

Translation of Muḥammad ʿAbd al- Salām Faraj's Text Entitled Al-Farīdah al- Ghā'ibah

PRELIMINARY REMARKS to the translation.

1. Those parts of the text that are unclear and/or corrupt are put between *asterisks*.
2. The translator's additions to the text are put between parentheses.
3. The many proper names from Islamic history that the text contains can be looked up in for example, H.A.R. Gibb, J.H. Kramers, E. Levi-Provençal, and J. Schacht, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1960, and later years, and in similar reference works.
4. The text of the *Farīdah* is an internal document which was not written for outsiders. It addresses the initiated only. Those who have to consult an English translation of the *Farīdah* are probably outsiders, and have to be prepared to read paragraphs that will sometimes look strange to them.

The Neglected Duty

In the name of God the Most Compassionate

(§1) *Is it not high time for those who have believed
to humble their hearts to the Reminder of God
and to the truth which He has sent down;
and that they should not be like those
to whom the Book was formerly given,
and for whom the time was long,
so that their hearts became hard,
and many of them are reprobates?*

(This Qur'ān quotation is taken) from Surah 57 (verse 16).

‘Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak said: “Ṣāliḥ al-Murri told us on the authority of Qatādah on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās: ‘God deemed the hearts of the believers to be slow and he reproached them for this (already as early as) the beginning of (the year¹) 13 after the beginning of the Revelation of the Qur’ān.’ He then said ‘Is it not high time for those who have believed, . . .’ (and the rest of) the verse (quoted above).”

In the Name of God the Most Compassionate Preface

(§2) Glory to God. We praise Him, we ask for His help, we ask Him to forgive us, we ask Him to give us guidance. We seek protection with God against the wickedness of our souls and against the evilness of our acts. If God sends someone on the right path, no one can send him astray. If God sends someone astray, no one can guide him. I acknowledge that there is no god but God alone, He has no associate, and I acknowledge that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle.

The most reliable Speech is the Book of God, and the best guidance is the guidance of Muḥammad, may God’s peace be upon him. The worst of all things are novelties, since every novelty is an innovation (*bid‘ah*) and every innovation is a deviation, and all deviation is in Hell.

(§3) *Jihād* (struggle) for God’s cause, in spite of its extreme

importance and its great significance for the future of this religion, has been neglected by the ‘ulamā’ (leading Muslim scholars) of this age. They have feigned ignorance of it, but they know that it is the only way to the return and the establishment of the glory of Islam anew. Every Muslim preferred his own favorite ideas and philosophies above the Best Road, which God — Praised and Exalted He is — drew Himself (a road that leads back) to (a state of) Honor for His Servants.

(§4) There is no doubt that the idols of this world can only be made to disappear through the power of the sword. It is therefore that (the Apostle Muḥammad) — God’s peace be upon him — said: “I have been sent with the Sword at this Hour, so that God alone is worshipped, without associate to Him, He put my daily bread under the shadow of my lance, He brings lowness and smallness to those who disagree with what I command. Whosoever resembles a certain group of people will be counted as a member of that group.” (This Tradition is) reported by Imām Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar.

(§5) Ibn Rajab says: The saying of (the Apostle Muḥammad) — God’s peace be upon him — “I have been sent with the Sword” means that God sent him to call with the sword for (acknowledgment of) God’s unity after he had called (for this) with arguments. Whosoever did not comply (and accept) the unity (of God), (being called upon to do so) by (the text of) the Qur’ān, by arguments and by proof, would then be called upon with the sword.

(§6) His Guidance to (the Apostle Muḥammad) — God’s Peace be upon Him — in Mecca

The Apostle of God — God’s peace be upon him — addressed the idols of Mecca while he was still in Mecca (saying): “Listen, Oh ye (from the tribe) Quraysh, as to Him Who has the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, I bring you slaughter.” The people who stood there took his words seriously and they were all silent with awe, even the strongest of them, who then addressed him (Muḥammad) with the best words he could find, even saying: “Please, go away, O rightly guided (Muḥammad) Abū Qāsim.” By God, how



ignorant I (Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Faraj) have been while the Apostle of God — God's peace be upon him —, by his saying "I bring you the sword," had already pointed to the straight road, about which there should be no discussion and no dissimulation with the Masters of Unbelief (*kufṛ*) and the Leaders of Error, and this while he was still within (pagan) Mecca.

(§7) Islam Approaches

The establishment of an Islamic State and the reintroduction of the Caliphate were (not only) already predicted by the Apostle of God — God's peace be upon him — (but) (they) are, moreover, part of the Command of the Lord — Majestic and Exalted He is — for which every Muslim should exert every conceivable effort in order to execute it.

(§8) a) (The Apostle) — God's peace be upon him — says: "God showed me all corners of the earth. I saw its East and its West, and (I saw) that my Community will possess of it what He showed me from it." (This Tradition) is transmitted by Muslim, Abū Dāwud, Ibn Mājah, and Al-Tirmidhī. This has not until now come about, since there are countries which the Muslims have not conquered in (any) age which has passed up to the present. (However,) it shall come about if God permits.

(§9) b) (The Apostle) — God's peace be upon him — says: "This matter will be as the day and the night: God will make this religion enter into every house of every inhabitant of the deserts, of villages, of towns, of cities, with glory or with disgrace. God will give glory to Islam, and God will bring disgrace upon Unbelief." (This Tradition) is transmitted by Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and Al-Ṭabarānī. Al-Haythamī said that the men (who transmit) it are men who (only transmit) reliable (Traditions). (The uncommon Arabic word) *madar* (which is used in this Tradition) means "someone who lives in a village or a town," and (the uncommon Arabic word) *wabar* (which is used in this Tradition) means "someone who lives in the desert or a city or a village."

(§10) c) A reliable Tradition reports that (a certain) Abū Qabil

says: We were with ʿAbdallāh, the son of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ,² and he was asked "Which of the two cities will be conquered first, Constantinople or Rome?" Then ʿAbdallāh called for a box which had rings attached to it and he took a book from it. Then ʿAbdallāh said: When we were around God's Apostle — God's peace be upon Him — we wrote down when God's Apostle — God's peace be upon Him — was asked "Which of the two cities will be conquered first, Constantinople or Rome?" God's Apostle — God's peace be upon Him — answered: "The city of Heraclius will be conquered first, Constantinople." (This Tradition) is transmitted by Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and Al-Dārimī. (The uncommon Arabic appellation) *Rūmiyah* (which the text of the Tradition employs) stands for Rome, according to the (geographical dictionary) *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. It is the capital of Italy today.

(§11) The first conquest came about at the hands of Muḥammad the Conqueror, the Ottoman (Sultan), and this more than 800 years after the Prophet's — God's peace be upon him — prediction of the conquest. The second conquest will also be realized if God permits. There is no doubt that you will hear, after a (certain) period, of its announcement.

(§12) d) "The Prophethood will be amongst you as long as God wills that it is amongst you, then He will take it away when He wants to do so. Next there will be a Caliphate equal (in righteousness) to the Prophethood, it will be as long as God wills it to be, then He will take it away when He wants to do so. Next there will be a King Who Hinders, who shall be there as long as God wants him to be there, then He will take him away when He wants to do so. Next there will be a King Who Compels, who shall be there as long as God wants him to be there, then He will take him away when He wants to do so. Next there will (again) be a Caliphate equal (in righteousness) to the Prophethood. It will make people act according to the Example of the Prophet, and Islam will become firmly established on earth. Those who live in heaven and those who live on earth will rejoice about this. Every single drop from heaven will be abundant rain, and every single plant or blessing which springs from the earth will prosper greatly." (This Tradition) is transmitted by Ḥudhayfah who traces it back to the

Apostle Muḥammad, and the Tradition scholar al-ʿIrāqī³ transmits it from Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal), who says that this is a good and reliable (Tradition).

"The King Who Hinders" is (already) done with, and "the King Who Compels" is (a reference to rulers who derive their authority) from (military) coups that bring those who participate in them to power, against the will of the people. . . .

(§13) The Tradition is one of the predictions of the return of Islam in the present age following this Islamic Awakening, and it prophesies that they (who participate in it) have a brilliant future both economically and agriculturally.

(§14) The Response to Those Who Despair

Some people have fallen into despair and they counter this Tradition and these predictions with a Tradition from the Prophet—God's peace be upon him—which was transmitted through Anas: "Be patient, because every time which comes is worse than the one before it until you meet your Lord. I heard this from your Prophet, may peace be upon him." Al-Tirmidhī says that (this is) a good and reliable (Tradition). (These people) say: "there is no reason to waste effort and time on dreams." Here we quote the saying of the Prophet—God's peace be upon him—: "My community is a blessed community. You do not know whether the first of it is the best, or the last of it." (This Tradition) is transmitted by Ibn ʿAsākir on the authority of ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān. Al-Suyūṭī pointed out that it is a good (Tradition). There is no contradiction between the two Traditions since the address of the Prophet—God's peace be upon him—was directed to his own generation until they met their Lord. The Tradition is not (intended to be understood) in a general way, but it is (meant as) a general saying (which has to be understood to apply to only a) specific (group). Another proof (for the correctness of this understanding of this Tradition) are the Traditions about the Messiah (*Mahdi*) who will appear at the end of time, and (who) will fill the world with fairness and justice after it has been filled with injustice and oppression.

(§15) God gave a promise to a group of believers in His—

Glorious and Majestic He is—word: "God has promised to those of you who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, that He will surely make them successors (to power) in the land as He made those before them successors, and he will surely establish for them their religion which He has approved for them, and after their fear will give them in exchange security; 'They shall serve Me not associating anything with Me.' " (This Qur'ān quotation) is taken from verse 55 of Surah 24. God does not break His promises. We ask Him—Majestic and Supreme He is—that He make us one of them (who are mentioned in the beginning of this Qur'ān quotation).

(§16) The Establishment of an Islamic State

This is a duty which is rejected by some Muslims and neglected by others although the proof for the obligatory character of the establishment of a state is clear, and made obvious by the (text of the) Book of God—Blessed and Supreme He is,—for God—Glory to Him—says: "and that you must rule between them according to what God sent down," and He says: "Whosoever does not rule by what God sent down, those, they are the unbelievers." He says—Glorious and Majestic He is—in (the first verse of) Surah 24 (of which we quoted verse 55 in the previous paragraph), about the obligatory character of the prescripts of Islam: "a Surah which we sent down and which we made obligatory." From this (verse) (it follows) that the establishment of the Rule of God over this earth (mentioned in verse 55 of this Surah) must be considered to be obligatory for the Muslims. God's prescripts are an obligation for the Muslims. Hence, the establishment of an Islamic State is an obligation for the Muslims, for something without which something which is obligatory cannot be carried out becomes (itself) obligatory. If, moreover, (such a) state cannot be established without war, then this war is an obligation as well.

(§17) Muslims are agreed on the obligatory character of the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate. To announce a Caliphate must be based on the existence of a (territorial) nucleus (from which it can grow). This (nucleus) is the Islamic State. "Whosoever



dies without having taken upon himself (the obligation of) a pledge of allegiance does not die as a Muslim." So, it is obligatory for every Muslim to seriously strive for the return of the Caliphate in order not to fall into the category of people (mentioned in the Tradition (quoted in this paragraph). By "pledge of allegiance" (the text of the Tradition) means "allegiance to the Caliphate."

