor witness be injured."

While following the Salafiya tactics in trying
to find in early Islamic teachings a reference to modern con-

1. Qur. 26:33-34
Kawakibi misquotes the Qur'anic text with his citation:
"wa-gala al-mal'u min qamâd fir'awn" (and the nobility
of Pharaoh's people said), the correct Qur'anic text is:
"gala li-l-mal'i hawlahu" (he said to the nobility round
him)
2. Qur. 26:35-36
3. Qur. 20:65
4. T. I. pp. 19-20
5. Qur. 109.6
6. T. I. p. 74
7. Qur. 2:282
cepts, Kawakibi fully realized the progress which had been made since the age of the orthodox caliphs, particularly by Western nations. Strict adherence to the words of the Qur'an and Sunna does not preclude for him the recognition and acceptance of the progressive ideas advanced by European thinkers. While Syrian writers of the past and present insist that the *(Taba'i)* al-istibdad cannot be regarded as the product of Western influences, Kawakibi himself acknowledged his indebtedness for ideas which he had taken over from others. Thus, for example, he ascribes his definition of "tyranny" and "tyrant" to sayings of modern philosophers. The analysis of the relations between religion and tyranny is described as consisting of quotations from opinions of French political writers. Kawakibi's formula for measuring the extent of tyranny is based on principles applied by historians. In comparing the fear of the tyrant with that of his subjects Kawakibi allegedly follows the statements of research scholars. His conclusion that "tyranny is the root of all evil (corruption)" is described as being the saying of modern savants. Thus, in innumerable passages of the *(Taba'i)* al-istibdad Kawakibi states that his

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1. T. I. pp. 10-11  
2. ibid. pp. 12 ff.  
3. ibid. p. 31  
4. ibid. p. 33  
5. ibid. p. 34
ideas are borrowings from the findings of European scholars. Exact sources or names of authors are not cited. Only once, when discussing the appropriate methods of abolishing tyranny, Kawakibī mentions that "I remind them (the tyrants) of what the famous Alfieri has warned them in a similar study."

The Tendency of the Salafīya Doctrinaires to Revert from Pan-Islamic to Arab-ethnic Consciousness

Kawakibī's nationalist thinking seems to have evolved from the pan-Islamic nationalism advocated by Afghānī to a distinctly Arab-ethnic consciousness. This tendency is inherent in the Salafīya ideology which ignores the evolution of Islamic thought, from its early Arabian to its later anti- or international orientation.

Islam in its final form evolved during the period of the 'Abbasid Caliphate looks unfavorably upon nationalist ideals. However, there can be no doubt that the teachings of the founder of the Muslim religion contained strongly nationalist elements. Muḥammad felt called upon to bring to the Arabs,

1. ibid. p. 131
2. For detailed analysis of the changing attitude of Islam towards the concept of nationalism, see Richard Hartmann "Islam und Nationalismus" Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin #5 (Berlin 1948)
his people, the true knowledge of God which had been transmitted to other peoples by their prophets. Therefore he proclaimed that "We never sent a messenger but with the speech of his people." He emphasized the language in which God's words were revealed, "but this is Arabic speech clear." While preaching the equality of all believers in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood, Muhammad was aware, perhaps obscurely, of the Arabs' self-conscious pride in their race and language, and being a capable statesman and skilful politician he must have felt that appealing to these popular sentiments would appreciably contribute towards the success of his efforts to unify the continually feuding Bedouin tribes, and thus facilitate the fulfilment of his religious mission. Of course, a few Qur'anic passages should not be taken as suggesting that the founder of Islam was an Arab nationalist in the modern sense of the term; his rejection of tribal particularism in favor of a community based on a common faith constituted for him a means to an end, the spread of his beliefs and the execution of the will of Allah.

During Muhammad's lifetime conversion to Islam had made considerable progress in the Hijaz, Madina being def-

1. Qur. 14.4  
2. Qur. 16.105
initely won over to the new religious doctrines, and everywhere in Arabia the way was cleared for the complete Islamiza-
tion of the population. But the great conquests were essentially an Arab affair, "an expansion not of Islam but of the Arab nation," and in the Islamic State which subsequently emerged the social and intellectual pre-eminence of the Arab-Muslim minority were undisputed. The Kharijites were the first Muslims to raise the unprecedented question: "Who should be the Imam, the leader of the Muslims?" and their answer was: "any believer is eligible for this exalted office, even though he be a slave or a non-Arab." From this principle they subsequently deduced that in Islam which is based on the universality of the faith nationalist distinctions had no significance.

With the expansion of the Islamic Empire and the mass conversion of non-Arabs to the religion of their conquerors it became inevitable that the Arab-nationalist orientation of Islam should give way to the concept on which the administration of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate was founded, i.e. in Islam all

1. Lewis op. cit. p. 55
believers, Arabs and non-Arabs alike, have the same rights and duties. Muslim unity based on adherence to a common faith became the final form of Islam, with the brotherhood of all believers its political ideal. For a thousand years, the principle of Muslim equality was cherished by all the members of the community, until the Wahhabis and, somewhat later, the Manar Salafis began to idealize the earliest period of Islam, re-asserting the Arab character of the faith and claiming for the Arabs the prerogative of leadership in the movement for religious revival.
CHAPTER 111

The Umm al-Qura

In the introduction of the Umm al-Qura Kawākibī states that, after reading in Indian, Syrian, Egyptian and Tatar newspapers a great number of articles on the subject of the decadence of Muslim society, he decided to contact a number of religious leaders and call them to a conference at Mecca which should discuss the prevailing conditions in the Islamic world and suggest means and methods apt to ameliorate the situation.

Early in Muharram of 1316 H. (May 1898) Kawākibī pretends to have set out for this fictitious congress. In the following verses which he introduces with "and I am all in a mood for reciting poetry" (wa-kulli ʾalsun tunshid) he gives eloquent expression to the fervor of his enthusiasm for the mission which he has undertaken to perform:

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1. i. e. Turkish language publications from the Russian Empire.
2. U. Q. p. 4
   Most of the verses are taken from a poem composed by the author's brother Masʿūd al-Kawākibī. For complete text of Masʿūd al-Kawākibī's poem see al-Ṭabbāh op. cit. "al-ʿallāma" p. 48
   The writer has underlined the passages which are practically identical in the two poems. Kawākibī makes no reference to the source from which he drew his poetic lines.

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"darāk fa-man yadilifu la 'amrī yudfanu
wa-mā nāfī‘un nawḥun mata cīla qad saniya;
 darāk fa-inna ad-dīna qad zala 'izzuhu
wa-kāna 'azīzan qabla dhā, ghayru haynin,
fa-kāna lahu ahlun yawfura baccahu

bi-huda wa-talqīṭin wa-husni talacounin.

1) ilā ma wa-aḥlu-l-'ilmī, akhlāṣu baytihih
īma sa-ra fardan ra‘bu hādhā at-tawāḥhuni?
halummū ilā badhli at-tā‘ayunī annahu
bi-immalīn ithmūn ‘alā kullī mu‘minin.
halummū ilā Umm al-Qurā wa-ta‘amarū
wa-la taqnaţū min rā‘i rabbīn muḥayminin,
fa-inna al-ādīhī shādathu al-asyāfū aqabākum
huwa al-yawma la‘ yahtāju illā li-al-sūnīn.'

(Hurry - overtake - for he who walks heavily,
I swear by my religion, will be buried.
And what is the use of lamenting when it is said
that he has already passed away.

1. U. Q. (early edition) reads "al-imām," see op. cit., p. 4
2. "yadilifu" is the reading in all the editions and reprints
   of U. Q. However, the author of U. Q. possibly meant
   "yadnafu" (he who is seriously ill) as the verse reads
   in Mas‘ud al-Kawakībī’s poem. A. R. K. refers to the ill-
   ness of the Islamic body, hence "yadnafu" would make more
   sense.
Hurry, for the power of the faith has already vanished,
previously it was mighty, not degraded,
because of men who professed it truly with guidance,
and offering and receiving worthwhile instruction.
O Imam  and scholars, secluded in their homes,
has it not become a duty to cope with this decrepitude?
Come and cooperate, verily to fail in this is a sin upon every believer.
Come to Mecca and deliberate,
and do not despair of the fearful power of the guardian Lord,
for he whom heretofore swords have established,
needs nowadays nothing but words).

On his way from Aleppo to Mecca Kawākībī pretends to have stopped at important centers of the Arab world such as Beirut, Damascus, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Cairo, Ṣan‘ā’, `Uman,

1. Masʿūd al-Kawākībī's poem had slightly different reading: "Hurry, for the decrepitude of the faith is on the increase."
2. Reading of "al-īmām" as in U. Q. (early edition) seems preferable.
3. Translation of Masʿūd al-Kawākībī's reading: "It has already become a duty to cope with this decrepitude."
Kuwayt, Baṣra, Ḥa'il and Madina, trying to win for his project the interest and support of the religious dignitaries. In the beginning of Dhū-l-Qa'da, 1316 H (this Muslim month began on March 13, 1899) Kawākibī reached Mecca where he found the individuals who had responded to his invitation already assembled.

The Mecca Conference

The Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qura, the imaginary all-Muslim congress held at Mecca during the second part of Dhū-l-Qa'da, 1316 H, was conceived as the instrument suited to deal with important problems confronting the entire Muslim world.

The idea of calling a special Muslim conference or synod is foreign to the sentiments of the believers who regard the annual pilgrimage season as a perennial pan-Islamic congress where all issues of common interest to the community are informally discussed by Muslims from all corners of the world, or as in August 1899 the editor of al−Hilāl lucidly expressed it:

"Can there be a better congress than one which brings together to a well-known place at a well-known period of the

1. Early Islamic history records only one exception, the conference of conciliation between 'Alī and Mu'awiyah, see Brockelmann op. cit. p. 69.
year hundreds of thousands of Muslims from different countries, speaking a variety of languages, with no foreigner among them and no censor over them?"

The assembly of religious scholars which in 1743 Nadir Shah convened for the purpose of exploring the feasibility of his plan to bring about the unification of Sunnites and Shiites is rather unique in Islamic history.

During the second part of the nineteenth century, as the result of contact with the West, the Muslim East began to become acquainted with the idea of convening congresses to deal with problems of mutual concern. In 1883, Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh, exiled from Egypt because of complicity in the 'Arabi uprising, proposed that the various sects and groups of the Islamic community form committees, the representatives of which should annually meet in Mecca. This information may be connected with the Jam'iyat al-'urwa al-wuthqa (the society

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1. Jurji Zaydan "al-mu'tamar al-islami" al-Hilāl Vol. 7 (Cairo 1899) p. 666
2. At the conference attended by Sunni and Shi'i theologians an agreement was reached according to which Shi'ites were to join the four Sunni madhāhib as the fifth orthodox rite. However, the traditional hatred between the religious leaders of the two sects could not be overcome by the Shah's aspiration to tolerance, see Ignaz Goldziher Vorlesungen über den Islam Second Edition (Heidelberg 1925) p. 295
3. MSOS Vol. 11 (Berlin 1908) p. 214
of the indissoluble bond), the secret organization which the two Islamic reformers had founded in order to unite the Muslim peoples and direct their joint efforts against Western aggression and exploitation. The Jam‘īyat al-‘urwa al-wuthqā was an organization based on precisely defined statutes, and in 1884 Afghānī and ‘Abduh established in Paris the weekly al-‘urwa al-wuthqā for the dissemination and propagation of their program. Perhaps the idea of an annual congress at Mecca, proposed by the founders of the Jam‘īyat al-‘urwa al-wuthqā can also be related to the short-lived pan-Islamic society 3) Umm al-Qura which, according to E. G. Browne, Afghānī called into being at a conference held in Mecca for the purpose of creating a sovereign, universally recognized caliphate over the entire Muslim world, with the seat of its office at Kufa or Constantinople. This latter society allegedly printed and distributed its rules and regulations, but was shortly after


2. Afghānī was the political director, ‘Abduh the editor of the weekly. The first issue came out on March 13, 1884, ibid. Vol. 2 p. 215

3. Richard Hartmann "Zum Gedanken des Kongresses in den Reform-bestrebungen des Islamischen Orients" WI Vol. 23 (Berlin 1941) pp. 122-132
Afghan's idea to assemble a pan-Islamic congress in order to achieve unification of the Muslim world lived on after his death in 1897, and continued to be seriously and animatedly discussed in Muslim newspapers. While there was a consensus of opinions concerning the primary objective of pan-Islamism, the advancement of Muslim interests, views widely differed with reference to methods to be followed in order to attain the desired goal. The principal issues which concerned the publicists were:

1. the need for spreading education and culture, establishing schools, societies and newspapers, and publishing useful books;

2. holding a pan-Islamic congress at Constantinople to be attended by delegates from all Muslim peoples in the world, and

3. the advisability of constructing a railway connecting Mecca with the various regions of the Islamic world.

The Hilal strongly emphasized the need for dissemination of education and culture as the most appropriate


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means to advance the interests of the community, and also endorsed the project of a pan-Islamic congress, but did not share the view that the conference should be held in Constantinople where, it was stated, the deliberations would inevitably become entangled in politics and could possibly reawake the antagonism of the Christian nations. Then it was not certain whether the sultan would consent to have the convention in his capital. It also regarded it as questionable whether many Muslims living at a great distance from Constantinople, would be willing to undertake an extended and arduous journey at great expense in order to be present at the meetings of the conference. Instead, it was argued, the planned congress should be held in Mecca, preferably during the pilgrimage season, because Mecca was the most suitable locality being conveniently situated in the center of the Islamic world, and because Muslims did not need a special invitation to a congress in order to travel to their holy city. It was further asserted that the project could be most speedily materialized by implementing one of the important proposals made by the pan-Islamic writers, namely the construction of a railway joining Mecca with the other sections of the Muslim world.

1. ibid. p. 665

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In September of 1899, the editor of al-Hilal reported that the projected congress would be held in Mecca, and not in Constantinople, as originally planned, and that this revised decision was meeting widespread approval.

In Sha’ban of 1316 H (December 1898) the Manar proposed the foundation of an Islamic society under the patronage of the caliph, the center of this organization to be at Mecca, and subsidiary branches in other important Muslim-inhabited localities. Mecca was considered the ideal site for the center of the proposed society because, it was argued, the holy city was free from foreign influences and intrigues, and because it constituted the natural annual meeting place for Muslims from all lands of the globe. During the pilgrimage season, when a great number of members from the various branches of the society could be expected to be present in Mecca, the Jam‘iya Islamiya (this was the name suggested for the projected organization) was to hold a general congress.

The basic objectives of the proposed Jam‘iya Islamiya were defined as:

1. the endeavor to unify all the Muslims into a closely knit community by stressing those principles in which there

is no disagreement, and

2. to provide the believers with religious and moral guidance.

The aims of the society were to be attained by preparation and publication of two major literary works:

1. a book dealing with the basic doctrines of the faith and principles of ethics, to be written in simple Arabic and translated into all the languages spoken by Muslims.

The caliph should promulgate the contents of this volume as the basic minimum of Islam to which all Muslim believers must adhere.

2. a compendium of laws based on the legal decisions of all the madhahib (rites) and adapted to the needs of the modern age.

It was also suggested that a scientific-religious newspaper be established and maintained by the headquarters of the society in Mecca.

It was against this background of various pan-Islamic projects, societies and congresses, that Kawakibi's

1. Controversial issues such as the problems of the caliphate were not to be included.
protocols of an alleged Muslim conference can be more fully comprehended. While Kawākibī seems to have borrowed from Afghānī the name given his imaginary congress, the Jam‘īyat Umm al-Qura, and the notion of the verbatim protocols of its proceedings, the Sijill jam‘īyat Umm al-Qura, there is a fundamental difference between the aims of the two projected societies. Afghānī's organization was conceived as a political instrumentality, Kawākibī's Mecca conference and the permanent Jam‘īyat ta‘līm al-muwahhidīn proposed by it were chiefly concerned with religious, social and educational problems. Afghānī's program was primarily revolutionary, the political liberation by force of the Muslim peoples from Western domination, and only secondarily evolutionary, the religious and cultural regeneration of the Islamic community; Kawākibī's thinking was entirely and uncompromisingly evolutionary, he only believed in reform through education. From the Jam‘īya Islāmīya, the pan-Islamic society proposed by the Manār, Kawākibī's project differed in its preferential attitude towards the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula.

Kawākibī's Jam‘īyat Umm al-Qura opened on Monday, the fifteenth day of Dhu-l-Qa‘da 1316 H (March 27, 1899) and met for twelve formal sessions and one farewell get-together.
The meetings were attended by twenty-two delegates from Syria, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cairo, Yemen, Baghra, Najd, Madina, Mecca, Tunis, Fas, England, Rome, Kurdistan, Tibriz, Tataristan, Kazan, Turkey, Afghanistan, India, Sind and China.

During the first session the delegate from Mecca was elected president of the congress and as-sayyid al-Furatî (Kawâkibî) recording secretary. In his inaugural address the president gave a historical survey of the issue with which the conference was to deal, i. e. the decadence of Muslim society. The speaker asserted that for over one thousand years Islam has been in a state of retrogression and preserved from ultimate extinction only by the strength of its foundation. While progress in arts and sciences had enabled European nations to gain tremendous power and spread their influence over most of the Eastern peoples and countries, the Muslims persevered in a state of lethargic slumber. It was further stated that the prevailing decrepitude of the Islamic body could be compared with a disease that called for medical diagnosis and appropriate treatment.

The speaker recommended that the delegates should
ignore the conflicting legal injunctions of the various law schools, discard what was of obscure origin and accept only what was explicit in the Qur'an and Sunna or established by *ijma* (consensus) of early Islamic times, so that all Muslims would accept the resolutions of this conference since "the rite of the early ancestors (madhhab as-salaf) is the basis of the faith (al-asl) which is not rebutted by argument and concerning which the community is in full agreement."

The chairman further stated:

"This view is not new among Muslims, it is held by all the people of the Arabian Peninsula, except the mixed crowds of the two holy cities (akhlāt al-ḥaramayn). The seven to eight million inhabitants of the peninsula are Salafī Muslims, most of them following the Ḥanbalite and Zaydī rites. The religion originated among the Arabs and in their language, the people of the peninsula are the preservers and protectors of the faith."

"Furthermore, there is nothing that prevents us from abandoning the mutually contradictory traditions (al-muqūl al-mutakhālifa), especially those that relate to some of

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1. U. Q. p. 12

2. idem
the basic sources (usul), and from agreeing to refer back to what we know from the written texts or ascertained without our own comprehension as conforming to the patterns of conduct followed by the salaf. Thus we can achieve unity and entertain the hope that the community will heed our call."