(§18) The House in Which We Live



Here a question appears: Do we live in an Islamic State? One of the characteristics of such a state is that it is ruled by the laws of Islam. The Imām Abū Ḥanīfah gave as his opinion that the House of Islam changes into the House of Unbelief if three conditions are fulfilled simultaneously: 1. if it is ruled by other laws than those of Islam, 2. the disappearance of safety for the Muslim inhabitants, 3. its being adjacent or close . . . and this (means) that the House (of Islam) is close to the House of Unbelief to such an extent that this is a source of danger to the Muslims and a cause for the disappearance of their safety.

(§19) The Imām Muḥammad and the Imām Abū Yūsuf, both (jurists) from the school of Abū Ḥanīfah, gave as their opinion that a House must be categorized according to the laws by which it is ruled. If (a House) is ruled by the laws of Islam, then it is the House of Islam. If (a House) is ruled by the laws of Unbelief, it is the House of Unbelief. (This opinion can be found in a book entitled) *Badā'ī' al-Ṣinā'ī'*, vol. 1.

(§20) The *Shaykh al-Islām* Ibn Taymiyah, in his *Fatwā* collection, vol. 4, the book on *jihād*: "When he was asked about a town called Mārdīn which had been ruled by the Rule of Islam, but in which the situation had then changed and people had established the rule of Unbelief, whether (such a town) constitutes a House of War or House of Peace, he answered that these two concepts had become combined in it, and hence it could neither be categorized as a House of Peace which is ruled by the Laws of Islam nor as a House of War the inhabitants of which are infidels. It had become, however, a third category: a Muslim in it should be treated according to what is due to him, and someone who has rebelled against

the Law of Islam should (in his turn) be treated according to what is due to him. . . ."

As a matter of fact we do not find (any) contradiction between the opinions of these Imāms, because Abū Ḥanīfah and the two (jurists) from his school did not mention that its inhabitants were infidels. . . . So, peace to whom peace is due, and war to whom war is due. . . . The State (of Egypt in which we live today) is ruled by the Laws of Unbelief although the majority of its inhabitants are Muslims.

(§21) The Ruler who Rules by Other (Laws) than (the Laws) Which God Sent Down

The laws by which the Muslims are ruled today are the laws of Unbelief, they are actually codes of law that were made by infidels who then subjected the Muslims to these (codes) although God — Praised and Exalted He is — says in Surah 5 (of the Qur'ān): "Whosoever does not rule (*yaḥkum*) by what God sent down, those are the Unbelievers (*kāfirūn*)." (This quotation is taken from Qur'ān) 5.44. After the disappearance of the Caliphate definitively in the year 1924, and (after) the removal of the laws of Islam in their entirety, and (after) their substitution by laws that were imposed by infidels, the situation (of the Muslims) became identical to the situation of the Mongols, as the Qur'ān commentary of Ibn Kathīr corroborates (in its comment) on Qur'ān 5.50: "Do they then desire the (mode) of judgment of the un-Islamic World (*Jāhiliyyah*)? But who is better than God (Himself) in Judgment, to a people who are convinced?"

(§22) (In his comment on this verse) Ibn Kathīr says: "God disapproves of whosoever (firstly) rebels against God's laws, (laws) that are clear and precise (*muḥkam*) and that contain everything which is good and that forbid everything that is bad, and (secondly) turns away (from these laws) in order to follow other (mere human) opinions, ideas and conventions, that were made by humans who had no recourse to the Law of God, like the erroneous and mistaken ideas and opinions which the people of the period before the Coming of Islam had created for themselves as

laws by which they used to live. Similarly, the Mongols rule themselves by royal decrees (*siyāsāt*) which were derived from their King Genghis Khan who made for them the *Yāsiq*. (The Mongol word *yāsiq*) is an expression (which designates) a book which contains (legal) rules which he (Genghis Khan) had derived from different systems of (revealed) law (*sharā'ī*), not only from Christianity and Judaism but also from the Islamic Community and others. It contains many legal rulings which he simply made up himself because he liked them. Yet it became a system of law that is applied and that they (the Mongols) prefer above the Rule by the Book of God and the Example (*sunnah*) of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —. Whosoever does so is an infidel (and not a Muslim) and he must be fought (*yajib qitāluhu*) until he returns to the Rule of God and His Apostle, and until he rules by no other law than God's law." (This quotation is taken from the Qur'ān commentary by Ibn Kathīr, vol. 2, p. 67.

(§23) The Rulers of this age have rebelled against the religion of Islam in multiple ways to such a degree that there is little doubt as to (how to judge) people who follow the ways of these (Rulers). (To their many transgressions of the laws of Islam) one should, moreover, add the question of the (un-Islamic) laws (which they impose on their Muslim subjects).

(§24) *Shaykh al-Islām* Ibn Taymīyah says in his book *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, in the section on *jihād*, p. 288, vol. 4: "About the religion of the Muslims it is known — (not only) through *logical necessity* (*iḍṭirār*) (but) also through agreement amongst all Muslims — that someone who makes it possible to follow another religion than the religion of Islam or to follow another law than the law of Muḥammad — God's Peace be upon him — (that such a person) is an infidel (*kāfir*). (His Unbelief) is like the Unbelief of whosoever believes in part of the Book and does not believe in other parts. Likewise God — Exalted He is — says: 'Those who disbelieve in God and His Apostles and wish to make a distinction between God and His Apostles, and say: 'We believe in some, but disbelieve in others,' and wish to take between (this and) that a way — these are the unbelievers (*kāfirūn*) in very truth, and We have prepared for the unbelievers a humiliating punishment.' (These) two verses are from Surah 4, verses 150 and 151."

(§25) The Rulers of the Muslims Today are in Apostasy from Islam

The Rulers of this age are in apostasy from Islam. They were raised at the tables of imperialism, be it Crusaderism, or Communism, or Zionism. They carry nothing from Islam but their names,⁴ even though they pray and fast and claim (*idda'a*) to be Muslim. (")It is a well-established rule of Islamic Law that the punishment of an apostate will be heavier than the punishment of someone who is by origin an infidel (and has never been a Muslim), and this in many respects. For instance, an apostate has to be killed even if he is unable to (carry arms and) go to war. Someone, however, who is by origin an infidel and who is unable to (carry arms and) go to war (against the Muslims) should not be killed, according to leading Muslim scholars like Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik and Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal). Hence, it is the view of the majority (of the jurists) that an apostate has to be killed, and this is in accordance with (the opinions held in) the Schools of Law of Mālik, Al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal). (Other examples of this difference are) that an apostate cannot inherit, cannot conclude a legally valid marriage, and to eat from the meat of animals which he slaughtered is forbidden. No such rules exist concerning someone who is by origin an infidel (and has never been a Muslim). When apostasy from a religion is worse than having always been an infidel, then apostasy from the prescripts (of a religion) is (also) worse than having always been an infidel. So, apostasy is worse than rebellion against the prescripts of a religion which comes from someone who has always been outside (this religion).(")

Ibn Taymīyah says on p. 293:

(§26) "It is a well-established rule of Islamic Law that the punishment of an apostate will be heavier than the punishment of someone who is by origin an infidel (and who has never been a Muslim), and this in many respects. For instance, an apostate has to be killed in all circumstances, he does not have the right to profess his new religion against the payment of the head tax, and there can be no Covenant of Protection (between an ex-Muslim and the Muslim authorities) unlike the case with someone who has always been an infidel (non-Muslim, e.g., a Christian or a Jew). For

instance, an apostate has to be killed even if he is unable to (carry arms and) go to war. Someone, however, who is by origin an infidel and who is unable to (carry arms and) go to war (against the Muslims) should not be killed, according to leading Muslim scholars like Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik and Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal). Hence, it is the view of the majority (of the jurists) that an apostate has to be killed, and this is in accordance with (the opinions held in) the Schools of Law of Mālik, Al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal). (Other examples of this difference are) that an apostate cannot inherit, cannot conclude a legally valid marriage, and to eat from the meat of animals which he slaughtered is forbidden. No such rules exist concerning someone who is by origin an infidel (and has never been a Muslim). When apostasy from a religion is worse than having always been an infidel, then apostasy from the prescripts (of a religion) is (also) worse than having always been an infidel. So, apostasy is worse than rebellion against the prescripts of a religion which comes from someone who has always been outside (this religion)."

What, then, is the position of the Muslims in relation to these people?

(§27) Ibn Taymīyah also says, in the same chapter on p. 281: "Any group of people that rebels against any single prescript of the clear and reliably transmitted prescripts of Islam has to be fought, according to the leading scholars of Islam, even if the members of this group pronounce the Islamic Confession of Faith. If such people make a public formal confession of their (Islamic) Faith (by pronouncing the double formula 'There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is His Apostle') but, at the same time, refuse to carry out the five daily prayer ceremonies, then it is obligatory to fight them. If they refuse to pay (the religious tax called) *zakāt*, it is obligatory to fight them until they pay the *zakāt*. Similarly, if they refuse to keep the Fast of the Month of Ramaḍān or (to perform the Pilgrimage) to the Ancient House (the Ka'bah), and similarly if they refuse to forbid abominations or adultery or gambling or wine or anything else that is forbidden by the laws of Islam. Similarly, if they refuse to apply on matters of life and property, or merchandise and commodities of any kind the Judgment of the Book and the Example (of the Prophet). Similarly if they refuse to compel to

what is good and to prohibit what is bad (and refuse to) fight the infidels (*jihād al-kuffār*) until they surrender (to the Muslims) and humbly pay the head tax (prescribed for non-Muslims by Islamic Law). Similarly if they introduce innovations that are contrary to the Book and the Example (of Muḥammad) and that are not consistent with (the example of) the Pious Forefathers, like introducing deviating opinions concerning the Names of God, or His Signs, or disbelieving in the Signs of God and His Properties, or disbelieving His Omnipotence, or disbelieving anything on which the Community of Muslims agreed in the period of the rightly guided Caliphs, or attacking (the great personalities from) the earliest generations (of Muslims), the Immigrants (who went with Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD) and the Helpers (from Medina who supplied the Prophet with assistance in the period after 622) and those that imitate them by doing good works, or (like) fighting the Muslims until they (the Muslims) obey them (these people) when (these people) order (the Muslims) to rebel against the Laws of Islam. (Similarly) in all cases that are equivalent to these things. God — Exalted He is — says: "Fight them until there is no dissension (*fitnah*) and the religion is entirely God's" (Qur'ān 7.39) and because of this God — Exalted He is — says: "O ye who have believed, show piety towards God, and abandon usury which remains (unpaid) if ye are believers. If ye do it not, be apprised of war from God and His messenger" (Qur'ān 2.278 – 279).