In conclusion the chairman listed ten topics which were to be discussed during the ensuing meetings of the congress: place, symptoms, germs and nature of the disease; media of cure; definition of true Islam, and how it is professed; hidden polytheism, and how religious "innovations" are combatted; and finally, formulation of the statutes for the educational society to be founded.

In the course of the sessions lively debates were carried on to clarify various aspects of the pertinent issues. The different problems were not necessarily taken up in the order listed by the president of the congress, nor treated as separate units, each discussed with the same degree of thoroughness. The proceedings were very informal and occasionally confused by deviations from the agenda and injection of irrelevant material. For example, the delegates might be consider-

1. ibid. p. 13
2. ibid. pp. 17-18

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ing an important problem of Muslim religious law, and the next moment abandon the subject and patiently listen to one of their colleagues narrate a lengthy story of historical significance or moral-anecdotal value. When, for instance, the question was raised who was more meritorious in the eyes of the law, the infidel ruler who is equitable or the Muslim ruler who is arbitrary and unjust, a tedious discourse gave suddenly way to a delightful story taken from the work of ibn Tabatabā concerning the Mongol Sultan Hulagu who, after his conquest of Baghdad in 656 H (1258), ordered that a ruling be obtained from the doctors of law as to whether a just infidel or a believing iniquitous sultan was to be considered more virtuous. The sages allegedly reached the decision that the infidel ruler was more deserving. While the latter story was an exemplification of the point at issue, at times a deviation by a delegate was only faintly connected with the subject under consideration. For example, when the representative from Liverpool was nominated to serve on the draft constitution committee because of his familiarity with the structure and operations of Western organ-

1. U. Q. pp. 33-34

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izations, he took the floor and delivered a lengthy discourse covering the background of the Muslim community in England, the members' former, pre-conversion religious concepts as Protestant Christians and their present dogmatic and legal preferences as Muslims. This comprehensive speech gave rise to a lively debate in which the delegates from Najd, Cairo and Yemen participated. The author of the book forgot about the original motion which was never taken up again by the assembly. But apart from the occasional digressions, the above-mentioned topical dichotomy of the records, the causes of decline and the methods of treatment, is not significantly disturbed.

The Causes which led to the Decline of the Muslim Community

During the first few sessions of the Jamʿiyat Umm al-Qura, the symptoms of Muslim decadence were established and its causes thoroughly investigated. The most distressing and conspicuous symptom was recognized as the prevalent inertia (futūr) of Muslim society in scientific, social-organizational and industrial pursuits, endeavors which enabled the West to achieve tremendous progress. Intellectual and technological backwardness of the Muslims is apparent everywhere, but, the

1. U. Q., p. 91
2. ibid., pp. 92 ff.
chairman stated, while generally inferior to their non-Muslim neighbors in the domains of material culture and industrial techniques: "most Muslims in the settled land and all of them in the desert are far superior to them in important moral qualities such as faith, courage and generosity."

The decay of the community was attributed to a number of religious, political and social factors, all of them sharing in the responsibility for the prevailing decrepitude.

Religious Factors:

1. The spread of certain dogmatic and moral tenets such as compulsionism (*jabr*) and asceticism (*zuhd*), and their impact on the minds of the Muslims.

With reference to *jabr* and *zuhd*, the Damascene delegate declared:

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1. U. Q. pp. 19-20
2. ibid. p. 137
3. ibid. p. 138

The reading of the text is "al-ḥabr," thus recurring in the various editions of U. Q. The *Manar* changed it to the more likely reading "al-ḥabr." The *Jabriyyun* (compulsionists) deny free agency in man, as opposed to the *Qadariyyun* (determinists) who deny absolute predestination and believe in the power (qadar) of man's free will.


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"I think that the origin of this inertia (futūr) goes back to a number of dogmatic and moral principles such as: a) the belief in fatalism (al-‘aqīda al-jibrīya) which despite all modification has turned our people, though theoretically determinists, into actual fatalists (ja‘alat al-umma jibrīya bāṭīnan, qadarīya zahiran), and b) the call for suhād in this present world, i.e. contentment with little and resignation to a minimum of sustenance (rizq), suppression of emotional drives such as the quest for fame and leadership, and withdrawal from amenities and luxuries and from initiative in affairs, thus urging the Muslim to live like a corpse before he actually died. Enough of these debilitating, befuddling and demoralizing doctrines which the human mind cannot reconcile, and which do not stem from the religious law, and for the like of which ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb exiled Abū Dharr al-Ǧifarī ar-Ribdha."

2. The impact of religious quarrelsomeness (fitan al-jadal), dissension and disunion (at-takhluf wa-t-tafarruq).

Kawākibī rejects the tradition introduced by recent theologians that "variance of the religious leaders is an act

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1. [Reference]
Abū Dharr al-Ǧifarī ar-Ribdha, one of Muḥammad’s companions, was known for his ascetic inclinations, see E. I. Vol. 1 p. 88
2. U. Q. p. 138
of Divine mercy for the community" (ikhtilāf al-a'immah rahma li-l-umma), stating:

"Indeed, the difference of opinion among the religious leaders is an act of Divine mercy if properly applied, but it constitutes an act of retribution (naqma) when it leads to religious factionalism and mutual hatred."

This is what happened to the Muslim community which has been torn into numerous sects; the members of each claiming that they alone are "the people of the Sunna" (ahl as-sunna), all others "innovationists" (muttadī‘un) and "deviators" (za‘ighūn).

"Considering this situation, no rational man will pretend that this sort of disunity should be called an act of Divine mercy, and not an act of retribution."

1. A. J. Wensinck states that article 7 of al-fīscf al-akbar (a document allegedly composed by Abu Hanifa) which reads: "Difference of opinion in the community is a token of divine mercy" is an article of faith which found its way into Muslim tradition, but not into the canonical collections of the Ḥadīth. See, A. J. Wensinck The Muslim Creed (Cambridge 1932) pp. 103-122

2. U. Q. p. 130

3. idem
3. The fanaticism (ta’ṣṣub) for each of the different rites (madhāhib), and the opinions of later theologians, and the abandonment of the sacred texts (nuṣūṣ) and the ancestral patterns of conduct (Maslak as-salaf).

The later theologians have burdened the faith with successive layers of "accretions," in contrast to the Salaf. Kawākibī states:

"During the age of the pious ancestors (as-salaf as-ṣāliḥ) our religious law was liberal, its injunctions and prohibitions well known; every Muslim, man or woman, performed the precept to do what is reputable (al-amr bi-l-maʿruf) and restrain from the disreputable (an-nahy 'an al-munkar)."

Then, as the result of legal disagreements and the imposition upon the people what Qurʾān and Sunna have not made obligatory, the community became utterly confused.

4. The activities of the Sufi extremists (ghulāt as-ṣūfīya) and the "deceitful" scholars who followed them.

The impostors have brought into the faith Scriptural borrowings (muqtaṣabat kitābīya), superstitious and harmful innovations. The Sūfīs have given the Qurʾān interpretations:

2. ibid. p. 138  5. ibid. p. 138
3. ibid. p. 32
which are not implied in the text. As the result of their preachings and doings, shirk (idolatry), assuming a variety of forms, has been allowed to infiltrate into Islam. The dead are worshipped, mosques erected near their tombs, and religion is practiced as play and entertainment.

A great deal of Sufi innovations are taken over from sayings of the Talmud and decisions of Oecumenical Councils and church dignitaries. The mystic orders adopted innumerable Christian church ceremonials and rituals such as wearing of priestly garments, recitation of litanies and establishing places of worship next to graves. These customs are readily accepted and followed by the ignorant masses of the people who comprehend more easily religious services carried on in play and with the help of visible and tangible objects than the true worship of Allah conducted by legal performances and out of piety.

1) ibid. p. 35
Kawakibi speaks of ta'wil al-Qur'an which denotes the allegorical interpretations given the Qur'an by Shi'a sects and Sufi orders. See Lammens op. cit. pp. 44-45
2. U. Q. p. 36
For historical and religious analysis of saint-worship in Islam, see Ignaz Goldziher "Die Heiligenverehrung im Islam" Muhammedanische Studien Vol. 2 (Halle 1890) pp. 277-378
4. ibid. pp. 36-37
5. The acceptance of the view that rational sciences and religion are incompatible.

6. The surrender to the principle of taqlīd (blind acceptance of the opinions of a religious authority, without due inquiry), abandonment of tabassur (independent thinking) and istiḥādah (seeking right guidance).

According to Kawākībī, responsible for the corruption of religious thinking and acting are the later theologians, the Ṣufis and the official ‘ulama’ (religious scholars).

The "official ‘ulama’" ignorant and servile men, are appointed by the political authorities to the rank of religious leaders. The overwhelming majority of these "learned men" who, on account of their high position, enjoy considerable prestige cannot properly read their own proclamations.

Imitating the Roman-Catholic priesthood the official ‘ulama’ perform religious rites wearing gowns and caps resplendent with gold and silver (expressly prohibited by āijma‘). Dressed in this attire they can be seen in the sultan’s mosques of Constantinople delivering the khutba (sermon) and invoking the

1. U. Q. p. 139
2. idem
3. ibid. pp. 42-43
ittacū-llāh (fear the Lord). They are wholly unconcerned with problems of divorce and orphanage, and pay no attention to the fraudulent disposition of *waqf* (charitable endowment) money. Positions of teaching, preaching and religious guidance are sold to the highest bidder or bestowed upon sycophants.

**Political Factors**

1. The absolutism of the authorities.

The socialistic-democratic (*niyābiya ishtirākiya, ay dīnugrafiya*) structure of the early Islamic community has given way to tyrannous systems of government. Political despotism is supported by servile scholars who teach that independent thinking is detrimental to society and that active participation of the people in the conduct of their affairs is an infringement upon the authority of the administration. "To foreign Powers opposed to authoritarianism in government the argument is advanced that 'the principles of Islam cannot be reconciled with concepts of democratic rule, and that the rulers must conform to the religious sensitivities of their subjects.'"

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1. U. Q. pp. 43–45
2. ibid. pp. 25–26
3. ibid. pp. 45–46

For example, it was the view of Ali Pasha, grand vezir of Sultan Abdü'laziz that any reforms introduced into the administration of the Empire "must be compatible with the principle of absolute monarchy which was in harmony with the genius of the East."

*E J W Gibb, op. cit.* Vol. 5 p. 61
2. The division of the community into rival clans and political factions.

3. The loss of freedom of speech and work, justice and equal rights.

In the course of the debate on the issue of "loss of freedom" the delegate from Constantinople read a paper which he concluded with the following statement:

"It must be recognized that over a long period of time a number of Muslim peoples have grown so accustomed to enslavement, tyranny, humiliation and contempt, that submission has become one of their natural characteristics abandonment of which would be painful to them. For this reason, the overwhelming majority of the Indians (Muslim Indians), Egyptians and Tunisians, particularly since they obtained (but not inherited) a certain degree of security of life and possessions and a measure of freedom of thought and action, do not evince any sympathy for the deplorable conditions confronting Muslims in other countries. On the contrary, they are inclined to display displeasure with men who take revenge on their Muslim princes, possibly considering the seekers of reform renegades of the faith, as

1. U. Q. p. 140
if the mere fact that the prince is a Muslim frees him of every other obligation including the administration of justice. They seem to imagine that it is the religious duty of Muslim subjects to submit to their ruler in unquestioning obedience, even if he devastates their land, kills their children and hands the country over to foreign governments. 1)

4. The loss of fair play and equality between the different social classes of the community.

5. The curtailment of the opportunities available to scholars and students of science for earning a livelihood and gaining prestige.

6. The stupidity and arrogance of the princes who are given to sumptuous living and self-indulgence, and remote from the pursuit of glorious deeds.

7. The tendency of the princes to follow fraudulent scholars and ignorant Sufis.

They oppress distinguished people, and draw into their service only the wicked and servile.

8. The imposition on judges and muftis to attend to matters which are not within the realm of their religious duties.

9. The restriction of political interest to collection of

1. U. Q. p. 30
taxes and to military affairs.

Social Factors

1. The deterioration of religious and moral education, and the disintegration of religious ties among Muslims.

2. The contentment with the appalling state of ignorance, and the scholars' hostile attitude towards acquisition of scientific learning, and their complete satisfaction with mere teaching of language and theology in utter disregard of the fact that it was chiefly science that enabled the West to achieve enormous material and cultural progress.

The Kurdish delegate concluded a speech in which he decried the community's indifference to mathematics and natural sciences with the following observation:

"Persistent remoteness from the pursuit of practical sciences has made the Muslims so manifestly inferior to many of the contemporary nations that, if this condition is to continue for another fifty years, the cultural gap between Muslims and their neighbors will indubitably become equal to that between man and beast."

And to support his thesis the Kurd cited the Qur'anic verse:

1. U. Q. pp. 140-141
2. ibid. p. 50
"Say: Are those who have knowledge on the same footing as those who have not?"

3. The lack of interest in industrial occupations, the general preference being the earning of a livelihood by performing military and administrative services.

4. The decline of communal funds and the unmitigating poverty of the masses as the result of failure to bring in zakat and keffarāt (alms and sin-offerings).

Stating his views on the subject of poverty the Afghani delegate declared:

"Poverty is the prime cause of all evil and bad luck, and because of it came our lapse into obscurantism, corruption of morals, our disagreements even on religious matters and the loss of our sensitivities. And yet there is no reason for this state of affairs. Our population is enormous, our countries mutually in friendly accord, our soil is fertile, our mines rich, our religious law sound and our glory ancient. Only in financial power we lag behind other contemporary nations.

To obtain money we must engage in advanced sciences and arts, the acquisition of which, in turn, makes the

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1. Qur. 39:12

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availability of ready cash absolutely essential. Indeed, this is a vicious cycle from which we must extricate ourselves, or else we shall inevitably be overtaken by 'the law of extinction (nāmus al-fanā') of the weak by the strong,' which in our case means: 'the ignorant by the educated.'

The delegate from Afghanistan continued his speech with the following statement:

"The most significant factor contributing to the poverty of the community is the financial policy pursued by the Islamic governments which collect money from the poor and wretched in order to spend it for the sole benefit of the wealthy, instead of enforcing the religious law which imposes taxation of the rich (by their liability to payments of zakāt and kaffārāt) in order to help the needy and destitute."

With reference to the subject of poverty, the English delegate stated:

"Muslim society as a whole is rich, not lacking the necessary funds for gradual advancement in the realm of scientific"
endeavors: (not even excluding ocean and polar expeditions) because the religious injunctions of zakāt on the owners of nisāb (property subject to payment of zakāt) and kaffarāt set aside a not insignificant share of the money of the opulent for the benefit of the needy and general communal expenses, so that, if the Muslims truly lived like Muslims, they would not be stricken by poverty, but enjoy a life of a "common, organized socialism" (al-ishtirāk al-‘umūrī al-muntazam), some kind of which is aspired by most of the civilized European world. Those peoples, however, have not yet discovered the proper method of implementing their program, although efforts in this direction are being made by societies and parties: (consisting of millions of members) known as Communist, Fenianist, Nihilist and Socialist. All of these movements seek to achieve a complete or approximate "equalization" (at-tasawwur at-taqaarub) of rights and living standards.

Islam, on the other hand, with its precepts of zakāt and kaffarāt has made this "equalization" a religious obligation. Only the failure to pay zakāt and offer kaffarāt is partly responsible for the inertia with which we are dealing here.¹

¹. U. Q. P. 53
Kawākībī seems to have held the opinion that the
"ideal Muslim community," i.e., that established by the first
four caliphs, was not only founded on principles of political
freedom, but also on the basis of a socialistic mode of living.
He states:

"Indeed, those orthodox caliphs (al-khulāfaʾ ar-rashidūn)
understood the true meaning of the Qurʾān and acted accord­
ingly. Thus, their government looked favorably upon the
realization of complete equality for all, to such an ex­
tent that even the caliph’s share in the comforts and toils
of life was not different from that of the paupers of the
community. The orthodox caliphs stirred among the Muslims
sentiments of brotherhood, cemented bonds within the body
social (rawābiṭ hay’ā ijtīmaʿīya) and initiated social­
istic living conditions: (ḥālat naʿīsha ishtirākīya), the
like of which one will hardly find among brothers enjoying
the support of one father and the care of one mother."

5. The total absence of social and cultural activities,
and the non-existence of organized societies which encourage
democratic thinking.

Kawākībī asserts that, while progressive Western

1. T. I. p. 18
2. U. C. pp. 141–142

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peoples have instituted a regular weekly day of rest affording time for club work, meetings, discussions, as well as special days for festive celebrations, conferences and public demonstrations, all these activities contributing to formation of a democratic consciousness, the Muslims have all but forgotten the idea of group life. Their preachers and scholars, continually afraid of being suspected of meddling and sedition, invariably refuse to speak on general subjects.

Miscellaneous Factors

1. The individual's indifference to proper adjustment of his personal affairs.

2. The Muslim's inability to organize his time and work.

3. The lack of concern for the education of the women.

Kawakibī's attitude towards the women seems contradictory. On the one hand, he regards them as parasites of society, the urbanites to a greater extent than the villagers, and those, in turn, to a greater extent than the Bedouin. They have laws enacted by which they are considered weak and their tasks made easy. Thus their share in the toils of life is disproportionately small, and they rob the menfolk of the fruits

1. U. Q. pp. 55-56 2. ibid. p. 149

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of their labor. On the other hand, Kawâkibî deplores the complacency displayed with regard to the education of girls, and he severely criticizes the zealots who consider the obscurantism of the women desirable because allegedly "ignorance is the best shield of their virtuousness." Kawâkibî tries to disprove the argument that knowledge leads to immorality and ignorance to chastity by referring to the situation which prevailed in the early Islamic community which had thousands of women who were "companions" (gaḥābiyât) and "followers" (taḥāriyât) of the prophet, ḥadîth-tellers, legists, scholars and poetesses.