(§28) These verses were revealed with reference to the people of (the town) Ṭā'if. When they became Muslims, they took it upon themselves to pray and to fast, but refused to give up usury. Then God made it clear that they would be at war with Him, and His Apostle, when they would not refrain from usury. Usury is the last thing which God declared (to be) forbidden. It is anything which is not taken with the consent of its owner. When (already) these (people in the town of Ṭā'if) had to be fought (*yajib jihāduhum*) because they were at war with God and His Apostle (only because they continued to ask for the payment of usury agreed upon before the Muslim conquest of their town), how much more (should the Muslims fight) those who omit (to carry out) many of the rites of Islam, or (perhaps) most of them, like the Mongols.

The leading scholars of Islam agree that a group of people who refuse to carry out part of the clear and reliably transmitted duties of Islam have to be fought (*yajib qitāluhā*) when they (publicly confess to be Muslim) by pronouncing the Islamic Confession of Faith ("There is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Apostle") but (at the same time) refuse to carry out the prayer ceremonies and (to pay) the *zakāt* tax, and (to keep) the Fast of the Month of Ramaḍān, or to (carry out) the pilgrimage to the Ancient House (the Kaʿbah), or to judge between themselves according to the Book (of God) and the Example (of the Prophet), or (refuse) to forbid abominations or wine, or conclude marriages between persons whose consanguinity precludes a marriage according to Muslim law, or freely take life and property without having a right to do so, or (take) usury, or gamble, or (refuse to) fight the infidels, or (refuse to) impose the head tax on the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and similar points from the prescripts of Islam — then they have to be fought on these points until the whole religion belongs to God.

(§29) The Comparison between the Mongols and Today's Rulers

1. It is clear from what Ibn Kathīr says in his Commentary on His word — Exalted He is —: "Do they then desire the (mode) of judgment of the un-Islamic world (*Jāhiliyah*)? But who is better than God (Himself) in Judgment, to a people who are convinced?" (Qur'ān 5.50), see page 6 (of the original version) of this book (cf. §§21–22 of this translation) — (from these words by Ibn Kathīr it is clear) that he does not distinguish between, on the one hand, those who rebel against God's Judgment whoever they are, and, on the other hand, the Mongols. . . . There is no doubt that the Mongol Yāsā is less of a sin than the laws which the West has imposed (on countries like Egypt) and which have no connection with Islam or any other revealed religion.

(§30) 2. In a question directed to the *Shaykh al-Islām* Ibn Taymīyah by a concerned Muslim, the questioner says, describing their (the Mongol's) situation to the Imām (Ibn Taymīyah): "These

Mongols who come again and again to Syria and who have pronounced the double Islamic Confession of Faith and who have not remained in the state of Unbelief in which they originally found themselves — have they to be fought and how must someone who has been forced to join their armies to be judged? — (This question is relevant because) they attached Muslim (units) to the ranks of their army by force, "obligatory conscription" — and how must the (Muslim) scholars, jurists, mystics, etc., who are in their camp be judged, and what can be said about those who allege that they are Muslims, and that those who fight them are Muslims as well, and that both of them are wrong (*ẓālim*) and that one should not serve in the army of any one of these two groups?" This is the same difficulty (*shubhah*) which exists now and it will be cleared up if God permits. (See the book entitled) *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, pp. 280–281, question 516.

(§31) 3. In his description of the Mongols Ibn Taymīyah says: "Everyone who is with them in the state over which they rule has to be regarded as belonging to the most evil class of men. He is either is an atheist (*zindīq*) and hypocrite who does not believe in the essence of the religion of Islam — this means that he (only) outwardly pretends to be Muslim — or he belongs to that worst class of all people who are the people of the *bidaʿ* (heretical innovations) like (the members of sects like) the *Rawāfiḍ*, the *Jahmīyah*, the *Ittiḥādiyyah*, etc. — These are all groups who commit themselves to *bidaʿ* —, or they are from that most criminal and sinful group who although they are quite able to perform the pilgrimage to the Ancient House (the Kaʿbah) do not perform this pilgrimage, even though there are amongst them some who perform the prayers and fast, but the majority (of them) does not perform the prayers or pay the (Muslim religious) *zakāt* tax. . . . Is this not (exactly) what is the case (in Egypt today)?

(§32) 4. They fight under the banners of Genghis Khan — the name of their King —. Whosoever enters into their obedience becomes their client even if he is an infidel. Whosoever rebels against their authority is regarded as their enemy even if he were from amongst the best of Muslims. They do not fight under the banners of Islam and they do not impose the head tax (on Jews and Christians). Many of the Muslim army commanders and viziers in their

camps even have it as their aim that in their (the Mongols') esteem a Muslim should be equal to the nonmonotheist (*mushrikūn*) Jews and Christians to whom they give high positions. (This is quoted from) *Al-Fatāwā*, p. 286.

NOTE: Are not these characteristics the same characteristics as those of the Rulers of this age, and their entourage of clients as well? (Do the members of their entourage not) glorify the Ruler more than they glorify their Creator?

(§33) 5. On p. 287 *Shaykh al-Islām* Ibn Taymīyah adds to his description of the clients of Genghis Khan. He writes on those who outwardly profess to be Muslims that "they place Muḥammad (in a position) equal to (the position of) Genghis Khan; and if (they do) not (do) this they — in spite of their pretension to be Muslims — not only glorify Genghis Khan but they also fight the Muslims. The worst of these infidels even give him their total and complete obedience; they bring him their properties and give their decisions in his name. When they disagree with what he orders them this is like rebellion against an Imām. Above all this they fight the Muslims and treat them with the greatest enmity. They ask the Muslims to obey them, to give them their properties, and to enter (the obedience of the rules) which were imposed on them by this infidel polytheist King who so resembles the Pharaoh or Nimrod and their likes. He is, however, a greater pest than both of these two."

(§34) 6. Ibn Taymīyah says in addition: "Whosoever enters into their obedience (and obeys their) un-Islamic (prescripts) (*ṭā'atahum al-jāhiliyah*) and their pagan customs is their friend; whosoever disagrees with them is their enemy even if he were the best of God's Prophets, Apostles or Saints." (This quotation is taken from) p. 288.

(§35) 7. Speaking about the judicial system in the age of the Mongols *Shaykh al-Islām* (Ibn Taymīyah) says moreover: "Similarly their foolish vizier (the well-known Persian historiographer) called Rashīd (al-Dīn) ruled over these kinds (of people) (who were in the Mongol camp) and put the worst Muslims like the *Rawāfiḍ* and (other) heretics above the best Muslims, people of science and faith. The office of High Judge even fell into the hands of someone who is closer to atheism (*zandaqah*), heresy and unbelief in God and His Apostle (than to Islam). . . . He puts agreement with

infidel and hypocritical Jews, Qarmathians, heretics and *Rawāfiḍ* above agreement with anyone else. (These people) only outwardly carry out that part (of the prescripts) of Islam which they have to (carry out) for the sake of the Muslims who are with them. Their vizier, this wicked heretical hypocrite, even wrote a work which purports to say that 'the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — had no objections (*raḍiyya*) against the religion of the Jews and the Christians, did not disapprove of them, did not blame them, did not want them to give up their religion, and did not order them to come over to Islam. The ignorant (*jāhil*) and wicked (Rashīd al-Dīn) inferred this from the Word of God — Exalted He is — in (the Qur'ān), Surah 109: 'Say: 'O ye unbelievers, I serve not what ye serve, and ye are not servers of what I serve; I am not a server of what ye have served, nor are ye servers of what I serve; Ye have your religion, and I have mine.' He alleges that this verse implies that he (Muḥammad) had no objections against their religion. He also says that this verse is well established (*muḥkam*) and not abrogated (*mansūkh*). . . ." (This passage is taken from) p. 288 and 289 (of the book entitled) *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*,⁵ and Praise be to God. Is not (the purport of) the work of this Mongol vizier exactly the same as (what we see in the modern concepts)⁶ "Religious Brotherhood" and "Unity of Religions"? The latter is even worse and even more wrong than the former.

(§36) Ibn Taymīyah's Collection of Fatwās is Useful in the Present Age

Hence we think it proper that we should quote some of Ibn Taymīyah's fatwās on how to judge these people. We already mentioned his fatwā on the town of Mārdīn which the Mongols ruled by (a system of) laws which combined the laws of the Jews and the Christians (on the one hand) and part of Islam (on the other hand) and (lastly) part of (laws made up on the basis of their own) reasoning and fancies. On this he said: "Whether it is a House of War or a House of Peace is a complicated (question). Both concepts (can be found) in it. It is neither a House of Peace which is ruled by the laws of Islam because its soldiers are Muslims, nor a House of

War the inhabitants of which are infidels. It became, however, a third category: a Muslim in it should be treated according to what is due to him and someone who rebels against the Law of Islam should (in his turn) be treated in accordance to what is due to him."

(§37) How to Judge Helping and Supporting Them?

Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah says in answer to this question, p. 280, the chapter on *Jihād*: "To help those who rebel against the laws of the religion of Islam is forbidden, both to the people of Mārdīn and to anyone else. Someone who lives there (in Mārdīn) must emigrate (*hijrah*) from it, if he is unable to carry out his religious obligations (there). If he is not (unable to do so) it is (nevertheless) recommendable (to leave Mārdīn), but it is not obligatory. To support an enemy of the Muslims with personal military service or with money is forbidden. They are under the obligation to avoid doing so with all available means: by going away, resisting, or bribery. If this can only be done by emigrating, then this emigration is a personal obligation." To this Ibn Taymīyah adds, talking about the people of Mārdīn who helped the Mongols, that is, the ruling Power: "It is, generally, not allowed to denounce them as hypocrites. Denouncing someone as (a hypocrite) and accusing him of hypocrisy is only permissible on the basis of the characteristics that are mentioned in the Qur'ān and the Tradition. Some of the people of Mārdīn fell into this category, and others did not." This means that not all of them were (hypocrites).

(§38) How to Judge Muslim Soldiers who Refuse Service in the Army of the Mongols?

Page 280, question 513, on a soldier who did not want to serve. The answer: When it is useful for the Muslims and he is able to bear it, he should not leave his post without benefit (from his desertion) to the Muslims. . . . To be, however, in the forefront during the *jihād* which God and His Apostle have called for is better than



voluntary acts of worship like voluntary prayer, the pilgrimage, and voluntary fasting. God, however, knows best.

(§39) How to Judge their Possessions?

Question 514. When the Mongols entered Syria and plundered the possessions of the Christians and the Muslims, and next the Muslims plundered the Mongols and stripped their dead of arms and clothing — is it then permissible to take things from their properties? The answer: "A fifth may be taken from everything which is captured from the Mongols and to profit from it is permitted." The meaning of the expression "to take a fifth" refers to the spoils.



(§40) How to Judge Fighting Them?

Ibn Taymīyah says, p. 298, question 217: "To fight the Mongols who came to Syria (*Al-Shām*) is a duty prescribed by the Book (of God) and the Example (of the Prophet). God says in the Qur'ān (2.193): Fight them until there is no dissension (*fitnah*) and religion becomes God's. "Religion" (here) means "obedience." When part of the religion is God's, and another part of it is not, the fighting is obligatory until the whole religion is God's, and hence God — Exalted He is — says (Qur'ān 2.278–279): 'O ye who have believed, show piety towards God, and abandon usury which remains (unpaid) if ye are believers. If ye do it not, be apprised of war from God and His Messenger.' These verses were revealed with reference to the people of (the town) Ṭā'if. When they became Muslims, they took it upon themselves to pray and to fast, but refused to give up usury. Then God made it clear that they would be at war with Him, and His Apostle, when they would not refrain from usury. When (already) these (people in the town of Ṭā'if) had to be fought (*yajib jihādūhum*) because they were at war with God and His Apostle (only because they continued to ask for the payment of usury agreed upon before the Muslim conquest of their town), how much more (should the Muslims fight) those who omit

(to carry out) many of the rites of Islam, or (perhaps) most of them, like the Mongols.

The leading scholars of Islam agree that a group of people who refuse to carry out part of the clear and reliably transmitted duties of Islam have to be fought (*yajib qitāluhā*) when they (publicly confess to be Muslim) by pronouncing the Islamic Confession of Faith ("There is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Apostle") but (at the same time) refuse to carry out the prayer ceremonies and (to pay) the *zakāt* tax, and (to keep) the Fast of the Month of Ramaḍān, or to (carry out) the pilgrimage to the Ancient House (the Ka'bah), or to judge between themselves according to the Book (of God) and the Example (of the Prophet), or (refuse) to forbid abominations or wine or conclude marriages between persons whose consanguinity precludes a marriage according to Muslim law, or freely take life and property without having a right to do so, or (take) usury, or gamble, or (refuse to) fight the infidels, or (refuse to) impose the head tax on the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and similar points from the prescripts of Islam — then they have to be fought on these points until the whole religion belongs to God (cf. §28).

It is certain from the (two Tradition collections entitled) *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (by Al-Bukhārī and Muslim) that (the first Caliph) Abū Bakr said to (his successor, the second Caliph) 'Umar, when the latter saw how (concerned) Abū Bakr was about those who refused to pay the *zakāt* tax: "How should I (Abū Bakr) not fight those who neglect (some of) the obligations which God and His Messenger imposed on them even when they have become Muslims, like (for instance) the *zakāt* tax? Abū Bakr then said to 'Umar: "The *zakāt* tax is one of these obligations. By God, if they refuse me (even a thing as insignificant as) the cord used for hobbling the feet of a camel which they used to bring to the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —, I will certainly fight them on account of this refusal."

(§41) 'Umar then said: "When I heard this, I saw at once that God had opened the breast of Abū Bakr (and had inspired him) to go to war (on account of the refusal to pay the *zakāt* tax), and I realized that he was right."

It is certain that in the Traditions (that go back to Muḥammad)

it is said more than once that the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — mentioned the (sects of the) Khārijīs and said about them: "Some of you will think slightly of the prayers (which they perform) together with their prayers, and the fast (which they perform) together with their fast, and the recitation of the Qur'ān (which they recite) together with their recitation. These people recite the Qur'ān but it does not go further than their throats (i.e., it does not enter their hearts). They go out of Islam the way an arrow goes out of the bow. Wherever you meet them, kill them for a recompense with God (which He shall give) at the Day of Resurrection to those who have killed them. Whenever you get hold of them, kill them the way (the tribe of) 'Ād was killed (according to the stories told in the Qur'ān).

(§42) The (Pious) Forefathers and the (leading authoritative) Imāms have always agreed that these people have to be fought. The first one who did so was (Caliph) 'Alī Ibn Abū Tālib — May God be Pleased with Him. All through the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates Muslim army commanders have continued to do so, even when they were unjust (and not good Muslims). (For instance) Al-Ḥajjāj and his lieutenants were amongst those who fought them. All Muslim Imāms command to fight these (Khārijīs). The Mongols and their likes — the equivalent of our rulers today — are (even) more rebellious against the laws of Islam than those who refused the *zakāt* tax, or the Khārijīs, or those from the people of (the town) Al-Ṭā'if who refused to abandon usury. Whosoever doubts whether they should be fought is more ignorant of the religion of Islam. Since fighting them is obligatory they have to be fought, even though there are amongst them some who have been forced (to join their pagan ranks)."

(§43) Is To Fight Them (the same as) Fighting the (Group of Rebels Traditionally Called) Al-Bughāh?

Ibn Taymīyah says on p. 283, the Chapter on *Jihād*: "Some people presume that these Mongols are (to be regarded as) belonging to (the group of rebels traditionally called) *Al-Bughāh* who deprecate

Religion and reduce it to symbols and allegories (*Al-Muta'awwīlūn*), and should be judged accordingly, and that also the people who refuse the *zakāt* tax and the Khārijīs are to be classified as such. We shall make clear the error of this presumption, if God permits."

Ibn Taymīyah says on p. 296: "Similarly the Prophet — May God's Peace be upon Him — says (and this is reported) in a reliable Tradition: 'Whosoever is killed is a martyr even when his possessions are left intact; whosoever is killed is a martyr even when he did not personally participate in the battle; whosoever is killed is a martyr even when his family is saved from the enemy.'"

(If this is so,) how (much more should we regard it as justified) to fight these people who rebel against the prescripts of Islam and who fight God and His Apostle? Their violence and their rebellion is the smallest (of their sins)! To fight people who are violent and aggressive is well established (as an Islamic duty) by the Example (of the Prophet) and the Consensus (of the Muslims and the Muslim scholars). These people indeed are violent and aggressive against the persons, the properties and the families and the religion of the Muslims. (An attack on any of these four points mentioned in the previous line) makes it permissible to fight someone who attacked one of them. Whosoever is killed when only one of these (four is attacked) is a martyr. How (much more should we respect) someone who fights for all (four) of them?

They (the Mongols) are from amongst the worst rebels and allegorizers, and they are unjust. However, whosoever alleges that they (the Mongols) have to be fought in the way the allegorizing (rebels traditionally called) *Al-Bughāh* have to be fought, makes a terrible mistake and goes far astray, because the smallest of the sins of the allegorizing (rebels traditionally called) *Al-Bughāh* is that they believe in cheap allegories through which they became heretical. They say that their Imām communicates with them. They mention legal reasons for not doing certain things which he would have explained to them, and they mention injustice which he took away. What legal reason could there possibly be for not fighting these people (the Mongols) who are at war with God and His Apostle, who spread corruption in the land, who rebel against the

prescripts of the religion? It is perfectly clear that they (the Mongols) do not (even) say that they are better Muslims as far as their religious practice or their religious scholarship is concerned than this sect (referred to as *Al-Bughāh*).*

(§44) How to Judge Someone Who Becomes Their Client Against the Muslims?

Ibn Taymīyah says on p. 291 of the Chapter on *Jihād*: "Every army commander and every soldier who goes over to them is to be judged like them. They are as much apostates from the prescripts of Islam as they (themselves) are apostates from the prescripts of Islam. When the Pious Forefathers used to call apostates the people who refused to pay the *zakāt* tax although they kept the Fasts and Prayers and did not fight the Muslim community, how (much more must we regard as apostates) those who became (in the same camp as) the enemies of God and His Apostle and who kill Muslims?"

(§45) Ibn Taymīyah also says, p. 293: "This makes it clear that whoever was originally a Muslim is worse than the Turk(ic tribes which joined the Mongol armies), who were originally pagans, since someone who is by origin a Muslim and who apostacized from some of the prescripts of Islam is in a worse position than those who had not yet entered into (the obedience of) those prescripts, whether he be a *fiqh* scholar, or a *Ṣūfī*, or a merchant, or a professional secretary, or something like this. These people are more wicked than the Turk(ic tribes) who had not entered into obedience of these prescripts and who persisted in their paganism. It is for this reason that Muslims suffer injury to their religion from these people what they do not suffer from the others. Those (the tribes) (actually) submit to more of Islam and its prescripts and obedience to God and His Apostle than these people who apostacized from part of the religion and simulate to go along with another part of it, even if they pretend to be affiliated with (Islamic) scholarship and faith."⁸

(§46) How to Judge Those Who Are Forced to Go Out and Fight in Their Ranks?

Ibn Taymīyah also says, on p. 292: "Only a hypocrite or an atheist (*zindīq*) or a sinful criminal who only pretends outwardly to be a Muslim will join their ranks voluntarily. When they (the Mongols) make someone go out with their army against his will, then such a person has to prove his intention (of not wanting to fight against Islam and the Muslims). We on our side cannot but fight the whole army and can not differentiate between someone who is forced (into that army) and someone who is not. . . ."

A warning to someone who is forced: Ibn Taymīyah says, warning someone who is forced, on p. 295 of the Chapter on *Jihād*: "Someone who is forced to fight in a (Muslim) civil war has the duty not to fight. He has the duty to destroy his armor and to endure that he is, unrightfully, killed. How (much more) someone who is forced to fight the Muslims under the banners of a group which rebels against the prescripts of Islam, like the people who refuse to pay the *zakāt* tax, and apostates, and similar people? There is no doubt that when he is forced into their army he has the duty not to fight even if (this means that) the Muslims will kill him. If they force him (by threatening) to kill him, is it (then) not better that his soul is saved by being innocently killed, than the opposite? For he has the duty not to be unjust to others, so he will be killed, and if (this is not so) he will kill himself."

(§47) Ideas and Misunderstandings

In the Islamic world there are several ideas about the elimination of these Rulers and the establishment of the Rule of God — Exalted and Majestic He is —. To what extent are these ideas correct?

(§48) Benevolent Societies

There are those who say that we should establish societies that are subject to the State and that urge people to perform their prayers

and to pay their *zakāt* tax and to do (other) good works. Prayer, *zakāt* and good works are (all equally) commands of God — Exalted and Majestic He is — which we should not at all neglect. However, when we ask ourselves: "Do these works, and acts of devotion, bring about the establishment of an Islamic State?" — then the immediate answer without any further consideration must be "No." Moreover, these societies would in principle be subject to the State, be registered in its files, and they would have to follow (the State's) instructions.

(§49) Obedience, Education and Abundance of Acts of Devotion

There are those who say that we should occupy ourselves with Obedience to God, with educating the Muslims, and with exerting ourselves in acts of devotion, because the backwardness in which we live overpowered us on account of our sins and our (own) works. They sometimes prove this with a maxim which says on the authority of Mālik Ibn Dīnār: God — Exalted and Majestic He is — says: "I am God, the King of Kings; the hearts of the Kings are in My hand; When someone obeys Me, I make (the Kings) (My instrument of) mercy towards him; When someone disobeys Me, I make (the Kings) (My instrument of) revenge towards him. Do not occupy yourselves with kings, but turn in repentance to the Most Compassionate King you have."

(§50) The truth is that someone who thinks that this maxim abrogates the two duties of (1) *jihād* and (2) ordering to do what is reputable and forbidding to do what is not destroys himself and those who obey him and listen to him. . . .

Whoever really wants to be occupied with the highest degrees of obedience and wants to reach the peak of devotion must commit himself to *jihād* for the cause of God, without, however, neglecting the other (prescribed) pillars of Islam.