The Resolutions of the Jamî‘ayat Umm al-Qura

After completion of its discussions on the subjects of "the causes of decline" and "true faith and its observance" the Jamî‘ayat Umm al-Qura passed the following ten resolutions:

1. The Muslims have fallen into a state of degeneracy which is thorough and universal.

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1. T. I. p. 54
2. U. Q. pp. 157-158

H. A. R. Gibb has realistically described the romantic coloring of the modernists' view of the historical past of the Islamic community. "When Amîr 'Alî exclaims: 'Who has not heard of the saintly Rabî'a and a thousand others her equals?' I wonder how many Muslim readers have asked themselves to name five of those thousand others." H. A. R. Gibb op. cit. pp. 107-108
2. The decadent conditions must be rapidly remedied lest "their (the Muslims') cohesion" (agabiyatuhum) vanish altogether.

3. The prime cause of decline is the indifference shown by the political leaders and the 'ulams'.

4. The bacilli of the disease lie in the prevailing obscur-antism.

5. The most insidious germ of the malady is the profound ignorance in religious matters.

6. The illness must be combatted and eradicated by the following two methods:
   a) enlightenment through education, and
   b) inspiration of the youth and arousing its desire for progress.

7. The effective method of treatment is the establishment of legally constituted societies.

8. The foundation of educational societies is to be the concern of the political authorities, the nobility and the scholars.

9. The people of the Arabian Peninsula are recognized as

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1. Ibn Khaldūn uses the term "agabiyas" as the binding element in society, the feeling which unites members of family, tribe, nation or empire. See Reynold A. Nicholson A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge 1941) p. 440

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pre-eminently qualified to bring about liquidation of the ex-
sting state of "inertia."

10. It is absolutely essential to initiate a society named
"Jām‘īyat ta‘līm al-muwahhidīn" which is equipped to carry out
the program outlined in the Qānūn (statutes) of the projected
organization.

The constitution drafted by the Jām‘īyat Umm al-
Qurū for the proposed educational society consists of forty-
eight articles divided into four sections and a conclusion, as
follows:

1. The formation of the society  (art. 1 - 13)
2. The basic principles of the society (art. 14 - 20)
3. The finances of the society  (art. 21 - 25)
4. The functions of the society  (art. 26 - 45)
5. Conclusion  (art. 46 - 48)

After reading the text of the statutes which
occupied most of the twelfth, the last formal session of the
conference, the chairman suggested that, in view of the reso-
lution to set up the temporary headquarters of the projected

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3. ibid.  pp. 174-175  6. ibid.  p. 186

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Jamʿīyat taʿlīm al-muwahhidīn either in Port Saʿīd or Kuwayt, as-Sayyid al-Furātī and the Egyptian delegate be appointed to implement the decision. Six months after adjournment of the Jamʿīyat Umm al-Qurā the two should meet in Cairo in order to make all necessary arrangements for holding the first congress of the proposed society. They should also endeavor to edit the text of the deliberations carried on at the present conference and publish a Turkish, Persian and Urdu translation of the minutes.

The chairman further stated that as-Sayyid al-Furātī had promised to keep in touch with the various delegates to the Mecca conference and inform them as to how matters were coming along. In conclusion he voiced his hope that "when we meet in three years for the second time, the permanent Jamʿīyat taʿlīm al-muwahhidīn will be well established and in operation."
CHAPTER IV

Survey of Taba'i' al-Istibdad

The introduction of the book deals with the definition of istibdad (tyranny) and mustabidd (tyrant), two terms which express absolutism of government. The state of despotism is an illness which is described by different people in a different manner; thus:

"The materialist will declare that the malady is essentially 'power' and its cure -- 'opposition'; the political thinker will assert that the illness is 'enslavement' and its antidote -- 'restoration of freedom'; the philosopher will state that the ailment is 'the cunning to act arbitrarily' and its remedy -- 'the capacity to conduct oneself equitably'; the jurist will maintain that the disease is supremacy of political authority over religious law' and its relief -- 'predominance of religious law over political power'; and the theologian will say that the sickness is 'the attempt to associate others with God (tashrīk)' and its cure -- 'the affirmation of the doctrine of unity (tawḥīd).'

The above descriptions are given by men of thought (ahl an-nazar); now to turn to those suggested by men of action (ahl al-‘aza’im): the proud individual will assert
that the illness is 'self-imposition of shackles' and its antidote — 'the rise from abasement;' the brave will declare that the malady is 'arrogance' and its cure — 'humiliation of the haughty;' the resolute will say that the disease is 'leaders without restrictions' and its remedy — 'the imposition upon them of rigid limitations;' and the chivalrous will state that the illness is 'fondness of life' and its cure — 'love death.'

To give a more technical definition, absolutism is a regime "that administers the affairs of the subjects as it sees fit without fear of having to account to and possibly be punished by the legislators." The tyrant conducts public business according to his personal desires, not according to their (the people's) religious law." "The oppressor thrusts the heel of his foot into the mouths of millions of people to prevent them from expressing and seeking the truth, he hates law and freedom and destroys them both." "A despotic regime is made possible and its continuity assured by two formidable and effective weapons: obscurantism of the masses and military forces."

Tyranny and Religion

Kawākibī states that, according to the views of certain European writers, there are two types of tyranny, one being religious and one political, both coordinating their efforts to secure spiritual and physical control over the people who are rendered submissive by being subjected to tormenting fears. Religious domination is based on the individual's apprehension of what is going to happen to him during his lifetime and after death. The political tyrant builds his rule on similar premises; he intimidates, humiliates, and plunders the people until "they slave for them (i.e., the tyrants) as if they were created sheep taking from the blessings of life only what is absolutely necessary for preservation of the species."

Kawākibī further states that, while the two types of tyranny are inseparable and interdependent, records of history attest that religion has a more powerful grip on human society than politics. Thus, the most efficacious method of bringing about political changes seems to be the endeavor to initiate religious reforms. This truism was recognized by the philosophers of ancient Greece who, referring to the division

1. T. I. pp. 13-14
of power and authority allegedly prevalent among their gods, persuaded their fellow citizens to demand of the rulers similar methods of government. Their tyrants' grudging consent to accept the system of administration followed by the deities led to the establishment of the republics of Athens and Sparta.

While the principle of division of authority, for the first time proposed by the Greeks, has remained up to this present day the central pillar on which most monarchic and republican governmental systems rest, the idea of associating the affairs of man with those of God (tashrik) has presented a danger to the doctrine of unity (tawhid) to the profession of which the monotheistic religions are pledged. The kings of Israel corrupted the concept of tawhid and retrograded to tashrik which the Torah emphatically rejects. The Gospels tried to reassert the dogma of tawhid, but the early Christian converts could not comprehend that the "Fatherhood" and "Sonship" of Christ were merely metaphorical attributes, and they interpreted the terms in the literal sense of relations between father and son. Christianity materially contributed to promote the idea of tashrik by proclaiming, as an article of faith, that the priests represent God on earth, are infallible and have legislative powers. Islam, however, destroyed the
concept of *tashrik* altogether; it has no clergy and no provisions for confession or purchase of forgiveness. Hostile to absolutism, Islam perfected the principles of political freedom and called for extermination of tyranny (*imāt al-istibdād*). The Qurʾān looks favorably upon democratic government and has commanded decency as the consideration which is to determine human behavior, as it is written: "And let there be (found) of you a community inviting the good, urging what is reputable and restraining from what is disreputable, such are the prosperous."

The early caliphs followed the teachings of the Qurʾān and founded a governmental structure firmly based on the principles of political liberty and social equality. Thus, Islam cannot be charged with lack of humanitarian or democratic-socialistic thinking. Only later, when tyrants and religious impostors refused to be guided by the wisdom of the basic religious texts, the system of consultation advocated in the Qurʾān was replaced by forms of despotic government.

**Tyranny and Science**

The tyrant does not want his subjects to be en-

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1. Qur. 3.100
lightened, as he is aware that enslavement can only endure as long as the people are ignorant.

The despot is particularly afraid of those sciences that inform the people of their rights as men and of the injustices committed against them. Fearing the results of learning the tyrant comes to hate learning in itself; he realizes that the people "when ignorant, are afraid, and when afraid, surrender. But when they acquire knowledge, they speak, and once they speak, they act."

Kawakibī's contempt for the slavish behavior of the oppressed subjects is as uncompromising as his passionate hatred of tyranny; this is eloquently expressed in the following statement:

"He (the tyrant) straps them, and they sing praises to his might; he robs their possessions, and they acclaim him for letting them live; he treats them with disdain, and they extol his nobility; he sets them against one another, and they take pride in the wisdom of his policy; when he squanders their money, they consider him honorable; when he commits murder without making a habit of this crime, they regard him as merciful; and if some cou-
rageous individuals take revenge on the tyrant, the people turn on them as if they were the oppressors."

The despot's scare of vengeance is greater than the subjects' fear of his wickedness, because his fear stems from knowledge, theirs from ignorance. The tyrant dreads for his life and rule, the people worry about crumbs of bread and a home.

Tyrants of the West are afraid that the people may find out that freedom is more honorable than life itself; despots of the East fear that their subjects may learn to evaluate properly the fundamental Qur'anic doctrine: "There is no God but God" and that God, and only God may claim human submission.

Tyranny and Glory

Glory, man's desire to be loved and respected by the people is a spiritual pleasure almost equal to the enjoyment that comes to devout men from performing acts of worship, comparable to that experienced by learned individuals during the pursuit of their studies, greater than that derived by the rulers from material gains, and far exceeding the satisfaction obtained by the poor from sudden death.

1. idem

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It has been established that, while among free men glory is deemed preferable to life, among prisoners the lust for life is more apparent. Kawâkibî, condemning the opinion of Ibn Khaldûn who criticized members of the prophet's family (a'immât al-al-bayt) for inviting certain death by throwing themselves into perilous situations, asserts that Muhammad's relatives were justified in their actions because "they preferred to die in honor than carry on a life of ignominy and hypocrisy that Ibn Khaldûn hailed." Kawâkibî further says that Ibn Khaldûn's disapproval of the conduct by the members of the prophet's family contradicts his own statement that "wild birds and beasts refuse to copulate in cages of captivity, considering it natural and preferable to commit suicide in order to be released from the shackles of humiliation."

1. Elaborating on Kawâkibî's reference, Ahmad Amin adds that "the Imam Husayn ibn 'Ali and others like him" "that they went out in a small party against the caliph who was powerful in numbers and might."

2. T. I. p. 25

3. Ibn Khaldûn states that "wild animals do not copulate when held in captivity by men, and if this state continues they will dwindle until they are finally extinct."

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1. Amin op. cit. p. 259
2. Ibn Khaldûn Muhaddima (Cairo 1867) p. 171
3. Ibn Khaldûn op. cit. p. 117
Glory can be attained by useful contributions to society which means, according to Eastern thinking, achievements within the realm of religion and, according to Western thinking, accomplishment of humanitarian or patriotic endeavors. These contributions can be made in the form of monetary gifts for the benefit of communal interests, scientific exploits for the good of society and, the loftiest type of glory, self-sacrifice in the struggle for victory of truth and right.

But there is another kind of glory, false glory (tamajjud) which is sought above all in periods of despotic administrations. Tamajjud can be interpreted as the effort of man to become a small tyrant in the service of a powerful despot. The seekers of false glory, enemies of justice and supporters of oppression, are selected by the tyrant from among the fainthearted and despicable.

If the tyrant engages some erudite individuals for government service in order to benefit from their education and experience, he dismisses them as soon as he realizes that these intelligent people are hostile to despotism and desirous to attain real glory in the service of the nation and
by engaging in activities calculated to bring about reforms.

As to the notables and religious leaders, they may have originally been endowed with superb qualities, but with lavish grants and presents, ranks and titles, the tyrant cowers them into submission, thus making them used to and fond of his sumptuous regime and turning them into willing servants.

**Tyranny and Money**

This chapter deals with the impact of tyrannous government on the wealth and economy of a country.

According to Kawakibī, money or capital, in the widest sense of the term, includes a variety of elements such as power, knowledge, stability, honor, perfection, education, thrift, in brief everything from which material benefits are accrued to man. The political theorists consider money a substitute for power, the economists regard it as something useful to society and the moralists see in it merely a substance which enables man to lead a dignified life.

The accumulation of money (at-tamawal, ay iddikhār al-mal) is commendable only on condition that it comes from

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1. T. I. pp. 45-46

There can be no doubt that Kawakibī is alluding to his own unfortunate experiences in government service.
enterprises that are legitimate and not injurious to the needs of others. It is reprehensible to engage in monopolization of essential commodities (iḥṭikār aḍ-ḍarūrīyāt), in unfair competition with economically weak craftsmen and laborers (muzāḥamat aḍ-ṣunnā wa-l-‘umūl aḍ-du‘a‘a‘) and in seizure of excessive holdings of land which should be the property of all the people.

Moralists consider excess of money an important factor contributory to moral corruption. While not outright discouraging its legitimate acquisition, they regard it as more praiseworthy that men learn a useful trade which can earn them a livelihood in dignity, without humiliation.

Kawkabī criticizes the material injustices which, he asserts, are brought about by tyranny. He states that "the toils of life are unjustly distributed."

"Political and religious leaders constituting a mere minute portion of the total population enjoy one half or more of all the available wealth squandering it on extravagant living and luxuries. They beautify the streets with multitudes of lamps because they occasionally pass through them, unmindful of the millions of poor whose homes are accustomed to darkness. This is also the case of manufacturers of"
luxury goods and big merchants: one of whom lives better than tens, hundreds or thousands of laborers and peasants combined."

Kawakibi, the disciple of Western thought, is impressed by Rousseau who recognized that man's dissimilar endowment with natural faculties, physical strength and mental competence, made inequality in human society inevitable. But Kawakibi, the Salafiya romanticist, seemingly under the influence of nineteenth century socialist thinkers, is perturbed about existing material inequalities which, according to his thinking, are irreconcilable with the social consciousness of the early Islamic community. Therefore he strongly advocates the correction of material inequalities, unlike Rousseau who favored an alternate solution, equality by convention and legal rights. Kawakibi declares:

"It is to be expected that the scholar who spent the best years of his life preoccupied with the endeavor to acquire useful knowledge and skills should be unlike the ignoramus who wastes his time sleeping in the shade of the wall, just as it can be anticipated that the industrious should be un-

1. T. I.  p. 55
2. Rousseau op. cit. pp. 21-22
3. idem

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like the indolent living in obscurity. This inequality, however, is incompatible with the principle of justice, and makes it mandatory for humanity that the more advanced individual take hold of the lowly and poor and bring him nearer to his station and standard of living."

**Tyranny and Morals:**

Tyranny which uses its governmental powers not for the people, but against them, is bound to lead to moral corruption of the citizens. The prisoner of tyranny cannot be expected to display any cultural aspirations, his only concern in life being the satisfaction of his material needs. The people are spiritually so enfeebled that they endure submission with satisfaction and accept the despot's political theory that "counsel is meddling, zeal — enmity, nobility — arrogance, enthusiasm — madness, humanitarianism — stupidity, mercy — and illness," and that "hypocrisy is good policy, trickery — intelligence, vileness — kindness, and baseness — gentleness."

Kawakibi further states:

"It is not strange that tyranny exercises control over the

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1. T. I. p. 55
2. ibid. pp. 69-70
3. ibid. p. 70
minds of the common people, what is odd is the fact that
often rational men are unmindful of it, amongst them a great
number of historians who deferentially respect victorious
conquerors whom they consider distinguished, merely because
they killed multitudes of human beings and destroyed civ-
1) ilizations."

Of all curbs that tyranny imposes, the most ef-
flective is the suppression of counsel and criticism. The pros-
perous way of life attained by progressive nations is attrib-
utable to their efforts to establish republican forms of govern-
ment which guarantee freedom of speech, writing and printing,
and to set up chambers of deputies that exercise control over
the administrations. "They (i. e. those progressive peoples)
were aware that unhampered liberty might lead to anarchy, but
deemed this eventuality preferable to imposition of limita-
tions because they felt that the rulers were apt to turn a hair
of restriction into a chain of iron (ya‘alū ash-sha‘ra min
at-taqyīd silsilā min hadīd) in order to strangulate with it
their natural enemy, freedom."

Tyranny and Education

Tyranny corrupts morals, but physical and mental

1. T. I. p. 70

2. ibid. p. 74

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education stimulates man's inclinations towards the good. The two forces are continually in conflict: what education builds, tyranny tears down.

Progressive and free governments have assumed supervision over all aspects of the nation's cultural and social development. Marriage laws (qawā'īn an-nikaḥ) have been enacted, social services, clinics, orphanages and the like founded, elementary school education made compulsory, institutes of higher learning established, museums and theatres built, club activities encouraged, in brief, those governments displayed profound concern for the contentment and happiness of the people.

"In tyrannous society the human being goes without education, his maturing is purely a matter of chance; similar to the growth of a wild tree in the woods which drought and fire may attack, and storms and destructive hands uproot, which is saved from the blind axe only by the mercy of the woodchopper, accident alone will determine what will be bent and what will stand erect, what will bear fruit and what will remain sterile." 2

The enjoyment of justice and freedom makes life

1. ibid., p. 87
Text reads: "the government makes available midwives (qabilat), vaccination technicians (mulaqqihūn) and physicians (aṭibba')
2. ibid., p. 88
of the citizens worth while, balanced between work and pleasure.
Poor or rich, the individual takes pride in his occupation and
is satisfied with his lot. If not materially successful, he
can always hope for improvements.

The prisoner of tyranny, on the other hand, lives
in obscurity with no purpose to his existence, and looks forwa
ward to the end of his days. He feels the pains of oppression,
but does not know its causes. In his despair he will blame all
his misfortunes on "bad luck," "fate" or "predestination."
The devout individual will find consolation in anticipation of
the ease and comfort that will be his share in the world to
come. Muslim scholars tell the simple people that "this world
is a prison for the believer, and the faithful is smitten by
calamity. When God loves a servant, he afflicts him." These

1. Text reads: "tali'" (horoscope)
2. "idha ahbab Allah abdan ibtalahu" (if Allah loves a servant, he afflicts him),
the similar hadith passage reads: "wa-inna Allah idha ahbab qawman ibtalahu" (if Allah loves a people, he afflicts it).

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1. T. I. p. 89
2. ibid. p. 90
This statement consists of two different hadith passages:
1. "ad-dunya sijn al-mu'min" (this world is a prison for the believer)
   Ahmad ibn Hanbal The Musnad of Ibn Hanbal
   Vol. 2 (Cairo 1895) p. 197, also p. 435
2. While text in T. I. reads: "idha ahbab Allah abdan ibtalahu" (if Allah loves a servant, he afflicts him),
   the similar hadith passage reads: "wa-inna Allah idha ahbab qawman ibtalahu" (if Allah loves a people, he afflicts it).
   ibn Hanbal op. cit. Vol. 5 p. 429
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distractions divert the minds of the enslaved from seeking the real causes of their misery, i.e., the rule of tyranny and lack of education.

**Tyranny and Progress**

Man seeks to advance himself by endeavoring to satisfy his physical needs, health and pleasure, to improve the social structure of clan and family, to acquire knowledge and wealth, to cultivate good character traits and to perform meritorious deeds. The tendency to progress is continuous, induced by natural inclinations and intellectual aspirations, restrained only by physical debilities or the impact of tyranny which is opposed to man's advancement.

Kawakibi states that, while tyranny leads to a nation's decline and ultimate extinction, progress can be attained only under free administrations governed by public opinion which is intolerant to every type of despotism and the spread of religious and racial misery; recognizing that happiness of common brotherhood can be achieved only through mutual love among the individuals and equal rights between the classes.

Under a just government, the individual's personal

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1. T. I. p. 116

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independence has progressed to such an extent that the felicity of his existence has become comparable to the great happiness of paradise which religions promise man. Man lives firmly rooted in his homeland, the government guarding his life and well-being, concerning itself with his physical and mental education, protecting his freedom of religion, thought and work. He enjoys equality of rights and privileges and security of money and property, being "confident that if he deserves to be king, he will be king, and if he commits a crime he will receive his due punishment."

In free society man is an integral part of the communal body and must, if physically fit, perform services for the benefit of the people, and be prepared to give of his wealth and spirit. The merit of one's trade is being determined by its usefulness to the public, thus the baker being considered more deserving than the poet.

These conditions have made possible that the citizens acquired a measure of material and spiritual advantages which are beyond the comprehension of captives of tyranny.

In free society the most important consideration of the citizen is the welfare of the nation, next to it comes his con-

1. T. I. p. 118
2. ibid. p. 119
3. ibid. pp. 120-121
cern for individual liberty, then for his family and finally
for humanity as a whole. "His people is mankind, his home-
land the globe. With contempt he looks down on political author-
ity that borders on arrogance, and he despises commerce which
is disposed to dishonesty. For him the most respectable pro-
fession is the pen, then the plough and then the hammer."

Tyranny and the Rescue from it

The last chapter of ُطبا ر al-ìstibdād  is de-
voted to an analysis of what Kawkabādi considers the most ef-
fective and realistic ways and means by which tyranny is to be
combatted.

Attempts to exterminate despotism can succeed only
if it is recognized:

1. that the nation, the majority of which does not feel
the pain of tyranny does not deserve freedom,

2. that tyranny is opposed by faith, wisdom and gradual
advance, not by violence, and

3. that before embarking upon active resistance to tyr-
anny the desired form of government needs to be formulated.

1. T. I. p. 120
2. idem p. 131
3. ibid. p. 131

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Kawakibī strongly emphasizes that the only method by which tyranny can be effectively uprooted is through progressive development of the nation's sensibilities and intellectual faculties through education and inspiration. It may take a long time to achieve this because the common people do not quickly approve of what they are not accustomed to.

Violence by insurrection should be discouraged because the consequences would only be unspeakable bloodshed. If, as the result of unusual circumstances, spontaneous outbursts of rebellion should occur, intelligent men should keep aloof, until the spirit of revolution has somewhat subsided. Only then would they be able to direct the minds of the people and work for establishment of a reign of justice and virtue.
CHAPTER V

The Religious Reform Ideas of Kawakibi

Kawakibi's religious thought is essentially that of a Muslim modernist who seeks to re-examine the basic tenets of his faith and adapt them to the needs of the modern age. Islamic beliefs and practices, basically sound, must be liberated from empty formalism and obscurantism which have spread under the impact of conflicting and unmethodically arranged legal injunctions and traditions, and as the result of an ever-growing ballast of innovations and superstitions concealing from the believers the true meaning of Islam. According to Kawakibi, the necessary religious reforms are to be achieved by:

1. Reducing the complexity of religious observances by systematization of the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence in accordance with their respective significance;

2. Rigorous suppression of superstitious beliefs and practices, and overcoming ritual disagreements and sectarian dissension by reasserting the early teachings of the faith;

3. Religious unification of the community by separating ecclesiastical from secular authorities in the Islamic world through the establishment of a universally recognized Arab spiritual caliphate.

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1. Systematization of the Legal Codes

Kawakibi voices displeasure with existing law books which, on account of improper arrangement of legal injunctions, cannot be considered useful to the masses of the people.

The corpus of canon law has grown so vast that the common people inevitably become confused. They cannot distinguish between the *wajib* (what is necessary), the *mandub* (what is recommended) and the *mubah* (what is permissible), and they cannot appreciate the difference between *kufr* (disbelief), the *haram* (what is forbidden), the *kaaba'ir* (important sins), the *sagha'ir* (little sins) and the *makruh* (disliked). Consequently, the masses have the tendency to divide all the laws according to two basic categories: *matlub* (what is desired) and *mahzur* (what is prohibited), or differently expressed, *halal* (what is permissible) and *haram* (what is forbidden).

What is needed is classification of precepts and prohibitions in accordance with their religious importance.

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1. U. Q. pp. 93-99
For brief explanation of these terms, see
D. B. McDonald *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York 1903) p. 73
New simplified manuals should be prepared by the jurists of the community, in the first place, books dealing with 'ibādat (acts of worship), one set for each madhhab (rite). One volume of the collection should contain only the farā'id (laws enjoined by Qur'ān or tradition of undoubted authority) and the wājibah (obligatory duties, but not certain whether enjoined by Qur'ān or tradition of unquestioned authority), specifying that these injunctions constitute acts which the followers of the respective rite are obliged to perform.

Another series of manuals to be written should include the sunan (traditions referring to Muhammad's sayings and practices), indicating that these injunctions must be observed most of the time, then a third collection should be compiled listing the sunan az-zawa'id (superogatory traditions which have not been emphatically enjoined) explaining that the latter duties are the first that, if necessary, may be discarded.

Similarly, a set of books dealing with the manhīāt (what is forbidden) should be composed, one volume to contain the mukaffarat (acts of disbelief), another the kaba'ir (important sins) and a third the makrūhāt (acts that are
A different collection of works to be prepared should list the *mu'amalat* (duties of human relations) arranged according to the following three categories:

1. *ahkam ijma'iya* (injunctions derived from *ijma*, the collective opinion of the community),

2. *ahkam itihadiya* (injunctions derived from the opinion of single mujtahid, Muslim divine), and

3. *ahkam istihsaniva* (injunctions derived from *istihsan*, considering it preferable).

"This arrangement will simplify for the common people the knowledge of religious duties imposed upon them, and the degree of their importance, thus reasserting the "liberality of the orthodox faith" (samaḥat ad-dīn al-ḥanīf). The Muslim will feel self-assured like the merchant who keeps orderly books, registers, accounts and financial statements. What a difference between this merchant whose mind is at ease and another whose business transactions are conducted unsystematically, accounts jotted down on scattered sheets of paper and all details committed to memory. This latter individual spends his lifetime confused and disturbed."
2. Return to the Early Teachings of Islam

Kawakibī's rejection of the Jabrīya (sects of the Jabrites, fatalists) is contrary to Sunni orthodoxy which formally pronounced itself in favor of fatalism considering determination of all human actions an article of belief, seeing in this: "merely a simple corollary of the infinite power of Allah." Kawakibī's attitude reflects the view of the modernists who accepting the idea of determinism formulated by the un-orthodox Qadarites and Mu'tazilites generally repudiate the concept of fatalism. Thus, for example, Muhammad 'Abduh is very emphatic in stressing man's freedom of action and his subsequent responsibility for what he does.

Kawakibī brands the type of zuhd (asceticism) practiced by Muslims of his age as "deceit and hypocrisy" unlike the genuine abstinence exerted in the early Islamic community. "Ascetic living was the habit of most of the Prophet's companions and followers." However, Kawakibī asserts, Islam does not look favorably upon the concept of zuhd, and this is borne out by "the difficulties and dangers which the companions..."
and the first four caliphs endured in order to obtain wealth, authority and glory, besides the rewards for meritorious deeds."

Kawkibi vehemently denounces all later accretions and religious innovations, calling for purification of Islam from prevailing superstitious beliefs and practices. This, he maintains, could only be accomplished by uncompromising adherence to the religious path of the "early ancestors." The most important principle of our faith is that we were forbidden to add to or subtract from the prophetic words and actions. It is incumbent upon us to follow the Qur'an, Sunna and the ijmā' of the companions, whether we comprehend the wisdom of this legislation or not. Another cardinal dogma of faith is "that we have the free choice in other matters, concerning which we are to make our own decision with due regard to the demands of wisdom and moral virtuousness such as condemning acts of compulsion, having compassion with the weak, seeking useful knowledge, earning a livelihood through work and with moderation, exhibiting fairness in dealings, administering justice in returning verdicts, respecting oaths and similar aspects of moral living."

This thinking of Kawkibi reflects the ideology of

1. U. Q. p. 25
2. ibid. p. 174
3. ibid. p. 67
4. ibid. pp. 67-68

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al-Manar which proposed that Muslims should return to the practices: "of the early days of the first four caliphs, whose Sunnah, together with his own Sunnah, the Prophet commanded Muslims to hold fast to; and they should lay aside everything that has been introduced into Islam that is contrary to that practice."

Kawakibi believes that Muslims need attain religious unity by overcoming the conflicts between the four orthodox rites and the Sunni-Shi’a sectarian division of the community. This unification is undeniably feasible because all adherents to the Islamic faith agree on the *usul* (basic principles or sources of the religion), Qur’an and Sunna, differences being confined to interpretation of the texts by the early teachers.

Kawakibi is vigorously opposed to the principle of *taqlid* and calls for opening the gate of *ijtihad* which strives to find the true application of the Qur’anic word. According to him, surrender to *taqlid* and abandonment of *tabassur* constitute important causes of the religious decline.

"The faith compels the Muslim that in each problem he follow

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2. U. Q. p. 96
3. ibid. p. 209
4. ibid. p. 139
the lawgiver, not the imam (religious leader), and that he apply his ijtihad, not somebody else's, even if the other person be more distinguished than he himself. "God does not want us to follow even the most prominent of the scholars, but has charged us that we seek guidance from the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Prophet according to our own understanding, and He wants our own effort," as it is said: "O Lord, lead not upon us what we are not capable of bearing."

The Controversial Issue of Taqlid and Ijtihad

The problems of taqlid and ijtihad constitute one of the most animatedly debated issues between the orthodox theologians who follow the classical doctrine that, during the early generations of Islam, the scholars have given finality to the dogmatic and legal systems of the faith and closed the door of ijtihad (independent investigation) prescribing for Muslims of all coming ages the adherence to taqlid (uncritical acceptance of legal decisions), and the modernists who claim the right of ijtihad, striving to interpret the sources of the religion in the light of modern conditions. The thesis

1. U. Q. p. 133
2. U. Q. pp. 109-110
3. Qur. 2. 286 b
of the reformers is this: official sanction of the corrupted practices which infiltrated into Islam in the course of centuries was made possible by *ijma'* of later generations, and purification can only be achieved by independent investigation of the sources of the law.

Kawakibi explains his views on the issue of *ijtihād* versus *taqlīd* in a story of a spirited debate on the subject of "right guidance" which was allegedly carried on between a Kazan mufti and a Russian orientalist who had recently become a Muslim. The essential points of argument advanced by the two disputants were as follows:

The Orientalist

"I accepted of Islamic traditions only those which my own intellect could ascertain as of prophetic origin, because no reliance can be placed upon the judgments of the authorities whose decisions and proofs are conflicting."

The Mufti

"For centuries the majority of the community has been in agreement that a Muslim must follow the traditions of one of the four orthodox law schools, and an opinion held by the majority is proof of its soundness, deviation from it not being

1. U. Q. pp. 118–127 
2. Translated summary of debate deletes insignificant details and redundancies.
permissible."

The Orientalist

"If soundness of view were established merely by the numbers of its upholders and the length of time it has been entertained, even if it is contradictory to the human intellect, then paganism and Christianity ought to be accepted as sound. This notion would also be in conflict with the hadith that records: 'His community is divided into seventy-three sects of which the adherents to only one are rescued from hell-fire.' As each of the seventy-three sects claims that it represents the one which offers salvation, and as there can be no doubt that the followers of seventy-two sects outnumber those of any single one, what validity has the principle of majority?"

The Mufti

"Thousands of distinguished scholars of the past have recognized the need for accepting the legal decisions of one of

1. One hadith passage reads: "The religion of the people of the books is separated into seventy-two rites (milla), and this community will be separated into seventy-three rites (milla)."
   ibn Hanbal, op. cit. Vol. 4 p. 102
   Another version of the tradition reads:
   "Israel was divided into seventy-one factions (firqa), seventy were destroyed, and one was saved. And behold my community (ummati) will be divided into seventy-two groups (firqa) of which seventy-one will be destroyed and only one saved."
   ibid. Vol. 3 p. 145

2. Kawakibi was a firm believer in the principle of majority decisions, but only in political matters."
the four madhabs. Proofs are not necessary because man's limited comprehension cannot easily evaluate all the proofs offered, and subsequently sift out the preferable opinion. This truism can be exemplified by reference to the case of a physician who will not try to prove the efficacy of all medicines, but who simply accepts his knowledge of their properties from writings of medical authorities."

The Orientalist

"The doctor will accept a drug as beneficial or reject it as injurious, only if professional experts have reached an agreement as to its characteristics, but if there is lack of unanimity among them, he will ignore the conflicting opinions and try, by independent research and experimentation, to reach his own conclusions.

The injunctions handed down by the schools of jurisprudence are so replete with disagreements even on such simple matters as 'what is permitted, and what is forbidden to be eaten,' and the traditions ascribed to the founders of the madhabs by their later adherents so divergent and contradictory that the person who seeks to follow one of the early legists is bound to become inextricably confused, and he is liable to pick up decisions indiscriminately. On the other
hand, an individual who examines the sources of his religion will find 'right guidance.' It does not matter whether he reaches his decisions by applying his own intellectual faculties or by accepting stated opinions which he recognizes as reliable, even if they are those of his contemporaries."

The Mufti

"We do not suggest that soundness of view is restricted to one of the orthodox rites, but the adherent to one of the four madhahib will either recognize all of them as sound, or those he rejects as probably wrong, but possibly also right."

The Orientalist

"To defend the opinions of all the law schools as sound would imply that God acknowledged a plurality of truths, while the adherence to one specific rite rejecting all others would be tantamount to tacit admission that the community could be in error. Do not these recognitions make it more rational that man seek 'right guidance' by his own effort and follow what he personally established as certainly or probably true?"

The Mufti

"It is no longer possible that we ascertain what is true; therefore, what choice do we have but follow one of the early scholars, even if his investigations do not rule out the pos-
sibility of error?"

The Orientalist

"Is it not more judicious that man retain freedom of choice, seeking 'right guidance' according to his own intellectual capacities, than to tie himself to the possible error of his fellow man?"

The Mufti

"If this 'other man' is better equipped than we are to judge what may be sound and what may be in error, he is more likely to be right."

The Orientalist

"Orthodox Islam does not permit the search for proof, but insists that 'we are captives of tradition, even if contradictory to the evident from the text."

The Mufti

"If our acceptance of provisions in the religious law were limited to what we can substantiate by evidence from the Qur'an, Sunna or ijma, we would be unable to solve all the problems confronting us in matters of 'ibadat (acts of worship) and mu'amalat (precepts of human relations). Every individual would have to preoccupy himself with all minute details involved in controversial issues, and there could be no 'pum-
suit of the right course' (*ittirad*) and no 'orderliness' (*intizam*)."

The Orientalist

"Where (in orthodox Islam) do you have 'pursuit of the right course' and 'orderliness'? There is not a single problem of *'ibadat* or *mu'amalat* for which there should not be two or three opinions expressed by each of the *madhāhib*. Perhaps it will be argued that basing performance of an act (*'amal*) on the saying (*qawl*) of two or more is closer to the 'pursuit of the right course' than anarchy (*fawaḍa*) which would arise if decisions were left up to the personal opinion of the individual or legal matters entrusted to the independent judgment of the magistrate.

Considering the innumerable disagreements in all phases of legal decisions, why should people living in the present era be constrained to opinions of men who lived a thousand years ago? And what makes it obligatory to burden man with what God has not imposed? If there were any good in later accretions, God would not have withheld them from us, as He said: 1)

"We have not let slip anything in the book," that is, what appertains to religion, and "These are the limits set by Allah,

1. Qur. 6.38
so transgress them not, if any transgress the limits set by
Allah, they are wrong-doers." Divine knowledge guided us in
what was necessary; in other matters we were given the free
choice to adapt them to the needs of surroundings and circum-
stances which are not permanent.

Burdens and confusions in religious matters have
appreciably contributed to the decay of Muslim society. Simi-
larly, the Israelites declined when they were pressured and
confused by the teachers of the Talmud; and the Christians,
whether Orthodox or Catholic, degenerated when they were im-
posed upon by arbitrary decisions of the patriarchs and priests
prohibiting due inquiry into the Gospels.

The faith of the adherents to Islam, untainted by
accruals and burdens, increases as knowledge broadens and
discernment sharpens, because for those Muslims religion means
Qur'an, Sunna and ijmã of the first Islamic century which
the intellect cannot reject, and scientific research cannot
contradict. For thirteen centuries critical minds of the na-
tions have pondered over the Qur'an, and yet been unable to
find one contradiction, as God said: "(Do they not then con-
sider the Qur'an?) If it were from any other than Allah, they

1. Qur. 2:229
would find in it many a contradiction."

1) The rationality of Islam has prompted me to adopt the faith. If enough distinguished and progressive Muslim scholars were actively engaged in disseminating the truth of their religion, there would not remain in the world one human being that would deny Allah.

What we need is devotion to the faith and liberation from the shackles of taqlid. A book containing the essential facts about the wisdom and liberality of Islam may help accelerate conversion to our religion of tens, nay hundreds of millions of people, and, on the other hand, keep many millions of Muslims, enlightened by modern education and opposed to superstitions, from abandoning the faith."

The mufti concluded the debate by conceding to the argument of the orientalist, but insisting that the missionary task was too important to be left to individuals. Instead it should be undertaken by a society consisting of members who are well-versed in the various branches of Islamic sciences. As, unfortunately, the Muslim community does not have enough competent men, we should call upon God to inspire the scholars of Mecca, Sana‘, Egypt and Syria with the impul-

1. Qur. 4.84.

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sion to dedicate themselves to the performance of this duty.