The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — once described *jihād* as the best of the summit of Islam, saying: "Someone who does not participate in any way in the raids (against the enemies of Islam), or someone whose soul does not talk to him

encouraging him to wage a fight on behalf of his religion, dies as if he had never been a Muslim, or (he dies) like someone who, filled with some form of hypocrisy, only outwardly pretended to be a Muslim."

Therefore (a certain) 'Abdallāh ibn Mubārak, someone who waged *jihād* for God's cause, said (the following two lines of poetry) that make the eminent weep:

*O (Ruler,) servant of the two Holy Places (Mecca and Medina)
If ye looked at us well
Then you would realize that you only play with what is devotion
Some people make their cheeks wet with tears
in great quantities
but our chests and throats become wet
by torrents of our blood*

(§51) Some people say that to occupy oneself with politics hardens the heart and keeps people away from remembering (*dhikr*) God. The likes of these people do not understand the word of the Prophet—May God's Peace be upon Him—: "The best form of *jihād* is a word of truth (spoken to) a tyrannical Ruler." The truth is that whoever adheres to such philosophies is either not interested in Islam or he is a coward who does not wish to stand up for the Rule of God with firmness.

(§52) The Foundation of a Political Party

There are those who say: "We must establish an Islamic political party (and add this party) to the list of extant political parties." It is true that this is better than benevolent societies, because a party at least talks about politics. However, the purpose of the foundation (of such a party) is the destruction of the infidel State (and to replace it by an Islamic theocracy). To work through a political party will, however, have the opposite effect, since it means building the pagan State and collaborating with it. . . . (Moreover, such an Islamic political party) will participate in the membership of legislative councils that enact laws without consideration for God's Laws.

(§53) To Exert Oneself in Order to Obtain Important Positions

There are those who say that the Muslims should do their best in order to obtain (socially) important positions. Only when all important centers are filled with Muslim doctors and Muslim engineers, will the existing pagan order perish automatically and the Muslim Ruler (*Al-Ḥākim al-Muslim*) establish himself. . . . Someone who hears this argument for the first time will think it is a fantasy or a joke, but there are, as a matter of fact, people in the Muslim world who embrace such philosophies and arguments, although there is nothing in the Book (of God) or the Example (of the Prophet) which supports or proves the(se arguments). Moreover, reality prevents (such aspirations) from ever coming true. . . . No matter how many Muslim doctors and Muslim engineers there are, they too will help to build the (pagan) State. Moreover, things will never go so far as to permit a Muslim person-ality to reach a ministerial post when he is not a 100 percent supporter of the existing order.

(§54) (Nonviolent) Propaganda Only, and the Creation of a Broad Base

Some of them say that the right road to the establishment of an (Islamic) State is (nonviolent) propaganda (*da'wah*) only, and the creation of a broad base. This, however, does not bring about the foundation of an (Islamic) State. Nevertheless, some people make this point the basis for their withdrawal from (true) *jihād*. The truth is that an (Islamic) State can only be founded by a believing minority. . . . Those who follow the straight path that is in accordance with the Command of God and the Example of the Apostle of God—May God's Peace be upon Him—are always a minority. Scriptural proof of this is found in the Word of God—Exalted and Majestic He is—: "Few among my servants are thankful" (Qur'ān 34.12) and in His Word—He be Praised—: "If thou obey the majority of those who are in the land they will lead thee astray from the Way of God" (Qur'ān 6.116). This is the Custom of God

(*Sunnat Allāh*) with regard to His World. . . . From where will we get this hoped-for majority? (Did not God) also say: "Most of the people, even though thou shouldst be zealous, are not believers"? (Qur'ān 12.103).

(§55) Islam does not triumph by (attracting the support of) the majority. Did not God — Praised and Exalted He is — say: "How many a small band has, by the permission of God, conquered a numerous band?" (Qur'ān 2.249)? And also: "(God has already helped you on many fields) and on the Day of Hunayn when ye prided yourselves on your numbers but they did not benefit you at all, and the land, wide as it was, became too narrow for you" (Qur'ān 9.25).

(§56) (The Apostle) — May God's Peace be upon Him — says: "God will certainly take away from the hearts of your enemies all awe (which will make them poor fighters), and he will put weakness (and fear) in your hearts (which will make you effective fighters)." This (he said in response to a question) which they asked Him — May God's Peace be upon Him —: "Shall we, on that day, be a minority, O Apostle of God?" He then said: "No, you shall be many on that day, but (looking insignificant) like rubbish swept by a torrent."

(§57) But then, how can (nonviolent) propaganda be widely successful when all means of (mass) communication today are under the control of the pagan and wicked (State) and (under the control) of those who are at war with God's religion? The (only) really effective method could be to liberate the media from the control of these people. It is well known that compliance will only come about through a convincing victory. Does not God — Praised and Exalted He is — say: "When comes the victory of God, and the Conquest, thou seest the people entering into the religion of God in crowds" (Qur'ān 110.1–2).

(§58) In connection with this point we ought to answer those who say that people have to be Muslims in order to have Muslim Law applied to them, in order to be obedient to that Law, and in order that we should not fail in applying it. Someone who is so foolish as to say this, however, accuses Islam of imperfection and incapability, without realizing (that he implicitly makes this accusation). For this religion is well applicable, in all times and all places, and it is capable of arranging (the affairs) of Muslims and

infidels, of sinners and the righteous, of scholars and fools. . . . When people have been able to live under the rules of Unbelief (*aḥkām al-kufr*), what will their position be when they find themselves under the rule of Islam which is all justice?

(§59) Some people have misunderstood what I say and have taken it to mean that we should refrain from (nonviolent) propaganda altogether. "Propaganda" here means "Calling upon people to become Muslims." Here it is basic to take Islam as a whole. This, however, is the refutation of those who see it as their aim to create a broad base and (in doing so) forget about (true) *jihād*, or even hinder or obstruct (true *jihād*) in order to realize this (peaceful aim of theirs).

(§60) Emigration (*Hijrah*)

There are some who say that the true road to the establishment of an Islamic State is *hijrah*, emigration, to another locality and to establish the (new Islamic) State out there. Then they (want to) return again, as conquerors. These people must, in order to save their efforts (from being wasted on impossible tasks), (first) establish an Islamic State in their (new) *balad* ("town," "country," or "locality") and then they will leave it as conquerors. . . .

Is this (form of) Emigration in accordance with God's laws or not? To answer this question we have to study the different forms of "Emigration," which are transmitted in the (Collections of) Traditions (from Muḥammad), that are to be found in the Commentary on the Tradition "Someone who emigrates to God and His Apostle really emigrates to God and His Apostle, but someone who emigrates because of worldly possessions or because of a woman he wants to marry, emigrates to whatever he emigrates to (without further religious, or other, merit)." Ibn Hajar says: "To emigrate to something is to move over to it away from something else." In religion it means: "To refrain from something which God has forbidden." *Hijrah*, "emigration," occurs in Islam in two ways:

(§61) First, by moving over from the House of Unbelief to the House of Safety, like the two *hijrahs* to Ethiopia and the beginning of the *hijrah* from Mecca to Medina.

(§62) Second, the *hijrah* from the House of Unbelief to the

House of Faith. This (variety of *hijrah*) occurred after the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — had established himself safely in Medina, and those Muslims who could emigrated to him. *There is nothing odd in this. There are, however, those who say that they will emigrate to the desert and then come back, and have a confrontation with the Pharaoh*, as Moses did, and then God will make the ground swallow the Pharaoh up, together with his army. . . . All these strange ideas only result from having forsaken the only true and religiously allowed road towards establishing an Islamic State. So, what is this true road? God — Exalted He is — says: "Fighting is prescribed for you, though it is distasteful to you. Possibly ye may dislike a thing, though it is good for you, and possibly ye may love a thing, though it is bad for you" (Qur'ān 2.216). (God) — Praised He is — also says: "Fight them until there is no dissension, and religion becomes God's."

(§63) To Be Occupied with the Quest for Knowledge

There are some who say that at present the true road is the quest for knowledge. "How can we fight when we have no knowledge (of Islam and its prescripts)? The quest for knowledge is an obligation (*farīdah*), too." But we shall not heed the words of someone who permits the neglect of a religious command or one of the duties of Islam for the sake of (the quest for religious) knowledge, certainly not if this duty is the duty of *jihād*. How could we possibly neglect a personal individual duty (like *jihād*) for the sake of a collective duty (like the quest for knowledge)?

How can it have come about that we got to know the smallest (details of the Islamic doctrine of duties like) recommendable and desirable acts, and call upon people to perform these acts, but at the same time neglect a duty which the Apostle — May God's Peace be upon Him — glorified?

How can someone who has specialized in (Islamic) religious studies and who really knows all about small and great sins not have noticed the great importance of *jihād*, and the punishment for postponing or neglecting it?

Someone who says that (the quest for) knowledge (also) is (a

form of) *jihād* has to understand that the duty (which is indicated by the Arabic word *jihād*) entails the obligation of fighting, for God — Praised and Exalted He is — says: "Prescribed for you is fighting" (Qur'ān 2.216).

It is well known that a man (once) pronounced the double Islamic Confession of Faith in the presence of the Apostle — May God's Peace be upon Him — and then at once went to the battlefield. He fought (for Islam) till he was killed before he had had the opportunity to occupy himself with anything from either the theory or the practice of Islam. Then the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — announced that the works of this man had been few, but that his reward would be great.

(§64) It is an essential characteristic of knowledge that someone who has knowledge of the obligatory character of the prayer ceremony has the obligation to pray. Similarly, someone who has knowledge of the obligatory character of the Fast must keep the Fast. Whoever has knowledge of the obligatory character of *jihād* must fight. Whoever frankly admits that he has no knowledge of the way in which Islam regulates *jihād* must know that the regulations of Islam are simple and easy for someone who sincerely dedicates his intentions to God. Such a person must consciously formulate the inner intention of fighting for God's cause, and from that moment on the regulations of *jihād* can easily and simply be studied, and in a very, very short time. The matter then has no need for⁹ *much study.*

When someone wants to increase his knowledge above this (elementary) level (he can freely do so), for there is no monopoly on knowledge. Knowledge is available to all, but to postpone *jihād* for the sake of the quest for knowledge is the line of reasoning of someone who has no case (worth considering).

There have been people who participated in *jihād* (*mujāhidūn*) since the beginning of the Call to Islam by the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him —. In the ages that followed, until recently, they (the participators in *jihād*) have not been scholars (*‘ulamā’*). Nevertheless, God conquered many towns at their hands. These people never excused themselves (from participation in *jihād*) by (saying that they were preoccupied with) the quest for knowledge, or by study of the Traditions, or the Science of Deriving Legal

Rules from the Qur'ān, the Tradition, etc. (i.e., the *ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*). On the contrary, God — Praised and Exalted He is — gave at their hands victories to Islam which were not equalled by the scholars of al-Azhar on the day when Napoleon and his soldiers entered al-Azhar on horseback. What did their knowledge help them against this comedy?