3. The Arab Spiritual Caliphate proposed by Kawākibī

To effect religious unification of the Muslim peoples, Kawākibī proposed the establishment of an Arab caliphate seated at Mecca and maintaining religious connections with all Islamic states and principalities.

The caliph was to be a Quraysh-born Arab, his office that of a spiritual executive restricted to carrying out the decisions of an advisory council the authority of which, in turn, was to be delimited by clearly defined duties and powers. The underlying principles of Kawākibī’s projected caliphate were:

1. The separation of political from religious authorities, and

2. The democratization of the religious office by division of its powers between the executive and legislative branches: of which the proposed spiritual directory was to consist.

The scope and activities of both, the caliph and the advisory council, were to be restricted to matters of a

1. The Kazan mufti expressed his confidence in Arabic-speaking scholars exclusively. Kawākibī considered it inconceivable that non-Arab Muslims could also be competent to assume religious leadership and guidance.
general religious concern such as opening the doors of nazār (speculation) and ijtihād (independent investigation) for clarification of the sharī‘a (canon law) and facilitation of religious observances; and closing the gates to wars, invasions and enslavement for the sake of political expediency; and such as opening the doors of obedience to just governments and benefit from their guidance, even if they be non-Muslim, and closing the gates to submission even to a person as just as ‘Umar ibn Khattāb; and such as opening the doors of learning sciences and useful arts even from a Magian, and closing the gates to using waqf funds for gambling.

The caliph was to be elected for a three-year term by the Islamic Advisory Council and made subject to specific stipulations which must conform to the sharī‘a. Violation by the caliph of one of the strictures would result in his removal from office; otherwise he would be eligible for re-election for an unspecified number of terms.

The caliph would serve as an executive agent to implement the decisions of the Islamic Advisory Council which was to consist of one hundred elected members from all parts of the Muslim world. The council was to meet annually for a

1. U. Q. p. 209

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period of two months.

The political authority of the caliph was to be confined to the Hijāz for the administration of which he would be responsible to a special Hijāz Advisory Council. No military forces would be under the caliph's command; security matters of the Hijāz to be handled by a small military detachment consisting of two or three thousand men recruited from all Islamic regions and commanded by an officer from one of the smaller principalities. The unit was to be supervised by the Islamic Advisory Council when it was in session.

The caliph was not to have any right of intervention in political and administrative affairs of the various Islamic governments. He was to confirm the jurisdictional authorities of the temporal rulers, as long as they conformed with the religious law and their respective lines of succession.

The Idea of the Spiritual Caliphate

Kawākibi's proposal to convert the caliphate into a powerless, spiritual directory must have been offensive to orthodox Muslim sentiment, the concept of separating the unity of state and religion being alien to traditional Islam which conceived the caliphate as a powerful political authority cap-
able of ruling the Islamic community, and as the military instrument qualified and ready to defend Islam against all its enemies. There were never any specific ecclesiastical functions attached to the office. Certain religious duties such as leading the prayer during public worship and delivering the khutba (sermon) were delegated to the caliph as token of respect for his political position, not as acknowledgment of any spiritual prerogatives.

For the first time, the concept of the spiritual caliphate was expressed in the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca concluded between Russia and the Ottoman Empire on July 10/21, 1774. The signatories to the document recognized the Crimean Tatar peoples as a free, independent nation, politically not responsible to any foreign Power. However, article 3 of the treaty contains a restrictive clause which reads:

"As to the ceremonies of religion, as the Tartars profess the same faith as the Mahometans, they shall regulate themselves, with respect to His Highness, in his capacity of Grand Caliph of Mahometanism, according to the precepts prescribed to them by their law, without compromising, nevertheless, the stability of their political and civil liberty."

The above-quoted clause constitutes a definite indication that the contracting parties of the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca regarded the office of the caliph as vested with spiritual authority.

Since the end of the eighteenth century insufficiently instructed Christian observers have compared the Ottoman caliphate with the Roman Papacy, erroneously drawing the analogy that the caliph, similar to the pope who exercises the highest spiritual authority over all the Catholics in the world, was religious head of the entire Muslim community. The Turkish sultan was recognized as the temporal ruler of the Ottoman Empire and, in his capacity of caliph, as supreme religious leader of all Islamic peoples.

The fallacious notion concerning the true nature of the caliphate was cleverly exploited by Sultan Abdülhamid in order to further his political objectives: a) the enhancement of his prestige among Muslims by stressing the religious foundations of the State, this concept being considered apt to repress the emerging nationalist stirrings among the subject

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1. For development of the caliphate, see Arnold op. cit., and Arnold Toynbee, "The Abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate" SIA Vol. 1 (1925) pp. 25-91
peoples, and b) strengthening his bargaining power among European diplomats by asserting his claim to the position of official protector of Islam.

The projected spiritual caliphate indicates that Kawakibi seems to have accepted the view of many non-Muslim scholars whom he quotes as maintaining that progress of Western countries was made solely possible "by separation of religious from secular affairs, creed being merely a matter of conscience (amr wiṣānī) and having no impact on the course of human endeavors." Kawakibi significantly states that "Religion is one thing, political sovereignty another" (ad-dīn shay' wa-l-mulk shay' akhar).

Kawakibi refers to recorded history which allegedly bears out that complete unity between religious and political authorities prevailed only during the age of the four orthodox caliphs and the rule of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and, to a lesser degree, during the reign of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, but that subsequently the caliphate has been a power distinct from that of the sovereign.

Kawakibi was not the first Muslim to advocate the complete separation of political and religious authorities.

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1. U. Q. p. 61
2. ibid. p. 201
3. ibid. p. 203

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It is quite possible that Kawākibī, while in Egypt, picked up the unorthodox concept of a spiritual caliphate, incorporating it into the Ḫumm al-Gūrā. At the turn of the century, the idea of the need for separation between spiritual and secular powers in Muslim society was animatedly discussed in Egyptian literary circles. 1)

In September of 1899 the editor of al-Manār referred to two lengthy articles published in the Muqattam on the relevant subject by a writer using as his pen name "Muslim ḥurr al-afkar." Muslim ḥurr al-afkar based his conclusions on the conviction expressed by many Christian thinkers that progress of Muslim society was contingent upon separation of state authorities from those of religion.

In reply to the above-mentioned articles in al-Muqattam, the editor of al-Manār explained in great detail that the proposed detachment from the caliphate of the secular jurisdiction vested in the office would be irreconcilably contradictory to the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith.

Kawākibī was unwilling to grant too much significance to the often-repeated argument that the Christian Powers which had Muslim subjects or neighbors would strenuously object to the establishment of an Arab caliphate at Mecca, spiritually linked

1. al-Manār Vol. 2 (Cairo 1899/1900) pp. 385-391
to all sultanates and principalities of the Islamic world, because they might be concerned about the possibility that the existence of universal religious bonds could easily lead to the formation of political ties. While anticipating stubborn opposition on the part of the Vatican and the Jesuit orders, Kawakibi expected the statesmen of England, Russia and France to welcome and support the project of a democratic Arab caliphate as salutary to their interests and to those of Christianity and humanity as a whole, because, Kawakibi asserts, those political leaders were aware that:

1. Islam called for friendship, and not for enmity between Muslims and non-Muslims;

2. educated Muslims, in general, were less inclined to revolt than their ignorant co-religionists, and

3. the Arabs, in particular, had set a good example by their fair dealings and conscientious discharge of obligations undertaken.

To follow up Kawakibi's opinion, it must be stated that, while no European power ever regarded the existence of an Arab caliphate as especially advantageous to Christianity

1. U. Q. p. 212
2. ibid. p. 215
3. idem
4. ibid. p. 213
or humanity, the establishment of such an office was given political consideration. As early as 1882, Great Britain allegedly 1) favored the idea of an Arab caliphate at Mecca, but only during the First World War did the policy of the British government in this matter become more direct. In the first note of Sir Henry McMahon to Sharif Husayn (point 2) dated July 14, 1915, it was stated that "Great Britain will agree to the proclamation of an Arab Caliphate for Islam."

2. Text of letter in Antonius: op. cit. pp. 414-415

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CHAPTER VI

The Social-Educational Reform Ideas of Kawakibi

Having established the deplorable state of widespread ignorance as the principal cause for the decadent conditions of Muslim society, the Jam‘iyat Umm al-Qurā passed the resolution to encourage the founding of legally constituted cultural-educational institutes, schools in every town and village. It was further recommended to form a permanent central organization, the Jam‘iyat ta’lim al-mu‘ahhidin.

The Organizational Structure of the Projected Society

The constitution of the projected society stipulates that the organization is to consist of one hundred regular members and an unspecified number of sympathizers, of the former group ten are to serve as executives (‘amilūn), ten as counselors (mustashārūn) and eighty as honorary consultants (fakhriyyūn) (art. 1). All members must be Muslims (with no regard to their ritual persuasion) between the ages of thirty and sixty, of good physical health and impeccable character traits, law-abiding, energetic, resolute, courageous and zealous. Their education must include the ability to write.
in at least one language (art. 2). The executives and counselors must have, in addition, a fluent command of spoken and written Arabic. They must be free to spend eight months of each year, from Rabi'ath-thani to Dhū-l-Qa'da, in the city of Mecca where ultimately the central branch of the society will be located (art. 11). The executives must be available for four hours each day (except Fridays and holidays), and the counselors one day a week, at the office of the organization (art. 3). The honorary consultants must be prepared to submit a literary contribution each month, either an article or a chapter of a more comprehensive study, written in Arabic, Turkish, Persian or Urdu. The topic of the composition must be suggested by the society, or, if selected by the author, approved by it (art. 4).

Apart from the main office at Mecca, subsidiary branches of the society will be maintained in Constantinople, Cairo, Aden, Ha'il, Damascus, Tiflis, Teheran, Khīva, Kābul, Calcutta, Delhi, Singapore, Tunis, Marrākush and other important Muslim centers (art. 11). During the first few years of its existence the central branch of the society will be located in Fort Sa'id or Kuwayt (footnote to art. 13).

Once a year, in the beginning of Dhū-l-Qa'da, a general congress will be held at Mecca (art. 3) which will
elect the members of the executive and advisory committees (art. 6-9), review the activities of the society during the past year, examine the financial accounts and make plans for the following season (art. 10).

Funds for operating expenses will be obtained from the sale of books and other publications prepared by the society, and voluntary contributions (art. 22). Elaborate provisions are made for the proper administration of funds (art. 23-25).

Democratic Principles of the Society

Kawakibi introduced into the constitution of his proposed society advanced democratic concepts. For example, strict adherence to principles of deliberation (mudhakara), secret balloting (al-intikhab al-khaffi) and majority decision is insisted upon (art. 6-7). While the general annual assembly of the Jam'iyat ta'lim al-muwahhidin will elect the members of the executive and advisory committees by simple majority vote (al-akthariya al-mutlaqa) (art. 6), candidates for important offices such as those of the presidency, vice-presidency, treasury and secretariat must be accepted by a two-third majority decision of the committees (art. 7).

Provisions are made for the amendment of certain
statutes which changing conditions have made out of date. Once every three years, the executive and advisory committees in joint session will take up the problem of needed constitutional changes. Draft amendments must be accepted by a two-thirds majority decision and accompanied by detailed explanations of the need for the new regulations. The drafts will become constitutional only after approval by the general assembly. To meet any contingency, the executives are accorded the authority to act temporarily according to the proposed amendments, but must later submit to the annual congress of the society a statement of the reasons which made their procedure a matter of urgency. (art. 26).

The Functions of the Society

The functions of the society are essentially educational, religious, scientific and professional, the most important activity being instruction of the young (art. 18) whom the leaders and scholars must assist in attaining professional training (art. 34). Kawakibī does not content himself with general and abstract statements, but outlines in detail concrete programs and methods to be adopted. In the constitution of the projected society it is recommended that the
scholars of the Muslim community be stirred to concern themselves with:

1. the teaching of reading and writing according to the best and easiest possible methods,

2. stimulation of the desire for the study of sciences and useful arts,

3. encouragement of specialization on the part of schools and instructors,

4. improvement of the methods of teaching Arabic and the religious disciplines, and

5. introduction of uniformity in the use of text-books and methods of instruction (art. 27).

It is further suggested that three basic categories of simply and clearly worded manuals be prepared, one set for beginners, another for advanced students and a third for graduates working for specialization (art. 28). Even the types of teachers and places of instruction for each class of students are distinctly specified:

1. the common people should be taught by their Imams (religious leaders) in the small mosques of the locality,

2. advanced students should be instructed by faculty members of general schools and larger mosques, and
3. candidates for specialist training should be taught by specialists in their respective fields of study (art. 29).

As to the best methods of teaching Arabic, Kawākibi recommends the adoption of the systems used in European schools for Eastern languages, their success being attested by the fact that many Western orientalists have acquired a much more thorough knowledge of Arabic than most Islamic scholars (except the Arabs), although the Muslim savants are preoccupied with the Arabic language all the time. With reference to selection of the most suitable means of pedagogy, Kawākibi states that it is generally agreed among educators that persuasion is preferable to temptation or intimidation, their maxim being that "schools, not prisons reduce crimes, and that punishment rarely serves as an effective reprimand."

A very important function of the society is to be the persistent effort to prevail upon the members of the Ṣūfī fraternities (ahl aṭ-ṭarāʾiq) to return to the fundamentals of the religious law. Each of the various orders should be assigned to a specific activity from which the entire Muslim community will benefit. For example, one group ought to assume the responsibility for providing sustenance and education fa-

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1. U. Q. pp. 127-128
2. T. I. p. 97
cilities: for orphans, another be charged with comforting the
down-trodden and way-worn travellers, a third with ministering
to the poor and wretched, a fourth with kindling the desire for:
prayer, a fifth with checking habits of insobriety; all these
activities: constituting pious and charitable endeavors: in the
pursuance of which the Sufis can do away with their indolence
(art. 33).

Apart from formal instruction the proposed Jam' 'Iyat
ta'lim al-munahhidin is to recommend the circulation of monthly
bulletins devoted to studies of religious and moral subjects,
professional guidance, sciences and useful arts. The publica-
tions: are also to include reports and announcements that ap-
pertain to the scientific and religious revival of the Muslim
community (art. 37). An attempt should be made to call into
being a geographical-historical-religious college to be located
at the center of the society (art. 42), and scientific missions
should be sent out in order to study religious and educational
conditions and needs of the Islamic countries. Guidance in
cultural matters should be offered without interfering in local
political affairs (art. 43). For communicating public state-

1. This proposal corresponds with what H. Lammens regards as:
the policy of the Manar which "proposes to employ the
Sufi fraternities on works of public utility: charity, teaching etc."
Lammens op. cit. p. 213
ments and announcements the society should designate four important political newspapers, an Arabic publication in Cairo, a Turkish in Constantinople, a Persian in Teheran and an Urdu in Calcutta (art. 41).

The Policy of the Society

The society will not be tied to any specific rite (madhhab) or sect (shi‘a), its religious policy being in conformity to the "ancestral reasonable inclination" (al-mashrabi as-salafi al-mu‘tadil), repudiating all subsequent accretions and innovations (art. 17).

As Kawakibi firmly believes in the evolutionary change from absolutism to democracy via enlightenment, he insists that the educational activities of Muslim scholars be conducted without meddling in political affairs. Only advice on cultural problems should be offered (art. 14). The society should accept the cooperation and assistance of secular rulers, but refrain from following the political course of any particular government (art. 15). In fact, the good will of Islamic kings and princes should be sought by encouraging the political dignitaries to establish educational institutions and inviting them to an official all-Muslim congress to be con-
vened for the purpose of studying and adopting a general religious policy (art. 44). The society is never to abandon its peaceful attitude towards political authorities. Possible opposition on the part of governments, particularly of those in countries under foreign rule, is to be countered by mere efforts to explain the peaceful intentions of the society, and if this fails, nothing can be done but to trust in God (art. 45).

It is further recommended that Muslim leaders be instructed about their obligations towards non-Muslims, it being clarified to them that humanitarian principles (al-insāniya) and Islamic moral virtues (al-mazāya-l-islamiya) make friendly relations between Muslims and non-Muslims mandatory, and that Muslims must be concerned with the security and protection of non-Muslims and their full enjoyment of equal rights. Religious or racial bigotry (at-ta'asub ad-dinī aw al-jinsi) must be shunned (art. 36).

The External Characteristics of the Society

The predominant external characteristics of the society are "impotence" (al-‘ajz) and "destitution" (al-maskana), because the organization will only adopt peaceful
methods, opposition to be countered with advice (naṣīḥa) and admonition (maw'īḥa). The utmost will be done to accord kindly and courteous treatment to antagonists of the society's objectives. Protection will be sought only when absolutely necessary (art. 47).

The Power of the Society

The real strength of the society is the sincerity of its intentions; its supporting pillar — persistent work; its course of action — utter disregard of all obstacles; its fortress — the unadulterated faith; its weapons — knowledge and education; its army — the young and the weak; its leaders — sages, scholars and princes; its flag — fine examples; its booty — inspiration of the believers; its purpose — service to civilization and humanity; the benefits reaped by its members and supporters — bliss of poverty, and ultimate reward by God (art. 48).

Kawākibī anticipated that the Islamic governments would welcome the society because its program was confined to educational objectives, and because its members and supporters were directed to refrain from meddling in politics.

1. U. Q. pp. 16-17
CHAPTER VII

The Political Reform Ideas of Kawakibî

Kawakibî is impressively inspired by progressive European views on concepts such as nation, government, citizen and their respective functions, rights, and duties; and he calls upon the articulate element of the East to clarify its political thinking in terms of Western ideas.

While limiting his political investigations to a detailed analysis of the characteristics of despotic governments, Kawakibî's general political thought is outlined in a statement of twenty-five issues which, he proposes, ought to be diligently studied and seriously discussed by Eastern scholars. 1) Kawakibî stresses that the progressive political-administrative principles which advanced Western nations have formulated and accepted are "still unknown, strange or consciously avoided in the East." 2)

The twenty-five issues

1. What is a nation?

Is it a flock of creatures, slaves belonging to a domineering proprietor, or is it a society of individuals.

linked together by bonds of race, language, homeland and common rights?

2. **What is Government?**

   Is it one individual and his helpers who have arbitrary control over the life, honor and wealth of the people, or should it be a political agency set up by the nation to administer public interests?

3. **What are Public Rights?**

   Is the government a proprietor, or should it act as trustee and administrator of public properties such as lands, mines, rivers, coasts, fortresses, sanctuaries, fleets and defense equipment, and accorded such rights as treaty-making, colonization, establishing the government, enforcing the rule of justice, facilitating social progress, in brief, giving the assurance that each individual citizen will enjoy and be secure of all rights to which he is entitled?

4. **Equality of Rights**

   Can the government freely dispose of public material and moral rights, granting and depriving them as it sees fit, or are these rights to be assured to all, equally distributed or justly divided among the families, cities (villages), classes and religions?
5. Individual Rights

Does the government have authority to exercise control over works and thoughts, or are the individual (citizens) of the nation absolutely free to think and act, as long as the law of society is not transgressed?

6. The Specific Form of Government

What is the most suitable form of government, absolute monarchy or restricted monarchy (and what are the limitations), or a republic administered by the office of a president elected for life or a limited period of time? Or is this (governmental power) acquired by inheritance, agreement or conquest? Is elevation to the position of the presidency purely a matter of accident, or are there certain qualifying conditions to meet (and what are these stipulations, how are they initiated, and how is their continued existence looked after)?

7. What are the Functions of Government?

Does the administration conduct the affairs of the nation according to its own opinion and effort, or should it be bound by a code of laws which conforms to the wishes of the people, even if not necessarily to its best interests? And if the government disagrees with the nation in its judgment as to what is beneficial and what is injurious (to the common weal)
8. The Rights of the Government

Can the government assign to itself by itself high ranks of grandeur and rates of salary, and show partiality, or should this act of giving, limiting and preventing be dependent on the will of the nation?

9. Obedience of the Nation to the Government

Can the government impose absolute submission, or should it concern itself with methods of understanding and persuasion, even if in a general way, so that obedience will be professed in sincerity?

10. Taxation

Should the government arbitrarily impose taxes, or should the nation decide what expenditures are necessary, determine the sources of revenue, and devise methods of collection and safeguarding the funds?

11. Preparation for Defense

Should the recruitment and equipment of a military defense force be left to the will of the government which may neglect, decrease or increase it, or use it against the will of the people, or should this be subject to the and under the command of the public, so that the military instrument will
execute the will of the nation, not that of the government?

12. Control over the Government

Should the government not be accountable for its actions, or does the nation have the right to exercise control over the administration because the affairs of the public are involved? Should, therefore, the nation appoint deputies authorized to supervise everything and place responsibility on anybody?

13. Maintenance of Law and Order (Public Security)

Should it be the sole duty of the individual to protect himself and his dependents, or should it be the responsibility of the government to protect him, whether at his place of residence or away from home, even from natural disasters, by precautionary measures rather than through compensation?

14. Legal Procedures of the Government

Can the government at its own discretion, without legal authorization, impose compulsory labor on individuals, or does the government have to abide by the law, except in unusual circumstances which are temporary?

15. Assurance of Judicial Justice

Is justice what the government interprets it to be, or as it is construed by competent judges whose conscience...
is unaffected by any deterrent but the law and immune to every sort of pressure, even that of public opinion?

16. Preserving Religion and Culture

Does the government have power and authority over beliefs and conscience, or is its function to be restricted to safeguarding the bigger communal bonds such as religion, common race, language, customs and literature, without interference in matters of faith, as long as its sanctity is not violated?

17. Determination of Government Operations in compliance with the Law

Is there any government officer, high official or (obscure) policeman, who is free to act according to his own opinion and experience, or are their duties, as a whole and in part, to be performed in compliance with precisely defined laws which, in no case, may be infringed upon, except in moments of grave danger?

18. How Laws are Made

Is the enactment of laws left up to an important government official or a committee appointed by him for this purpose, or should the laws be made by a representative body elected by the nation, because its members are best acquainted
with the needs, preferences, characteristics and interests of the people, their judgment to be uniform or different in conformity to the diversity of the people and changes of times and circumstances?

19. What is the Code of Laws and its Power?

Does the code consist of a series of regulations which the strong will use as pretexts against the weak, or is it composed of statutes before which all classes of the people are equal, the code being an executive instrument unaffected by partiality, intercession and compassion, and its preservation guaranteed on behalf of all the citizens of the nation?

20. Distribution of Jobs and Duties

Are offices preferentially handed out to friends and relatives of the ruler, or should they be equitably distributed among all clans and families, perhaps alternately considering importance and number, so that the government officials will represent a model of the nation, or a miniature nation?

21. Separation of Political, Religious and Educational Authorities

Should two or three authorities be combined under the jurisdiction of one, or should each duty appertaining to
politics, religion and instruction be assigned to an individual best equipped to perform it with perfection, and combination should not be permitted in order to prevent over-expansion of authority?

22. Progress in Science and Education

Should the government be permitted to oppress the minds, so that the people's influence on the government should remain insignificant, or should it be urged to broaden education by making, whether through methods of persuasion or compulsion, elementary schooling universal, and declaring teaching and learning absolutely free?

23. Expansion of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce

Should these economic endeavors be left to the non-existing initiative of the nation, or should the government make efforts to adopt the economic structure of other nations, particularly those of neighboring and competitive peoples, so that the nation should not be ruined as the result of dependency on others nor be weakened through poverty?

24. Efforts concerning Public Building

Should public building be left to the indifference or exaggerated attention of the government, or should it be urged to pursue a policy of moderation taking into account
public wealth, without trying to gain prestige through municipal beautifications which have no material value?

25. Efforts to Exterminate Tyranny

Should efforts in this direction be expected of the government, or should it be the task of the nation’s intellectuals and distinguished to struggle for attainment of liberty and abolition of tyranny with a degree of thoroughness which will leave no chance of its re-appearance?

Decentralization of the Ottoman Empire

The conflict between advocates of centralization and decentralization of government fill the pages of Ottoman history during the last few years preceding the outbreak of the First World War, since the Committee of Union and Progress adopted in 1909 a policy of Turkification of the State, inspiring Turkish patriotism and racial pride, and encouraging Pan-Turanianism, the solidarity and unity of all peoples of Turanian stock. Thus the New Ottomans summarily rejected the formerly cherished concept of Ottomanism, the ideal of fusing all nationalities of the state into a common Ottoman nation, which had been the basis of Midhat Pasha’s constitutional policy that envisaged solidification of the centralized system of
Ottoman administration by initiation of liberal political reforms and creation of a modern nation-State.

The new slogans of "Turkification" and "Pan-Turanianism" were bound to induce separatist movements among the non-Turkic peoples of the Empire and stimulate their nationalist consciousness.

Kawakibi's political ideal is that of a progressive-democratic Ottomanism, but he emphatically rejects the New Ottomans' militant advocacy of a strongly centralized system of government. It has been correctly pointed out that in the Umm al-Qurā Kawakibi had already dealt with the concept of decentralization which, a decade later, played a significant role in the Arab-national movement, but the statement that Kawakibi actually originated the idea cannot be supported as valid. We know, for example, that as early as 1896 some scheme of decentralization of the Ottoman Empire was formulated and propagated by a political society founded in Paris by a group of Arabs and Turks.

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1. Richard Hartmann "Arabische Politische etc" op. cit. p. 446
2. Khairallah op. cit. p. 26
3. The program of the society published in al-Mušir dated December 19, 1896 is quoted in Anis al-Khuri al-Magdisī al-ittijahat al-adabiya fī-l-‘alam al-‘arabī al-hadīth (Beirut 1952) p. 78
While all delegates to the fictitious Jam'iyat Umm al-Qura are depicted as profoundly concerned about the decadence of the entire Muslim world, as-sayyid al-Furat (Kawakibi) was specifically perturbed about the degenerate conditions in the Turkish-held territories. He points out that the decrepitude has been aggravated since the beginning of the political reform movement (Tanzimat), particularly within the past two decades during which two thirds of the Ottoman Empire were actually lost and the remaining third materially weakened.

According to Kawakibi, the deplorable situation was brought about by the following factors which determine domestic and foreign policies of the Ottoman administration:

1. The tenacious adherence to principles of centralized government with no regard to the geographical distances sep-

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1. U. Q. p. 142
By the Treaty of Berlin signed in July of 1878 the Ottoman Empire lost all its valuable holdings in the Balkans. Thus, within less than fifty years, Turkey stripped of province after province was ultimately reduced to its Asiatic possessions.

It has been estimated that the Empire comprising the area which was hers prior to French incorporation of Algiers and Tunis, British occupation of Egypt and the territorial losses in Europe would have had by 1890 a total population of over fifty million; actually, after the Treaty of Berlin, the domains of the Empire had dwindled to about 680 000 square miles inhabited by an estimated sixteen million people. cf. Stanley Lane-Poole The Story of Turkey (New York 1893) pp. 363-364
arating the fringes of the Empire from its capital, and the insufficient familiarity of the administrative executives at the center with the peoples and conditions of the remote provinces.

2. The introduction into all provinces of uniform administrative procedures and penal codes, ignoring the diversity of races and traditions.

3. Discriminatory practices against certain peoples.

4. Enforcement of civil rules of conduct (nizamat) which are in conflict with the religious law.

5. Carelessness in handing out rewards and imposing punishments with no regard to the real interests of the government.

6. Official indifference towards customs, moral standards, and vital interests of the different peoples, this attitude accounting for the fact that there is no real loyalty, merely formal submission to the government.

7. Lack of accounting of the treasury, public funds being mismanaged through reckless spending, extravagance and exces-

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1. As example Kawakibi cites the unjust treatment of the Arabs who, though numerically constituting two thirds of the Ottoman subjects, hold extremely few government offices, and obtain only insignificant benefits from the public treasury. U. Q. p. 145 (footnote 2)
sive losses, these fiscal operations being the cause of the heavy indebtedness to foreigners.

8. The administration of important political and civil departments without consultation with the subjects.

9. The conduct of foreign policy by resorting to sycophancy, nepotism and bribes.

Kawakibi recommends sweeping reforms at the center to be accompanied by decentralization of the government, establishment of local autonomous administrations in harmony with regional conditions and prevailing cultural traditions.

"What is urgently needed is, that each of the different peoples living in the Turkish State be granted a sort of distinct administrative autonomy which conforms to its specific customs and regional requirements; this system being similar to the organization of the German principalities and the North American states and not unlike the procedures adopted in the British colonies and Russian possessions." But Kawakibi does not think that decentralization precludes the attainment of

2. Text reads: "istiqlal" (normally used in the sense of independence) ibid. p. 143, but Kawakibi did not aspire to political independence, but administrative autonomy for the various peoples, all to remain politically linked with a powerful Ottoman State.
3. U. Q. p. 143 (footnote 1)
political unity among the diverse elements of the State transcending boundaries of denominational and racial differences.

It is important to consider that, while advocating a decentralized system of government as an immediate solution of pressing difficulties arising from existing racial and social diversities, Kawakibi regarded cultural fusion of all the inhabitants of the Empire as preferable. He considered the ultimate adoption of identical cultural patterns by all the peoples of the State politically sound and necessary. By citing historical instances, Kawakibi tries to prove that Islamic and Western conquerors generally regarded it as judicious to fuse with their subject peoples and accept their customs and tastes, the only exception being the consistent policy of the Ottomans to perpetuate prevalent differences between themselves and non-Turkish subjects. They have made no attempt to Turkify them, nor do they themselves become Arabized.

Kawakibi's criticism of the Ottomans for not initiating a firm policy of Turkification of the subject peoples is adequate proof that Kawakibi considered himself primarily a Turkish citizen, and not an Arab nationalist. He aspired to cultural unification of all Ottoman peoples as advocated

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1. T. I. p. 110
2. U. Q. pp. 150-151
by the New Ottomans before 1909. Kawākibī did not seem to have regarded as material whether acculturation be consummated by Arabization of the Turks or Turkification of the Arabs.

According to Kawākibī, the chief obstacle on the road of escape from the socio-political dilemma confronting the Ottoman Empire is the policy of the sultan who, instead of initiating constructive administrative reforms, wastes the remaining strength of the empire in order to preserve himself and his autocratic rule (siyāsat al-infīrād).

1. U. Q. p. 142
Modern historians and political theorists generally agree that the idea of nationalism which constitutes an extremely perplexing and animatedly debated concept has its origin in the French Revolution, and that its most fundamental and common characteristic is the aspiration of a nationality to establish an independent sovereign state and, when already possessed of one, to stress loyalty to one's national state as surpassing all other loyalties. In discussing the phenomenon of patriotism, Carlton J. H. Hayes states that modern patriotism as distinct from that of ancient times and the Middle Ages preaches two basic doctrines:

1. (that) each nationality should constitute a united independent sovereign state, and

2. (that) every national state should expect and require of its citizens not only unquestioning obedience and supreme loyalty, not only an exclusive patriotism, but also

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1. For extensive bibliography listing works and summarizing the authors' definitions of the principles of nation, nationality, patriotism and nationalism, see Hans Kohn op. cit. The Idea of Nationalism pp. 579-583
unshakable faith in its surpassing excellence over all other nationalities; and lofty pride in its peculiarities and its destiny. This is nationalism and it is a modern phenomenon.

Hans Kohn defines the connection of nationalism with the idea of a political state in the following manner:

"The most important outward factor in the formation of nationalities is a common territory, or rather, the state."

"Nationalism demands the nation-state; the creation of the nation-state strengthens nationalism."

Considering the definitions of nationalism as given by most historians, Kawakibi whose national consciousness was expressed in extolling the virtues and moral standards of the Arab race and preaching the mission of the people of Arabia, but whose political ideals were not linked with the concept of a sovereign Arab state, must be regarded as a precursor rather than a theorist of modern Arab nationalism.

Kawakibi's national consciousness seems to have evolved in successive stages, from purely religious-national

2. Kohn op. cit. p. 15
3. ibid. p. 19
1) concepts echoed in the doctrines of Afghani, to Pan-Islamism tinged with Arab national sentiments, and ultimately to pan-Arab national thinking. His Umm al-Qura, primarily concerned with problems of mutual interest to the entire Muslim world, represents an eloquent example of how easily the pan-Islamic ideology propagated by the Manar-Wahhabi movement of the Salafiya could lead to a distinctly Arab national consciousness.

Initially, Kawakibi's Arab patriotism seems to have been limited to his racial-religious bias for the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, his nationalist sentiments only later extending to all Arabic-speaking peoples.

Kawakibi defines the term "nation" (umma) as "a group of individuals linked together by bonds of descent,

1. Muslims rarely distinguish between the two terms, or to use the words of Bernard Lewis, "For Muslims the two forms of expression were never really distinguished. The basic sentiment of identity was religious and social, the complete society of Islam expressed sometimes in national terms, sometimes in religious terms as synonymous and interchangeable sets of words denoting the same basic reality." Lewis op. cit. The Arabs in History p. 173
2. This development can be easily discerned by comparing the Umm al-Qura with the Tabia al-istibdad which was a later composition.
or homeland, or language, or religion." While using the term in the sense of "people" as distinguished from "state" (dawla) his umma being the entire Muslim community, at times Kawakibi considers the Islamic world as consisting of a number of umma, the Arabs representing one umma and the Arabs of the peninsula being distinct from the other "Islamic nations (or peoples)" (umam islamiya). Kawakibi has the tendency to compare the Muslim community with territorially delimited states and peoples; thus he states that "the Romans, Greeks, Americans, Italians, Japanese and others constitute umma like ourselves" (this statement is made by the chairman of the Jam'iyat Umm al-Qura to the representatives of the entire Muslim world) and that "the only difference between us, particularly the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, and the most powerful of the contemporary umma is that of achievements in the realm of science and morals."

1. T. I., p. 99
   The "or" is important to consider because, according to the wording of the definition, the term umma can be applied to the entire Islamic community. In another passage of T. I. (cf. supra p. 203) nation in general is defined as "a society of individuals linked together by bonds of race, language, homeland and common rights."

2. U. Q., p. 14
3. ibid., p. 46 "bi-ba'd al-umam al-islamiya"
4. ibid., p. 201
5. ibid., p. 88
6. ibid., p. 14
By speaking of his "people" (qawm), Kawākibī refers to the Arabs, Muslims, and non-Muslims alike, but he does not specify which portions of the entire Arab world his qawm includes.

According to Kawākibī, an umma embraces a number of awtān (homelands). However, he fails to indicate what exactly his watan (homeland) is. While considering Aleppo his original watan, he generally applies the term as designation for a place of residence which is accidental, and can, if the need arises, be exchanged for another watan, using the concepts of "homeland" and "refuge" almost interchangeably.

Religious-National Pan-Islamism of Kawākibī

Technological progress, advanced political thinking and successful financial operations have enabled the West to penetrate deeply into and seize control over most of the East. "In scientific accomplishments, wealth and power the

1. T. I. p. 109 "qawm, wa-a‘ni minkum al-muslimīn"
2. ibid. p. 110 "qawm, wa-a‘ni bikum an-natiqīn bi-d-dād min ghayr al-muslimīn"
4. ibid. p. 4
5. T. I. p. 31

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Westerner is more advanced than the people of the East, and when inhabiting their lands, will exercise natural control over them. He knows how to govern, how to derive enjoyment, how to capture and how to appropriate. When he recognizes among Eastern people the will and ability to compete or catch up with him, he will shackle their minds, so that they should remain far behind him, as the Russians are doing to the Poles, Jews and Tatars. 1) The Muslims meet this situation with nothing but an attitude of despair, thus acting against the advice given in the Qur’ān: "Prepare (ye) for them whatsoever force and cavalry ye are capable of (gathering)," 2) and not what you can muster of prayer and fast. And in indignation Kawakibi asks the Eastern peoples: "How long will evil men oppress and humiliate your sons, expel your nobles, block the roads of the poor, destroy prosperity and impoverish the lands?" 3)

How can we save what there is to be rescued? "I def-

1. T. I. p. 111
2. Qur. 3, 62
3. Additions to T. I. p. 556
4. ibid. p. 557
5. Kawakibi does not speak of regaining what has been lost, only of retaining what has not yet fallen under Western domination. This distinction reflects the attitude of the man who favors co-operation with the West which he respects because of its technical and cultural progress. The verbal attacks which fill Kawakibi’s books are directed primarily against Muslim rulers, not foreign nations.
initely and unhesitatingly answer that it is possible, and perhaps the objective is easily attainable, once the chains of tyranny are broken, and the young people adopt as their motto the following ten principles:

1. My religion is manifest, not at all obscure,
2. I shall stand where the truth is, no matter what,
3. I am free and shall die free,
4. I am self-reliant, counting on nothing but myself and my intellect,
5. I am a man of serious endeavors looking to the future, not a man of the past,
6. I and my interests come before everything else,
7. Life is wholly a pleasant toil,
8. I consider my time precious,
9. Real glory is found in knowledge alone, and
10. I only fear God."