Scholarship is not the decisive weapon which will radically put an end to paganism. This can only be done with the weapon which the Lord — Exalted and Majestic He is — mentioned in His word: "Fight them and God will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them and aid you against them, and will bring healing to the breasts of people who are believers" (Qur'ān 9.14). We do not have a low opinion of the importance of scholarship. On the contrary, we emphasize it(s) importance. We do, however, not excuse ourselves (by appealing to the need for scholarship) from carrying out the obligations which God prescribed.

(§65) Explanation why the Islamic Community Differs from Other Communities as far as Fighting is Concerned

God — Exalted He is — made it clear that this Community differs from the other (religious) Communities as far as Fighting is concerned. In the case of earlier communities God — Praised and Exalted He is — made His punishment come down upon the infidels and the enemies of His religion by means of natural phenomena like eclipses (of the moon), floods, shouts¹⁰ and storms. . . . With regard to the Community of Muḥammad — God's Peace be upon Him — this differs, for God — Praised and Exalted He is — addressed them saying: "Fight them and God will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them and aid you against them, and will bring healing to the breasts of people who are believers" (Qur'ān 9.14).

This means that a Muslim has first of all the duty to execute the command to fight with his hands. (Once he has done so) God — Praised and Exalted He is — will then intervene (and change) the laws of nature. In this way victory will be achieved through the hands of the believers by means of God's — Praised and Exalted He is — (intervention).

(§66) Revolt against the Ruler

In (the Collection of Traditions entitled) *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* made by Muslim, with the commentary to it by Al-Nawawī (we read a Tradition reported) on the authority of Junādah ibn Abī Umayyah, who said: "Once we visited ʿUbādah ibn Ṣāmit while he was ill, and we said: 'Tell us — May God Give you back your Health — a Tradition by which God beneficially gave us guidance which you heard from the Apostle of God — May God's Peace be upon Him —.' He then said: 'The Apostle of God — May God's Peace be upon Him — once called us and we gave Him our oath of allegiance. (In this oath the Apostle) imposed on us to swear that we would listen to him and obey him irrespective of whether we liked (His commands) or not or whether it was difficult or easy for us. He impressed us with this, and (added) that we should not fight for the command (of the Community) with His people, saying 'except when you see Unbelief publicly displayed — You will have proof from God with you for this.'" (The relatively unusual Arabic word *bawāḥan* (which the text of this Tradition here uses) means: "publicly displayed." With (the word) Unbelief (the text) here means "sins" (*maʿāṣī*). The meaning of "you will have proof from God with you for this" is that you will know it from (the prescripts of) the religion of God.

Al-Nawawī says in his commentary on this Tradition: "The Qāḍī ʿAyyād says: 'The leading Muslim scholars agree that the (duties of) Leadership (of the Community) can not be given to an infidel, and that when (a Leader) suddenly becomes an unbeliever, his leadership comes to an end. The same is the case when he neglects to perform the prayer ceremonies, or to urge (others to perform) them. The majority (of the scholars) also holds (this to be true) when (this leader introduces) a **bidʿah** (innovation).¹¹

Some of the scholars from Basra say, however, that (the leadership nevertheless) is given to him, and continues because he is (only) guilty of allegorizing.

The Qāḍī says: "When he suddenly becomes an unbeliever, or changes God's Law, or introduces an innovation (*bidʿah*), he has no longer the qualifications needed in a Leader, to obey him is no longer necessary, and the Muslims have the duty to revolt against him and to depose him, and to put a Just Imām in his place when

they are able to do so. When this occurs to a group of people, they have the duty to revolt and depose the infidel." (This passage is quoted from the Collection of Traditions entitled) *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by Muslim, the Chapter on *Jihād*.¹²

This chapter is also the refutation of those who say that it is only permissible to fight under a Caliph or a Commander (*taḥt khalīfah aw amīr*).

(§67) Ibn Taymīyah says: "Any group of people that rebels against any single prescript of the clear and reliably transmitted precepts of Islam has to be fought, according to the leading scholars of Islam, even if the members of this group pronounce the Islamic Confession of Faith." (This quotation is taken from) *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, the chapter on *jihād*, p. 281.

(§68) The Enemy who is Near and the Enemy Who is Far

It is said that the battlefield of *jihād* today is the liberation of Jerusalem since it is (part of) the Holy Land. It is true that the liberation of the Holy Land is a religious command, obligatory for all Muslims, but the Apostle of God—May God's Peace be upon Him—described the believer as "sagacious and prudent" (*kayyis faṭīn*), and this means that a Muslim knows what is useful and what is harmful, and gives priority to radical definitive solutions. This is a point that makes the explanation of the following necessary:

(§69) First: To fight an enemy who is near is more important than to fight an enemy who is far.

Second: Muslim blood will be shed in order to realize this victory. Now it must be asked whether this victory will benefit the interests of an Islamic State? Or will this victory benefit the interests of Infidel Rule? It will mean the strengthening of a State which rebels against the Laws of God. . . . These Rulers will take advantage of the nationalist ideas of these Muslims in order to realize their un-Islamic aims, even though at the surface (these aims) look Islamic. Fighting has to be done (only) under the Banner of Islam and under Islamic Leadership. About this there is no difference of opinion.

(§70) Third: The basis of the existence of Imperialism in the Lands of Islam are (precisely) these Rulers. To begin by putting an end to imperialism is not a laudatory and not a useful act. It is only a waste of time. We must concentrate on our own Islamic situation: we have to establish the Rule of God's Religion in our own country first, and to make the Word of God supreme. . . . There is no doubt that the first battlefield for *jihād* is the extermination of these infidel leaders and to replace them by a complete Islamic Order. From here we should start.

(§71) The Answer to Those Who Say that in Islam Jihād is Defensive Only

Concerning this question it is proper that we should refute those who say that *jihād* in Islam is defensive, and that Islam was not spread by the sword. This is a false view, which is (nevertheless) repeated by a great number of those who are prominent in the field of Islamic missionary activities. The right answer comes from the Apostle of God—God's Peace be upon Him—when he was asked: "What is *jihād* for God's cause?" He then said: "Who-soever fights in order to make the Word of God supreme is someone who (really) fights for God's cause." To fight is, in Islam, to make supreme the Word of God in this world, whether it be by attacking or by defending. . . .

Islam spread by the sword, *and under the very eyes of these Leaders of Unbelief who conceal it from mankind. After the (removal of these Leaders) nobody has an aversion (to Islam). . . .*

It is obligatory for the Muslims to raise their swords under the very eyes of the Leaders who hide the Truth and spread falsehoods. If (the Muslims) do not do this, the Truth will not reach the hearts of Men. Read with me the Letter of the Prophet—God's Peace be upon Him—to Heraclius, which is reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās in the (Collection of Traditions entitled) *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by Al-Bukhārī. Its text runs as follows:

(§72) In the Name of God, the Most Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Servant and Apostle of God, to Heraclius, the Ruler of the Byzantine Empire. Peace upon whomever follows the



(divine) Guidance. I call upon you to accept Islam. Become Muslim and be saved. God will bring you your reward twofold. When you turn away (from this Call), the sins of (your subjects), the *arī-sīyyīn*,¹³ will be held against you. "Say: 'O people of the Book, come to a word which is fair between us and you, to wit that we serve no one but God, that we associate nothing with Him, and that we do not take one the other as Lords apart from God'; if they then turn away, say ye: 'Bear witness that we are Muslims.'" (Qur'ān 3.64)

We add the text of the Letter of the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — to Khosrau as well:

(§73) In the Name of God, the Most Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, to Khosrau, the Ruler of the Persian (Sasanid) Empire. Peace upon whomever follows the (divine) Guidance and believes in God and His Apostle and testifies that there is no god but God alone, He has no associate, and (testifies) that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle. I call upon you from God, for I am the Apostle of God to all mankind, to warn those who are alive. True is the word to the infidels: Become Muslim and be saved. When you refuse, the sins of (your subjects), the *Majūs*,¹⁴ will be upon you." (This Tradition is reported) by Ibn Jarīr (Al-Ṭabarī) on the authority of Ibn Ishāq.

(§74) Al-Bayhaqī quotes the text of the Letter which the Apostle sent to the (Christians) of Najrān:

In the Name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. From Muḥammad, the Prophet and Apostle of God to the Bishop and the people of Najrān. Peace upon you. I praise the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. I call upon you to serve God, and not to serve men. I call upon you to let yourselves be ruled by God, and not by men. When you refuse, then a head tax. When you refuse (this, too), be apprised of war. A greeting of Peace.

(§75) (Muḥammad) — God's Peace be upon Him — sent similar Letters to *Al-Muqawqis* (the Ruler of Egypt), to the King of Yamāmah (in Arabia), to Al-Mundhir ibn Sāwī, the Ruler of Bahrein, to Al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Shimr the Ghassanid (King in Northern Arabia), to Al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Kalāl, the Ḥimyārī (King of Southern Arabia), to the King of Oman, and to others.

(§76) The Verse of the Sword (Qur'ān 9.5)

Most Koran commentators have said something about a certain verse from the Koran which they have named the Verse of the Sword (Qur'ān 9.5). This verse runs: "Then when the sacred months have slipped away, slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them, beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere."

The Qur'ān scholar Ibn Kathīr noted in his commentary on this verse: "Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim said: 'It cancelled every treaty between the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — and any infidel, and every contract and every term.' Al-ʿUfī said about this verse, on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās: 'No contract nor covenant of protection was left to a single infidel since (this) dissolution (of treaty obligations) was revealed.'"

(§77) The Qur'ān scholar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Juzayy al-Kalbī, the author of (a Qur'ān commentary entitled) *Tafsīr al-Tashīl li-ʿUlūm al-Tanzīl*, says: "The abrogation of the command to be at peace with the infidels, to forgive them, to be (passively) exposed to them and to endure their insults preceded here the command to fight them. This makes it superfluous to repeat the abrogation of the command to live in peace with the infidels at each Qur'ānic passage (where this is relevant). (Such a command to live in peace with them) is found in 114 verses in 54 surahs. This is all abrogated by His word: "Slay the polytheists wherever ye find them" (Qur'ān 9.5) and "Fighting is prescribed for you" (Qur'ān 2.216).

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Faḍl says: "This is the verse of the sword. It abrogates every verse in the Qur'ān in which suffering the insults of the enemy is mentioned." It is strange indeed that there are those who want to conclude from Qur'ān verses that have been abrogated that fighting and *jihād* are to be forsworn.

(§78) The Imām Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm who died in *456* AH says in (his book entitled) *Al-Nāsikh wa-l-Man-sūkh* (The Abrogating and the Abrogated Passages from the Qur'ān), in the Chapter "On Not Attacking the Infidels": "In 114 verses in 48 surahs everything is abrogated by the Word of God —

Exalted and Majestic He is —: 'Slay the polytheists wherever ye find them' (Qur'ān 9.5). We shall discuss this whenever we come across it, if God — Exalted He is — permits." End of quotation.