Kawākībī is convinced that salvation of the community rests with the Muslim youth alone, the young men who take pride in their religion, perform its basic commandments such as prayers and fasts, and abide by its chief prohibitions such as gambling and drinking, who respect their human free-

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1. Additions to T. I. pp. 556-557
Kawakibi was fully aware that concepts of racial superiority were directly contradictory to the spirit of tolerance which he consistently advocated, and that Islamic teachings stood for equality among all the believers. To escape the anticipated charge of bigotry, Kawakibi added an explanatory note to the sixth resolution of the conference, stating that each of the Muslim peoples had certain distinctive characteristics which qualify it to perform an important service for the Islamic community. For example, the Ottoman Turks should conduct diplomatic activities, the Egyptians organizational matters, the people of Afghanistan, Turkestan, Khazar and the Caucasus in the East, and those of Morocco and the African principalities in the West excel in handling military affairs, and the people of Iran, Central Asia and India are best equipped for scientific and economic endeavors. But the projected society which aims at religious revival must pin all its hopes on Arabia and its people.

The specific characteristics of Arabia and the Arabs are defined by Kawakibi as follows:

Arabia is the birth place of Islam and home of the most important sacred shrines such as the ka'ba (the

1. U. Q. pp. 192-193

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sacred cube in the center of the mosque at Mecca), the masjid an-nabī (the Prophet's mosque at Madina) and the rauda (the garden at Madina in which the tomb of Muhammad is situated).

Its central position in the Muslim world stretching from the easternmost part of Asia to the westernmost part of Africa makes Arabia the most suitable geographical location for the office of a central Muslim religious administration.

Racially and ritually Arabia is the most homogeneous Muslim country, free from intercourse with foreigners.

Because of unproductivity of its arid terrain and abject poverty in natural wealth, Arabia lacks the stimuli which induce human greed and avarice.

The Arabs, including the tribes roaming between the Euphrates and Tigris or in Africa, are the people to whom the message of the Prophet was communicated, and they are the founders of the Islamic community. Their direct descendants are the most devout of the believers, their religious rites having, to this day, remained strictly orthodox (ḥanīf), ancestral (salāfīya), free from pressures (tashdīd) and confusions (tashwish).

Because they have retained the virtues of the
Bedouin, the people of the peninsula excel all other Muslims in manifestations of "cohesion" (asabīya) and self-respect. The Bedouin of Arabia are the most freedom-loving of men, their history not recording one instance of despotism; a roving people cannot be easily held in chains of tyranny.

Despite wretchedness of material existence, the Arabs are the most active and energetic of the Muslims, they do not indulge in sumptuous living that brings about demoralization of man's character.

Their lack of contact with foreigners helps preserve racial qualities and native customs.

Their superior social habits are manifested in tenacious clinging to principles of equal rights and socialistic living, scrupulous observance of oaths and regard for humanity.

Arabic is a general means of communication among all Muslims and the native vernacular of one hundred million Muslims and non-Muslims, it's perpetuity assured by its being the language of the Qur'ān.

Carried away by his enthusiasm for the Arabs of the peninsula, Kawakibi fails to touch on the practical as-

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1. T. I. pp. 9-10  
2. U. Q. pp. 193-197

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pect of the problem of how he expected the most backward segment of the Muslim community to spread secular-scientific and professional education which was defined as the primary objective of the proposed Jam'iyat ta'līm al-muwahhidin, and recognized as bound to lead to religious revival.

Kawakibi insisted that the caliphate belonged to the Arabs, asserting that the Ottoman sultan, in his capacity as political sovereign of a state populated by adherents to many sects and religions, did not qualify for religious leadership of the Muslim community. Moreover, Kawakibi's objections to the Turks' claim to the office of the caliph were based on the records of Ottoman history which bear out that Turkish sultans pursued their political designs with no regard to religious considerations. For example, Sultan Muhammad al-Fatih signed secret agreements with Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, the Catholic, which enabled those Christian

1. Kawakibi is referring to King Ferdinand the Fifth (or Ferdinand the Catholic) (1452-1516) and his wife Isabella the First (or Isabella the Catholic) (1451-1504), Queen of Castile and Leon, who in 1469 married Ferdinand of Aragon (later Ferdinand the Fifth). The royal couple, known as the Catholic monarchs, set out with energetic determination to make all Spain Christian; and during their reign Jews and Moors who refused to accept Catholicism were expelled from Spain.
rulers to liquidate the last of the Arabs in Andalusia. The sultan was wholly unconcerned over the ensuing massacres and forceful conversions to Christianity involving the extinction of five million Muslims.

Ottoman policies, throughout the centuries injurious to the interests of the Muslim community, led to the annihilation of fifteen Islamic states and governments. Apart from the abandonment of the Arabs in Spain, the Ottomans gave up Islamic possessions in Asia and Africa, helped the Russians against the Muslim Tatars and Holland against the people of Java. The Turks have no respect for common bonds of religion and brotherhood with other Muslim peoples; their utter lack of chivalry and humanitarian feelings has often been demonstrated in history, one cruel example being the sudden attack of an Ottoman military detachment upon a group of Muslims from Sana‘a and Zahid, while they were engaged in reciting the prayer of the feast.

Kawākibī’s Pan-Arab National Consciousness

Initially, Kawākibī did not seem to have any special national sentiments for the Arabs beyond the Bedouin of
Arabia. He refers to Muslims outside the peninsula, seemingly including Arabic-speaking elements, as a mixed crowd, rabble, foreigners whose only common interest is the Ka'ba. But he severely reprimands the Turks for their contemptuous attitude towards the Arabs of Hijaz, Syria and Egypt. In fact, he interprets recent currents of assimilation to French and German cultures as conclusive proof of the Turks' hatred of and contempt for the Arabs. Later, probably as the result of greater familiarity with writings of European thinkers, Kawakibi began to be more conscious of the concepts of gaym (people) and watam (homeland) in a national sense. His fervent sentiments of Arabdom are no longer confined within geographical boundaries or restricted to the Muslim Arabs. Kawakibi has become aware of an Arab nationality, without, however, turning Arab nationalist in the modern sense of the term.

Kawakibi calls upon all Arabic-speaking peoples, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, to forget their religious differences and unite in order to deal with mutual problems of homeland, nation and resistance to tyranny. He considers it his duty to stir the people, or as he expresses it:

1. U. Q. p. 34
2. Ibid. p. 151
3. Ibid. pp. 150-151

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"Considering that scholars—philosophers have agreed that the most important duty of public-spirited and zealous men, conscious of their obligations to humanity, is to seek the enlightenment of the masses, thus paving the way to progress, I deem it appropriate to describe how a rational individual can awaken his people, guide them to recognize that they were not created to bear humiliation and baseness with patient endurance, stir their hearts and win their confidence with something like the following speeches:

Address to the Arab Community

"O people, I do not know whether I am standing before an assembly of living whom I shall greet with the salutation of salam (peace) or addressing a congregation of people confined to graves for whom I should ask rahma (Divine mercy). O people, you are neither living and active, nor dead and resting, but barzakh, in an

1. T. I. p. 102
2. In the Qur'an barzakh, a barrier, describes death which is an intermediate stage between life and resurrection, as it is apparent from the verse: 'Until when death comes to one of them he says: 'O Lord, send me back. Perhaps I shall act uprightly in that which I have omitted.' Nay it is (only) a word which he is saying; behind them is a barrier (barzakh) until the day when they will be raised up." Qur. 23.101-102
intermediate stage of existence which can be compared to slumber."

"O people, you are not engaged in accomplishing glorious feats, you merely imitate the acts and thoughts of others. You readily accept the superstitions of your ancestors, but do not care for acquiring their praiseworthy habits. Where is religion, education, sensibilities, zealou"ness, courage, firmness, solidarity, gallantry, magnanimity, moral virtuousness, and where is equality? Do you hear, or are you asleep?"

"O people, you complain about ignorance, but do not spend for education one half of what you waste for smoking. You grumble about your rulers, but make no effort to reform them. You bewail your poverty, but have only your indolence to blame. You always hope for the good, but keep on deceiving one another."

"O people, why these differences between you? God has created you equal in physical stature, ability, natural characteristics and needs, the only difference being the degree of moral virtuousness; no one is master,

1. T. I. pp. 102-103
2. ibid. p. 103
3. ibid. p. 106
and no one a slave. Class distinctions are only imaginary, and dissimilarities would vanish altogether if the masses realized how morbidly the important people fear the common man."

"O people, your ancestors bowed their heads only to God, but you stoop to kiss the feet of man for merely bestowing upon you a morsel of bread immersed in the blood of your brethren. Your forefathers are resting in their graves straightened up, but you live with your necks bowed down in humiliation. Animals and plants seek to stand up erect, but you only wish to be humbled. The earth has emitted you, so that you be on its surface, but you are eager to return underground. If this is really what you desire, be patient, because soon you will find there eternal rest."  

"O people, so much injustice has been done to your body and soul, that seemingly you do no longer care whether you are alive or dead. In reality, however, you yearn for life, but do not know which path to follow. You should realize that running away from death is death, seeking death is life, just as fear of toil is toil, while plunging into toil is rest, and that 'freedom is the tree of eternity,

1 T. I. p. 107 2 ibid. idem
and it is the drops of blood shed for it that water it, while captivity is the tree of hell, and it is the rivers of blood of strangulated people that irrigate it."

Address to the Muslim Arabs

"O people, I mean you that are of Muslim faith. Your prophet has said that you are urged to do what is reputable and restrain from what is disreputable... You know, it is the *ijma* (consensus) of the religious leaders of all your *madhhāb* (orthodox rites) that next to *kufr* (acts of disbelief) the most reprehensible thing (ankar al-munkarāt) is *zulm* (tyranny) that has spread amongst you... Therefore, whosoever accords courteous treatment to a tyrant or transgressor (except under compulsion), even to the extent of offering the simple salutation of *salam* (peace), has lost all faith in God; and without faith, the performance of the religious injunctions of *shahāda* (profession of the faith), *sawm* (fast), *salāt* (ritual prayer),

2. cf. Qur. 3,106
   Kawakibi gives the contents, but not the verbatim rendition of the Qur'ānic verse.
3. Kawakibi generally uses the term *zulm* (injustice, oppression or tyranny) in the sense of tyranny regarding *zalim* as a synonym of *mustabīd*, see T. I. p. 7
hajj (pilgrimage) and zakāt (almsgiving) means nothing but waste of time and money. Thus, if you are (real) Muslims, religion imposes upon you, and if you are rational, wisdom obliges you that you cease concealing your hatred for tyrants and transgressors... As you have been unmindful of this, you have caused the deplorable state of affairs in which you find yourselves.

While Kawakibi advocated prudence in opposing oppression, he did not believe that Muslim orthodoxy actually taught obedience to tyranny. He clearly distinguished between prudent consideration of realities and spineless endorsement of despotism, merely because it be tyranny of a Muslim ruler.

Address to the non-Muslim Arabs

"O people, I mean you that are Arabic-speaking non-Muslims, forget the ill-will and crimes which in the past have been committed against you. I anticipate that you who were the first Arabs to be enlightened will find a way to achieve unity.

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1. T. I. pp. 109-110
2. cf. supra pp. 165-166 3. cf. supra pp. 135-136
4. T. I. p. 110

Kawakibi fully realized that modern education and national stirrings in the Arab world commenced among the Christian Arabs.
Nations like Australia and America have established stable principles of "national unity" (ittiḥād waṭanī) above religious separatism, "racial harmony" (wifāq jinsī) above denominational dissimilarities, and "firm political ties" (irtibāʿ siyāsī) transcending administrative diversities. Why do you not follow in their path?

Our intellectuals will tell non-Arab Muslims and foreign agitators who have sown inner dissension among us: 'Leave us alone, and we shall manage our affairs in mutual understanding, compassion and brotherhood, sharing sorrow and happiness. Leave us alone, and we shall attend to our lives in this world and let religions rule in the hereafter. Leave us alone, and we shall reach agreement among ourselves on matters of mutual concern such as: "Long live the Nation, Long live the homeland, and Long live the free and mighty."'

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1. T. I. p. 110
   Text reads: australīya, but Kawākibī possibly meant Austria, and not Australia, referring to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire which, similar to the Ottoman State, was populated by a multitude of races, peoples and religions.

2. ibid. p. 111
   In a number of passages (cf. also T. I. p. 114) Kawākibī states: (as astounding as it sounds coming from a pious Muslim) that religious differences are only the concern of God, not that of man.

3. T. I. pp. 110-111
Address to the Arab Notables

"I call upon you noble-born to consider what is happening. Is not a common Arab less contemptible than the Westerner who is a materialist with no religion, but the desire for "acquisition" (kasb)?"

"O notables, you learned enough of 'the characteristics of tyranny and battlegrounds of enslavement' to be in a position to think and know what to do."

And Kawakibi continues with the reply which he would expect from the notables:

"We have become accustomed to get on with the tyrants, even if they tramp on our necks. We have gotten used to consider meanness — culture, self-abasement — civility, flattery — eloquence, impediment of speech — sedateness, abandonment of rights — liberality, taking insults — humility, swallowing injustice — obedience, claiming what is due — deceit, seeking common rights — meddling, looking forward to the future — vain hope, bravery — rashness, enthusiasm — stupidity, gallantry — ill-naturedness, freedom of speech — insolence, freedom of thought — impiety, love of homeland — insanity."

1. ibid. p. 111
2. ibid. p. 115
Kawakibi uses almost identical words when addressing the Muslim nobility in general. See U. Q. pp. 161-162
Again, Kawakibī is convinced that hope for the people's future lies with the Arab youth to whom he dedicated his Taba'i' al-istibdad.

Address to the Arab Youth

"O people, I mean you, youth of today and men of tomorrow, young in thought, mature in action. May God protect you from the disgrace of feeling impeded by existing diversities of religion. Realize that Allah passes Final Judgment, if He had wanted, He would have made mankind consisting of one people."

After having described the notables' discouraging reaction to his admonitions, Kawakibī resumes his address to the Arab youth:

"May God protect you from evil. I sincerely hope that you will not grow up as captives of tyranny. Be guided by the principles of the uncorrupted faith, follow the traditions of the Prophet, and only fear your Creator. Recognize that you were created free to die in honor. Exert yourselves to build a life which will enable each of you to be independent in his affairs, governed only by what is

1. T. I. p. 2
2. ibid. p. 114
right, loyal to his people, sharing with them, and they sharing with him happiness and misery, devoted to his home-land giving it generously of his mind, time and money, loved by humanity, acting according to the philosophy that 'the best of the community is the man who is most useful to it.' This type of individual will know that life is work and hope, and comprehend that what is for God (al-qadr) (predestination by God of what man is to know and do) is for humans effort and work. This man will anticipate only the good, and the 'best of the good is to live free or die.'

Address to the Homeland

"O beloved homeland, your vast spaces are not inadequate for your children, you only lost your protectors, the brave and the free."

"Have you not had your fill of tears and blood, the tears of your bereft daughters and the blood of your

1. T. I. pp. 115-116
Similarly worded is the speech to the entire Muslim youth, cf. U. Q. pp. 162-163

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free sons; indeed, not the tears of the repentant and the
blood of the oppressor?"

"Few amongst you are free and zealous, a mere few
will say: 'I do not fear oppressors.'"

"O homeland in misery, God has created us from
you, and mothers who nurse us obtain their nourishment from
you. Yes, God has made us: an integral part of you, and it
is your right to love what is of you and yearn for the ma-
terial treasures that are yours, just as it is your priv-
ilege to dislike foreigners who remove your wealth and min-
eral deposits to their lands, thus impoverishing you, in
order to enrich their homelands. But they cannot be blamed
because God has blessed them."

In spite of his distinctly Arab consciousness,
Kawakibi was only opposed to the Turks' claim to religious
authority, and not to the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire.
He favored administrative decentralization, but never ad-
vocated political independence for Arabic-speaking parts of
the State. Kawakibi vehemently denounced the despotism of
the government, but never, even casually, suggested the dis-
memberment of the Ottoman Empire.

1. Additions to T. I. op. cit. pp. 557-558
2. cf. U. Q. p. 143
Kawākibi's Attitude towards non-Muslims

It has been previously mentioned that Kawākibi recommended, that the projected Ḥamīyat taʿlīm al-muwahhidīn strive for establishment of cordial relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, and that he expected England, Russia and also France to be favorably inclined to an Arab caliphate at Mecca. Unlike Afghanī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh who encouraged militant resistance to Western cultural influences and aggressive action against European imperialism, Kawākibi enthusiastically advocated ties of friendship between Eastern and Western nations. He was convinced that European statesmen were aware of the lofty teachings of Islam and the distinctive moral qualities of the Arabs, but it was his view that the most formidable obstacle to harmonious relations between East and West was the Christians' allegedly unwarranted misunderstanding of the concept of jihad (duty of religious war).

Kawākibi suggests, that Western statesmen seeking information about the underlying principles of jihad consult translations of the Qurʾān which are accessible to them, and not the writings of intolerant fanatics. In the Qurʾān they would find about fifty verses which explicitly explain the interdiction "to be insistent upon conversion to Islam"
and "to impose the duty of war." To support his statement
Kawakibi cites the following three passages: "Thou wilt not
1) guide those whom thou lovest," 2) "argue against them with what
3) is better," and: 4) "But thou art not over them an overseer."
Kawakibi further states that there are only two Qur'anic verses
which might be interpreted as implicitly advocating coercion,
and these are: 5) "Burst forth with what thou art commanded,"
and 6) "(those who) have striven in the way of Allah."

And Kawakibi continues his argument stressing that
Islamic scholars do not restrict the term jihad to the mere
duty of fighting non-Muslims, but apply it to every difficult
pious and useful endeavor, even that of 'earning a livelihood
7) for one's family being called jihad.' Likewise, it should

1. Kawakibi offers only three of the fifty passages which al-
legedly exist.
2. Qur. 28.56
3. Qur. 16.126
4. Qur. 28.22
Text in the Qur'an is: "laasta alayhim," Kawakibi's cita-
tion: "ma anta alayhim" is an error.
5. Kawakibi is silent about Qur'anic passages which explicitly
exhort Muslims to fight non-believers, such as:
"Fight against those who do not believe in Allah"
Qur. 9.29 ff., and
"Slay the polytheists wherever ye find them"
Qur. 9.5, and many others.
6. Qur. 15.94
7. Qur. 2.215
8. Qur. p. 214

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be emphasized that call to *jihad* may have inspired Muslims to plunge into battle when conquests were still possible, but times have changed. And recorded history will attest that for centuries Arabs have not issued a call to *jihad* as a pretext for war. Even the Tatar and Turkish invasions of the European continent cannot be regarded as "religious wars," because attacks were made not only on Christian, but also on Muslim countries. These armed incursions can be compared to the raids launched upon Europe by northern barbarian hordes.