(§79) The scholar and Imām Abū al-Qāsim Hibbat Allāh ibn Salāmah says on "Slay the polytheists wherever ye find them": "The third verse is indeed the third verse, and it is this verse which is the verse which abrogates. But it abrogates 114 verses from the Qur'ān and then the end of it abrogates the beginning of it, because the verse ends with: 'If they repent and establish the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, then set them free' (Qur'ān 9.5, end of the verse)." (This quotation is taken from) a book (entitled) *Kitāb al-Nāsikh wa-'l-Mansūkh*.

(§80) "So When You Meet Those Who Have Disbelieved, Let There Be Slaughter" (Qur'ān 47.4)

Al-Suddī and Al-Ḍaḥḥāk say: "The Verse of the Sword was abrogated by: 'So when you meet those who have disbelieved, (let there be) slaughter until ye have made havoc of them, bind them fast, then (liberate them) either freely or by ransom' (Qur'ān 47.4). This verse is harsher on the infidels than the Verse of the Sword." Al-Qatāda, however, has the opposite opinion, and I do not know anyone who disagrees with the opinion that it is abrogated except Al-Suyūṭī who says in his book (entitled) *Al-Ittifāq*: "At the time when the Muslims were weak and few in number the command was to endure and to suffer. Then this command was abrogated by making fighting obligatory. In reality this is, however, not really abrogation, but it is to be regarded as 'causing to forget.' Did not God — Exalted He is — say (in Qur'ān 2.106): '. . . or We cause (the Messenger) to forget?'"

The thing that is forgotten is the command to fight, until the time when the Muslims are strong. When, however, the Muslims are weak, the legal ruling is that it is obligatory to endure insults. This weakens a view about which so many are so enthusiastic, namely, that the verse (Qur'ān 47.4) on this point is abrogated by the Verse of the Sword (9.5). It is not like that. On the contrary, it is caused to be forgotten.

(Al-Suyūṭī) also said: "Some mention that verses like (Qur'ān 2.109 which runs): 'So overlook and pay no attention until God interveneth with His Command' do not address a specific group of people at a specific time and with a specific aim. Hence (the command embodied in this verse) is not abrogated but it is postponed until a certain time." Here ends the quotation from Al-Suyūṭī.

(§81) In spite of Al-Suyūṭī's disagreement with all the preceding opinions, there is no room for doubt that to adopt the first opinion is correct. Moreover, whoever thinks that the view that nonabrogation of the verses of pardon and forgiveness (like 2.109) means that we are free to neglect the two duties of (1) *jihād* and (2) urging to what is reputable and prohibiting what is not, is mistaken.

It certainly also does not mean that the duty of *jihād* has come to an end, because the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "*Jihād* continues (*māḍin*) until the day of Resurrection." Professor Dr. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Khallāf says in his book (entitled) *ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (The Science of the "Roots" of the Islamic Legal System) on p. 227: "Since it continues until the Day of Resurrection this indicates that it will remain (a duty) as long as the World remains."

To do away with *jihād* with the argument that it was caused to be forgotten does not only put an end to fighting for this religion but it also puts an end to the intention (*nīyah*) of fighting for this religion. The danger of that is apparent from the saying of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —: "Someone who does not fight for his religion, or someone whose soul does not talk to him encouraging him to fight for his religion, dies as a pagan."

It is, moreover, generally agreed upon that in order to wage *jihād* the Muslims must have strength. But how can this strength be realized when you abolish the duty of *jihād*? Does not God — Praised and Exalted He is — say: "If they intended to go forth, they would make some preparation for it; but God is adverse to their being stirred up and hath made them laggards" (Qur'ān 9.46). The fact that you are not willing to go forth has as a consequence your neglecting to prepare (for it). From where now will a Muslim who has abolished the duty of *jihād* get the means for obtaining strength? Does not the Apostle of God say: "When

people yearn for money and wealth, and conclude their bargains upon credit, and neglect the waging of *jihād* for God's cause, and hold on to the tails of their cows, then God will send a plague upon them from heaven, and He will not remove it from them until they return to their religion?"

(§82) Muslim Positions on Fighting

Muslim armies in the course of the centuries have been small and ill-prepared, encountering armies double their size. Some argue that this was a prerogative of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —, and His Noble Companions. The refutation of this view is that God promised victory to the Muslims, lasting as long as the Heavens and the Earth last. Maybe you know about what happened (centuries after the days of the Apostle) to Ṣahīr al-Dīn Bābar who faced the Hindu King Rānā Sanjā¹⁵ with an army of 20,000 while the army of the Hindu King was 200,000. The Muslim Commander was victorious after he repented from drinking wine. . . . There are many others like him.

(§83) The Meccan and the Medinan Society

There are those who allege that we live in a Meccan society, thereby endeavoring to obtain for themselves the permission to abandon the waging of *jihād* for God's cause. Whoever puts himself in a Meccan society in order to abandon the religious duty of *jihād*, must also refrain from fasting and prayer (since the Revelations about these duties were only given after the Apostle had emigrated from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD), and he must enrich himself by asking usury since usury was not forbidden until the Medinan period.

The truth of the matter is that (the period in) Mecca is the period of the genesis of the Call (to Islam). The Word of God — Praised and Exalted He is — (Qur'ān 5.3): "Today I have perfected your religion for you, and have completed my goodness towards you, and have approved Islam as your religion," abrogates these de-

fealist ideas that have to be substantiated by the argument that we are Meccans. We are not at the beginning of something, as the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — was at the beginning (of the establishment of Islam), but we (have to) accept the Revelation in its final form.

We do not live in a Meccan society, and neither do we live in a Medinan society. When you wish to know in what kind of society we live, consult the paragraph on "The House in Which We Live" (§18).

(§84) Fighting is Now a Duty upon All Muslims

When God — Praised and Exalted He is — made fasting obligatory, he said (Qur'ān 2.183): "Fasting is prescribed for you." In regard to fighting He said (Qur'ān 2.216): "Fighting is prescribed for you." This refutes the view of whoever says that *jihād* is indeed a duty and then goes on by saying: "When I have fulfilled the duty of engaging in missionary activities for Islam (*da'wah*), then I have fulfilled the duty (of *jihād*), because (engagement in missionary activities for Islam) is *jihād* too." However, the (real character of this) duty is clearly spelled out in the text of the Qur'ān: It is fighting, which means confrontation and blood.

The question now is: When is *jihād* an individual duty? *Jihād* becomes an individual duty in three situations:

(§85) First, when two armies meet and their ranks are facing each other, it is forbidden to those who are present to leave, and it becomes an individual duty to remain standing, because God — Exalted He is — says: "O ye who have believed, when ye meet a hostile party, stand firm, and call God frequently to mind" (Qur'ān 8.45) and also: "O ye who have believed, when ye meet those who have disbelieved moving into battle, turn them not your backs" (Qur'ān 8.15).

Second, when the infidels descend upon a country, it becomes an individual duty for its people to fight them and drive them away.

Third, when the Imām calls upon a people to fight, they must depart into battle, for God — Exalted He is — says (Qur'ān 9.38–



39): "O ye who have believed, what is the matter with you? When one says to you: 'March out in the way of God,' ye are weighed down to the ground; are you so satisfied with this nearer life as to neglect the Hereafter? The enjoyment of this nearer life is in comparison with the Hereafter only a little thing. If ye do not march out He will inflict upon you a painful punishment, and will substitute (for you) another people; ye will not injure Him at all; God over everything has power." The Apostle — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "When you are called upon to fight, then hasten."

With regard to the lands of Islam, the enemy lives right in the middle of them. The enemy even has got hold of the reins of power, for this enemy is (none other than) these rulers who have (illegally) seized the Leadership of the Muslims. Therefore, waging *jihād* against them is an individual duty, in addition to the fact that Islamic *jihād* today requires a drop of sweat from every Muslim.

(§87) Know that when *jihād* is an individual duty, there is no (need to) ask permission of (your) parents to leave to wage *jihād*, as the jurists have said; it is thus similar to prayer and fasting.

(§88) The Aspects of Jihād are Not Successive Phases of Jihād

It is clear that today *jihād* is an individual duty of every Muslim. Nevertheless we find that there are those who argue that they need to educate their own souls, and that *jihād* knows successive phases; and that they are still in the phase of *jihād* against their own soul. They offer as proof the doctrine of Imām Ibn al-Qayyim, who distinguished three aspects in *jihād*:

1. *Jihād* against one's own soul
2. *Jihād* against the Devil
3. *Jihād* against the infidels and the hypocrites

(§89) This argument shows either complete ignorance or excessive cowardice, because Ibn Al-Qayyim (only) distinguished *aspects* in *jihād*, he did not divide it into successive phases. Other-

wise we would have to suspend the waging of *jihād* against the Devil until we finished the phase of *jihād* against our own soul. The reality is that the three (aspects) are aspects (only) that follow a straight parallel course. We, in our turn, do not deny that the strongest of us in regard to faith, and the most zealous of us in regard to waging *jihād* against his own soul is the one (of us) who is the most steadfast.

Whoever studies the Biography (of Muḥammad) will find that whenever (a state) of *jihād* was proclaimed, everybody used to rush off for God's cause, even perpetrators of great sins and those who had (only) recently adopted Islam.

It is reported that (once) a man embraced Islam during the fighting and fell in the battle, thus dying a martyr, and the Apostle — God's Peace be upon Him — said: "A small work, a great reward."

(§90) (There is also) the story about Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafī (who was guilty of a great sin since he was) addicted to wine, while his bravery in the war against Persia was famous.

Ibn al-Qayyim also made mention that the Tradition: "'We returned from the Small *Jihād* to the Great *Jihād*' — and then someone said: 'What is the Great *Jihād*, O Apostle of God?' — and then (Muḥammad) said: 'The *jihād* against the soul,'" is a fabricated Tradition, see *(the book by Ibn Al-Qayyim entitled *Kitāb*) *Al-Manār**.

The only reason for inventing this Tradition is to reduce the value of fighting with the Sword, so as to distract the Muslims from fighting the infidels and the hypocrites.

(§91) Fear of Failure

It is said that we fear to establish the State (because) after one or two days a reaction will occur that will put to an end everything we have accomplished.

The refutation of this (view) is that the establishment of an Islamic State is the execution of a divine Command. We are not responsible for its results. Someone who is so stupid as to hold this view — which has no use except to hinder Muslims from the exe-

cution of their religious duty by establishing the Rule of God — forgets that when the Rule of the Infidel has fallen everything will be in the hands of the Muslims, whereupon (*bi-mā*) the downfall of the Islamic State will become inconceivable. Furthermore, the Laws of Islam are not too weak to be able to subject everyone who spreads corruption in the land and rebels against the Command of God. Moreover, the Laws of God are all justice and will be welcomed by everyone, even by people who do not know Islam.

In order to clarify the position of the hypocrites in their enmity towards the Muslims and to put at peace the hearts of those who fear (this) failure (we quote) the Word of the Lord in Surah 59, (verses 11 and 12): "Hast thou not seen those who have played the hypocrite saying to their brethren the People of the Book who have disbelieved: 'Surely, if ye are expelled, we shall go out with you, we shall never obey anyone in regard to you, and if ye are attacked in war, we shall help you?' God testifieth that they are lying. If they are expelled, they will assuredly not go out with them, and if they are attacked in war, they will help them, and if they do not help them, they will certainly turn their backs in flight and then they will not be helped (and gain a victory)."