And Westerners are acquainted with the Arabs' excellent moral qualities which are expressed in their deferential respect for oaths, conscientious discharge of solemn obligations with regard to grant of safe conduct and protection, their spirit of neighborliness and time-honored practice of benevolence.

Arabs abhor vulgarity because they recognize the 1) purport of the Qur'ān. This can be substantiated by many facts and historical instances: for example, Arabs of the Ottoman Empire did not participate in recent Armenian slaughters which were perpetrated in Mosul, Maridin, Sa'rad, Nisibin and many localities of the Aleppo vilayet. The hospitable

1. U. Q. p. 196
treatment which the Arabs of the peninsula extend to European travellers is a well-known fact. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jews prefer to emigrate into Arab countries rather than into any other land.

The deplorable events which, during the nineteenth century, occurred in Syria and Lebanon, did not result from racial or religious bigotry; they were fomented by foreigners, British provocation of the Druzes and Napoleon the Third's instigation of the Christians.

Another convincing proof that the Arabs adhere steadfastly to the spirit of Islam which encourages friendship between Muslims and non-Muslims is the fact that, wherever Arabs settled, their laudable and salutary examples prevailed upon the native people of the area to embrace Islam and accept Arabic as their vernacular. Likewise, the Arabs did not dis-

1. U. Q.  p. 196
This statement seems to refer to the Christian massacres perpetrated in 1860.
Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the keen rivalry between the British and French with reference to the Lebanon led to formation of strong political partisanship among the native population which, on numerous occasions, resulted in disorders accompanied by acts of violence and massacres. The French rallied in support of the Maronites (representing the majority of the Lebanese Christians) and the English in support of the Druzes, cf. Antonius: op. cit. p. 56
affect nations which occupied their countries; thus, for instance, they did not hasten to emigrate from Aden, Tunis and Egypt. "They consider their passing under foreign rule an act of God, and Arabs acquiesce to God's judgments." This attitude is in compliance with the Qur'ānic passage: "These days we cause to alternate amongst the people." The same idea is similarly expressed by Kāwākībī, when he states that "he (the foreigner) who impoverishes Muslim lands cannot be blamed, for God has blessed him."
The Impact of Kawākibī's Thinking

A number of ideas expressed in Kawākibī's literary works such as holding of regular pan-Islamic congresses to deal with religious and educational issues, establishment of a spiritual caliphate, separation of political and religious authorities, and espousal of administrative decentralization of the Ottoman Empire, obtained currency after Kawākibī's death and contributed appreciably to subsequent evolution of Islamic thinking and Arab nationalist stirrings.

Pan-Islamism

Kawākibī's proposal of convening a congress to be attended by representatives from all parts of the Islamic world, in order to consider cultural problems of mutual concern without interfering in existing political conditions, was taken up by the Russian Isma'īl Gasprinski whom partial successes of the first all-Russian Muslim congress held in 1905 and the first

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1. Gasprinski was born in the Crimea during 1851 and died at Bahcesaray in 1914. For details of the man's life and work, see E. Rossi "Dall'Impero Ottomano alla Repubblica di Turchia" Orienta Moderno Vol 23 (Rome 1943) p. 375
conference of the all-India Muslim League which assembled in 1906 seem to have encouraged to intensify his propaganda for holding a universal Muslim congress. In 1907 Gasprinski was in Cairo where he delivered a speech in which he declared that the religious and moral decay of Muslim society, resulting from an appalling state of obscurantism, made it mandatory to hasten the convention of a general Islamic congress which was to examine the causes of prevailing conditions and suggest effective ways and means to improve the situation. Gasprinski emphasized that the proposed conference should not debate political issues.

It has been asserted that Gasprinski's vigorous campaign for his scheme of calling for an all-Muslim congress was comparable to 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawkabī's zeal to launch a similar project.

In January 1908 the statutes of the projected congress were published, and its aims defined as those advocated by Gasprinski: to investigate the causes of decline and formulate methods of reform, but strictly adhere to the principle

1. cf. Richard Hartmann op. cit. "zum Gedanken, etc." WI Vol. 23 (Leipzig 1941) pp. 124-125
2. cf. RMM Vol. 3 (Paris 1907) pp. 497-502
4. Text of statutes in al-Mu'ayyad of January 23, 1908, French translation of statutes in RMM Vol. 4 pp. 399-403

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of non-intervention in political affairs. When early in 1908 an initiative committee had actually been set up in Cairo, the proclamation of its chairman Salīm al-Jisrī ascribed to Gasprinski the origin of the idea to have distinguished Muslim scholars meet, in order to discuss the decline of the community, particularly religious heresies, and find a cure for the prevailing malady.

While Gasprinski deserves to be credited for his tireless efforts to convene a general Muslim congress, there is no justification to trace to him (as is usually done) the inception of the idea. With minor changes Gasprinski's pan-Islamic concepts seem to have been taken over from or strongly influenced by Kawakibi's Umm al-Qura, with which Gasprinski, an active Muslim reformer and, undoubtedly, an

1. Text of the proclamation in al-Mu'ayyad of April 14, 1908 French translation of the proclamation in RMM Vol. 5 pp. 272-273
   For additional information, see MSOS Vol. 12 (Berlin 1909) p. 37

2. It is indeed surprising that even Ignaz Goldziher credited Gasprinski with originating the idea of convening an all-Muslim congress that would discuss the problems of religious decadence, amelioration of the situation in the spirit of early Islam through suppression of all irrational and harmful innovations (bid'a), and clarify the attitude of Islam towards the needs of modern times, see Ignaz Goldziher op. cit. Die Richtungen etc. p. 334

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alert reader of the *Manar*, must have been acquainted from its serial publication in the *Manar*.

The pan-Islamic congress which was scheduled to meet during the latter part of 1908 was postponed sine die, either as a result of the Turkish Revolution, or simply because circumstances in general did not favor the holding of such an assembly. Nevertheless, the idea in itself remained alive receiving a powerful impetus in 1924, when abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate confronted the Islamic world with a crisis which made convening of an all-Muslim congress a matter of urgency.

**The Idea of a Spiritual Caliphate**

Kawakibî's idea of a spiritual caliphate obtained currency among progressive Turkish intellectuals. Although thoroughly secularist and anti-clerical, the Committee of Union and Progress ascribed an immense value to the revived Ottoman Caliphate as a factor in international politics. When in 1909 the Young Turks took over the power of government, they continued to pursue Sultan Abdulhamid's policy to demand that European diplomacy recognize the "spiritual power" vested in the office of the caliph and cede to the Turkish Government

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1. cf. *HM* Vol. 5 p. 372

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the right to supervise the religious life of the entire Muslim world.

During the First World War, Ziya Gökalp envisaged an "Islamic Church," an international Islamic community headed by a caliph whose position would be similar to that of the pope; one of his most important functions would be to convene religious conferences attended by representatives of all Muslim peoples, for the purpose of dealing with mutual problems of religious education and theological studies.

With the abrogation of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924, concepts of separation between the authorities of secular states and those of the "Islamic Church" began to be seriously debated among Muslim thinkers. While more radical Westernized nationalists accepted the dissolution of the caliphate as final, religious modernists picked up Kawakibî's idea of creating a new type of caliphate, transforming this office into a spiritual directory which would be recognized by all Muslims as the authoritative exponent of the faith.

In 1925, Shaykh 'Abd ar-Razîq, a faculty member of

1. cf. Toynbee op. cit. p. 43, and Lammens op. cit. pp. 196-197
2. see Heyd op. cit. pp. 92-93
3. see H. A. R. Gibb op. cit. p. 112
Gibb traces the origin of this idea to two Arab reformers, 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibî and Jalâl Nurî Bey.
al-Azhar, published a study entitled *al-islām wa-ugūl al-hukm* (Islam and the foundations of the State) in which he attacked the theocratic basis of Islamic society, and endeavored to disprove the widely held opinion that all Muslims ought to form a single political body administered by one sovereign ruler, his thesis being that Islam had nothing to do with political affairs, and that "Muḥammad's mission and hence his authority were spiritual rather than political."

 Attempts made during the years following the conclusion of the First World War to solve problems of the caliphate have no direct relation to the subject of this study. However, it is interesting to note that historical developments brought into focus some of the difficulties concerning the continued existence of the caliphate in its traditional form which, a quarter of a century before, Kawakibī had already anticipated. It had been his penetrating perception that changing times had made reconciliation between the concept of "Islamic unity" and

1. 'Abd ar-Rāziq *al-islām wa-ugūl al-hukm* (Cairo 1925) 
French translation by L. Bercher, *Revue des Études Musulmanes* 
Vol. 7 (Paris:1933) pp. 353-391
Vol. 8 (Paris:1934) pp. 163-222

2. Gustave E. Grunebaum, "Attempts at Self-Interpretation in Contemporary Islam: Approaches to Group Understanding" (New York 1943) p. 301
the reality of "political diversities" impossible. Portions of the memorandum submitted to the final session of the Cairo Caliphate Congress show certain similarities to "Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi's suggested provisions for holding pan-Islamic congresses and expected delays as the result of inopportune circumstances. Likewise, the caliph's proposed functions outlined in the above-named document resemble somewhat the duties assigned by Kawakibi to his projected Arab caliphate.

To review briefly the pertinent events which occurred subsequently to the abolition of the caliphate: the first effect which the extinction of the Ottoman Caliphate produced among Muslim theologians was perplexity and bewilderment. However, the tangible accomplishments of the two congresses convened in 1926, one, during the month of May, at Cairo, the second, a month later, at Mecca, for the purpose of finding solutions to newly arisen problems as the result of abolition of the caliphate, were not encouraging, in fact indicated

1. For text of the Memorandum, see SIA Vol. 1, pp. 578-581
3. cf. SIA loc. cit. and U. Q. pp. 208-209
4. For detailed information about the two Muslim congresses of 1926, see A. Sekaly Le Congres du Khalifat et le Congres du Monde Musulman (Paris 1926)
"the breaking up of the old religious internationalism of Islam and the advent of nationalism with the creation of Muslim states, differing in their institutions and political tendencies." 1) The memorandum submitted to the final session of the congress held in Cairo conceded that, in the light of actual circumstances, it has become impossible to create a caliphate in harmony with Islamic law, and recommended as alternate solution:

"out of regard to the inadmissibility of leaving Muslims in their present state of neglect and lack of leadership, we consider that the only possible solution of the difficulty is that the Islamic peoples should organize in concert, in the several Islamic countries, successive congresses which will give them the opportunity for periodical exchanges of views until they succeed in solving the question of the caliphate in conformity with Islamic interests.

In order to provide for the contingency that circumstances might not permit these congresses to meet regularly, and in order to guard against the inconveniences which might result from a prolonged interregnum in the office of the Caliphate and from the absence of a higher authority to

which Muslims could appeal on religious questions of a general nature, it would be advisable to establish a central committee consisting of distinguished Islamic leaders and dignitaries. The committee would meet annually to examine problems of interest to Islam. It would have in each Islamic country a national executive committee with which it would keep in constant touch and which would be entrusted with the execution, in its own territory, of the central committee's decisions.

And another section of the memorandum submitted to the Caliphate Congress reads:

"The Administrative Council of the Islamic Caliphate Congress at Cairo ought to be maintained in being, on the understanding that the Council shall establish branches in the several Islamic countries, with which it shall keep in touch, as need arises, to examine the question of the Caliphate and arrive at a decision in consonance with the dignity of the office."

"This report damped the spirits of the Congress and was deprecated by Shaykh Zawāhirī (Director of the Religious Establishments at As-Siyyāt in Upper Egypt) as a funeral oration upon Islam."

1. Toynbee op. cit. p. 89
The congress held at Mecca under the auspices of Ibn Sa‘ūd reached the conclusion that it would require numerous congresses in order to find the solution of mutual problems confronting the Islamic community. For that reason it was resolved by the assembly to hold annual pan-Islamic congresses in Mecca, and statutes were prepared to regulate the activities and procedures of the ensuing meetings.

For all practical purposes, the issue of re-establishing a caliphate was not seriously debated again, although, in December of 1931, the Mufti Amin al-Ḥusaynī convened in Jerusalem an Islamic congress which was all but ignored by most of the Muslim states.

The Impact of Kawākibī’s Political-National Thinking

Kawākibī’s political ideas seem to have influenced, directly or indirectly, subsequent Arab nationalist thinking in two directions:

1. the agitation for Arab political independence, and
2. the demand for administrative decentralization of the Ottoman Empire.

We hear that in 1904 an Arab national party of

1. cf. WI Vol. 23 p. 130

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Turkey addressed the following memorandum to the foreign Powers:

1) Manifesto to the Powers

"A great pacific change is on the eve of occurring in Turkey. The Arabs, whom the Turks tyrannized over only by keeping them divided on insignificant questions of ritual and religion, have become conscious of their national, historic and racial homogeneity, and wish to detach themselves from the worm-eaten Ottoman trunk in order to form themselves into an independent State. This new Arab Empire will extend to its natural frontiers, from the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Isthmus of Suez, and from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Oman. It will be governed by the constitutional and liberal monarchy of an Arabian Sultan. The present vilayet of the Hedjaz together with the territory of Medina, will form an independent empire whose sovereign...

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For analysis of Azoury's nationalist thinking, see: "There is nothing really new about the Arab revolution" (1905), *아래들* 15:377–389.
will be at the same time the religious Khalif of all the Mohammedans. Thus, one great difficulty, the separation of the civil and religious powers in Islam, will have been solved for the greater good of all."

The "Ligue de la PatrieArabe" which the Lebanese Christian Arab Azoury had founded in Paris defined its aims in a proclamation to all the Arabs of Turkey, issued in 1) December of 1904.

It is not the purport of this study to examine the nationalist views of Azoury, but it is relevant to point out that the above-quoted manifesto to the Powers, on which the program of the "Ligue de la PatrieArabe" was based, contains many concepts which were expressed by Kawakibi in his Umm al-Qura such as the separation of civil and religious authorities in Islam, and the proposed formation of a

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1. For text of this proclamation, see Eugene Jung Les Puissances devant la Revolte Arabe (Paris 1906) pp. 24-29
For English translation of the proclamation, see Stoddard op. cit. pp. 171-172
For analysis of Eugene Jung's work, see

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[1907] 16杂物 257-269
[1907] 16杂物 454-464

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spiritual Arab caliphate which was to exercise religious control over all Muslims, but its political jurisdiction to be restricted to the Hijaz vilayet. However, Kawakibi never advocated the most significant, purely nationalist part of the program, i.e., the establishment of a new Arab Empire.

Reference has already been made to the issue of decentralization versus centralization which dominated the political scene of the Ottoman Empire for about five years prior to the outbreak of the First World War. In 1912, a group of Syrian-Arab refugees in Egypt founded in Cairo an important society named hizb al-lamarkaziya (al-idariya) al-'uthmani, the Ottoman (administrative) Decentralization Party. Muhammad Rashid Ri'aa and Rafiq al-`Azm, two intimate friends of Kawakibi, were among the leading personalities that called this organization into being. The objectives of the Hizb al-lamarkaziya were to impress the Turkish Government with the need for administrative decentralization of the State and the promulgation of a constitution in com-

1. See an-Najjar op. cit. p. 120
2. For list of the most prominent members of the organization, see Amin Sa'id ath-thawra al-'arabiya al-kubra (Cairo 1934) pp. 14-15
   For English translation of this list, see Antonius op. cit. p. 109
plete harmony with the diverse racial, linguistic and religious elements of the population.

The "Decentralization Party" followed exactly Kawakibi's lines of political thinking with reference to the re-organization of the Ottoman Empire. Of course, there is the possibility that Kawakibi might have been influenced by the opinions of his close friends and associates, but, as far as could be determined, neither Rashid Rida nor Rafiq al-'Azm advocated a program of decentralization as early as 1900.

Conclusion

In summary it can be stated that Kawakibi's thinking encompasses a variety of social-political and religious-intellectual doctrines; his social-political ideas evolved from identification with the Young Turk movement and its European-French-inspired principles and objectives, the creation of a strong democratic nation-State, to the espousal of administrative decentralization of the Ottoman Empire, and lastly to a growing national consciousness, primarily Islamic and secondarily Arab; Kawakibi's religious-intellectual con-

1. For complete text of the party's program, see Sa'id op. cit. pp. 15-18
2. see U. Q. pp. 143-148
cepts include elements of Muslim secularism advocating the separation between temporal and ecclesiastical authorities, Salafīya reformism striving to abolish the catholicity of Islam and to re-examine the religious sources of the faith, in order to pave the way for improvement and modernization of social conditions, and Wahhabi revivalism demanding the return to the cultural level of Muḥammad and his early companions and clamoring for Arab leadership of the Islamic community.

Attempts made shortly after Kawakibi's death to implement and propagate essential parts of his program may have been historical coincidence, and not have come as a direct result of inspiration from the opinions expressed and suggestions advanced in Umm al-Gurā and Taḥā'ī al-istibdād, but it seems more likely that the ideas and convictions of Kawakibi who happened to have caught a glimpse of the future, a vision of things to come, had a powerful impact on subsequent developments.

While, within a decade after Kawakibi's death, his religious, social and political concepts became the common stock of the pan-Islamic and Arab national movements, he himself did not live long enough to witness the actual and
and attempted realization of the core of his dreams: the abolition of Ottoman tyranny, the emergence of a strong Arab national consciousness and the efforts (though unsuccessful) to cement powerful cultural bonds within Muslim society, and the (vigorous, but futile) debates concerning the establishment of a spiritual caliphate. This course of development is in line with Kawakibi's motto:

"kalimatū ḥaqqīn, wa-gayḥatun fī wadin, in dhababī-1-yawma ma 'a-r-rīḥī, laqad tadḥhabu ghadan bi-l-awtādī."

(Words of truth, an appeal in the wilderness, even if gone today with the wind, may be tearing the foundations tomorrow).

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