This is God's promise. When the hypocrites see that the power is in the ranks of Islam they will come back in submission, so we will not be deceived by these voices that will quickly fade away and be extinguished. . . . The position of the hypocrites will be equal to that of the enemies of Islam. God — Exalted He is — says: "(O ye who have believed), if ye help God He will help you (and give you victories) and He will set firm your feet" (Qur'an 47.7).

(§92) The Command

There are some who excuse themselves (from participating in *jihād*) because of the lack of a commander who will lead the course of *jihād*. There are also people who make (the execution of) the divine command to *jihād* dependent upon the presence of a commander or a Caliph. . . .

The people who hold these opinions are the same people who have made (proper) leadership impossible and who have stopped

the course of *jihād*. Yet the Apostle — God's Peace be upon Him — urges the Muslims, according to the texts of His Traditions, to entrust the (military) leadership to one of them.

Abū Dāwud transmits in the chapter on *jihād* (in his Collection of Traditions) that the Apostle — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "When three (of you) go out on a journey, then make one of them the commander (*amīr*)."

From (the text of) this (Tradition) one can conclude that the leadership over the Muslims is (always) in their own hands if only they make this manifest. (The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "Whosoever is put at the head of a group in which there is someone who is more agreeable to God than him himself, is disloyal to God and His Apostle and the Muslim Community." This Tradition is transmitted by Al-Hākim. Its reliability is pointed out by Al-Suyūṭī.

(§93) (This means that the command) must go to the best Muslim. (The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — says to Abū Dharr: "You are weak. This is (to our) security!" (The command) must be in the hands of the strongest, which is a relative matter. Our conclusion is that the leader of the Muslims. . . .¹⁶

Whoever alleges that the (proper) leadership has been lost has no case, because the Muslims can (always) produce leaders from amongst themselves. If there is something lacking in the leadership, well, there is nothing that cannot be acquired. It is (simply) impossible that the leadership disappears (from amongst us).

(§94) Sometimes we may find a *fiqh* scholar who does not know anything about modern circumstances and (military) command and organization; and sometimes we find the opposite, but all this¹⁷ does not discharge us of the duty from organizing proper leadership, by getting the most suitable from amongst us into the position of leadership, through mutual consultation (*shūrā*). The qualities which such a leader may lack can be supplemented.

So now there can be no valid excuse for any Muslim for neglecting the duty of *jihād* which has been thrown upon his shoulder. We must seriously begin to organize *jihād* activities to return Islam to this nation and to establish an Islamic State, and to exterminate the idols who are only human and who have not (yet) found in front of them anyone who has subdued them with the Command of God — Praised and Exalted He is.

(§95) The Oath of Allegiance to Fight until Death

Al-Bukhārī reports on the authority of (Abū) Salmah — May God be Pleased with him — that he said: "I gave an oath of allegiance to the Prophet — May God's Peace be upon Him — and afterwards I went off to the shade of a tree. When people crowded around Him He said: 'O Ibn al-Akwa', don't you give the oath of allegiance?' I said: 'But I did, O Apostle of God.' He said: 'Again.' Then I gave Him my oath of allegiance for a second time. I said to him: 'O Abū Salmah, what was the content of your oath of allegiance, on that day?' He said: '(To obey the Apostle) till death.'" (This Tradition) is also transmitted by Muslim and Al-Tirmidhī.

Al-Bukhārī also transmits,¹⁸ p. 415, on the authority of 'Abdallāh ibn Zayd — May God be Pleased with him — that he said: "In the period of (the Battle of) Al-Harrah¹⁹ someone came and said: 'Ibn Ḥanzalah makes people swear an oath of allegiance (to obey him) till death.' Then he said: 'I shall not give such an oath to anybody after (I gave it to) the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —.'" Muslim transmits (this Tradition), too, in exactly the same words, on p. 5,²⁰ and so does Al-Bayhaqī.

(§96) The report mentioned before (in §95) informs (us) of the permissibility of the Oath of Allegiance till Death. We shall, in this context, not study the exact case of 'Abdallāh ibn Zayd.

There is (however), a difference between the Oath of Allegiance till Death and the Absolute Oath of Allegiance to only the Caliph. This does not mean that the commander of an army does not have to be obeyed, because the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "Whoever obeys me, obeys God. Whoever disobeys me, disobeys God. Whoever obeys his commander, obeys me. Whoever disobeys his commander, disobeys me." There is no disagreement (on the reliability of the Tradition).

(§97) On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (who transmits a Tradition concerning) the Word of God: "Obey God and obey the Apostle and those of you who have the command" (Qur'ān 4.59): This verse was revealed with regard to 'Abdallāh ibn Ḥudhāfah whom the Prophet put at the head of a body of troops, that is, he was Commander (in a battle that has to be regarded as) *jihād* (*kān amīr jihād*).

(§98) Incitement to Jihād for the Cause of God

A Muslim has the duty to prepare himself for *jihād* for God's cause only, for the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "God turns towards whomever goes out for His cause. He will not send someone out but to wage *jihād* for His cause and for belief in Him²¹ and for accepting the truthfulness of His Apostle. He guarantees that He will (either) make him enter Paradise or will make him come back to his home from which he went out with whatever reward or booty he obtained." There is no disagreement (on the reliability of this Tradition).

(§99) (The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "Whoever truthfully asks for martyrdom will be put in the (heavenly) abodes of the martyrs even if he dies in his bed." (This Tradition is) reported by Muslim and Al-Bayhaqī on the authority of Abū Hurayrah.

"(Once) a man came to the Apostle of God and said to Him: 'Show me a work which equals *jihād*.' The Apostle of God answered: 'There is none.' He said: 'Are you capable of entering your place of prayer to stand up (and pray) without pause and to fast without breaking this fast during the whole period the Fighter for the cause of God (*mujāhid*) has gone out?' He said: 'Who would be able to do so?' Then Abū Hurayrah said: 'The horse of someone who participates in *jihād* — whenever it prances in its tether this is booked as a good deed.'" (This Tradition is) transmitted by Al-Bukhārī.²²

(The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "A martyr has six virtues in the eyes of God. He will be forgiven upon the first drop of blood. His seat will be in Paradise. He will be free from the punishment of the grave. He will be safe from the Great Fright. He will be dressed in the garb of faith. He will marry the heavenly dark-eyed virgins. He will intercede for 70 of his relatives." (Transmitted by) Al-Tirmidhī.²³

(§100) The Punishment for Neglecting Jihād

Neglecting *jihād* is the cause of the lowness, humiliation, division and fragmentation in which the Muslims live today. The word of

the Lord — Exalted and Majestic He is — about them has come true: "O ye who have believed, what is the matter with you? When one says to you: 'March out in the way of God,' ye are weighed down to the ground; are you so satisfied with this nearer life as to neglect the Hereafter? The enjoyment of this nearer life is in comparison with the Hereafter only a little thing. If ye do not march out He will inflict upon you a painful punishment, and will substitute for you another people; ye will not injure Him at all. God over everything has power." (This quotation is taken) from Surah 9 (verses 38–39).

(§101) Ibn Kathīr says in his commentary to these verses: "This passage was revealed in order to reprimand those who stayed behind and did not go out with the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — in the Raid of Tabūk when the harvest was ready. (Yet) He went out (*inṭalaq*) in extreme heat at the height of the summer. Then God — Exalted He is — said: "O ye who have believed, what is the matter with you? When one says to you: 'March out in the way of God,' ye are weighed down to the ground"; — this means that when you are called to *jihād* for the cause of God 'ye are weighed down to the ground,' and this means 'you were lazy and turned away to an abode of ease and rest and ripe fruits.'

"'Are you so satisfied with this nearer life as to neglect the Hereafter?' means 'What is the matter with you? Did you act like this²⁴ out of love for the World, instead of (love for) the Hereafter?' Next God urges them to abstain from the world and reminds them of the pleasures of the Hereafter, saying: 'The enjoyment of this nearer life is in comparison with the Hereafter only a little thing.' Next God — Exalted He is — threatens those who neglect *jihād* saying: 'If ye do not march out He will inflict upon you a painful punishment.' Ibn 'Abbās said: 'Once the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — convoked a tribe of bedouins to war but they found this burdensome and turned away from Him. Then God withheld all water from them, and this was their punishment.'"

"'He will substitute for you another people': that is (another people which will work) for the victory of His Prophet and the establishment of His religion. God also says (Qur'ān 47.38): 'If ye turn away, He will substitute for you another people; and then

they will not be like you.' "Ye will not injure Him at all" means that you will not at all harm God by turning away from *jihād* and by your unwillingness to follow Him.'"

(§102) (The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — says: "When people yearn for money and wealth and conclude their bargains upon credit, and neglect to participate in *jihād*, and hold on to the tails of their cows, then a Plague from Heaven will be sent upon them, and this Plague will not be lifted from them until they turn back to their religion."

A Muslim must not be content today to be in the ranks of women. Did the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — not say about women that their *jihād* is the Greater and the Smaller Pilgrimage?

(§103) Legal Difficulties and their Refutation

There are some who fear to enter into this kind of fighting, arguing that those with whom they will be confronted are armies in which there are Muslims and infidels. So, how can we fight the Muslims? Does the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — not say that both the one who kills and the one who is killed will go to the Fire?

Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah discusses the same problem, in one of the questions (he gives an answer to) in his *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, no. 517 (p. 298): "On Soldiers Who Refuse to Fight the Mongols, saying that there are amongst them soldiers who are forced to go out (to fight)." In his answer Ibn Taymīyah says (p. 299, line 4): "Whoever doubts whether he has to fight them is most ignorant of the religion of Islam. Since fighting them is obligatory, they have to be fought, even if there is amongst them someone who has been forced to join their ranks. On this the Muslims are in agreement. Al-'Abbās (once) said, when he was taken prisoner on the Day of the Battle of Badr: 'O Apostle of God, I was forced to go out.' Then the Apostle of God said: 'Outwardly you were against us. Only God knows what is in your heart.'

(line 7) The leading scholars of Islam agree that when an army

of infidels protects itself²⁵ by using the Muslim prisoners it took, and the Muslims (in the army of the infidels) fear that harm may befall them when they do not fight, then they must fight even if this leads to the killing of the Muslims who were made prisoners of war and were enlisted in the army of the enemy, even if (the army of infidels is not strong enough and) the Muslims have nothing to fear (from it).

(line 10) The scholars of Islam have two well-established opinions on the permissibility of the fighting which causes the killing of these Muslims (who are enlisted in the army of the infidels). When they are killed, these Muslims are martyrs, and the prescribed *jihād* must not be neglected on account of those who are killed as martyrs. When the Muslims fight the unbelievers, a Muslim who is killed is a martyr, and someone who is killed while he is in reality a Muslim who cannot show this and who hence does not deserve to be killed on account of his religion, is (also) a martyr.

(§104) (line 13) There is a reliable Tradition which is transmitted in (both the Collections entitled) *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, on the authority of the Prophet—May God's Peace be upon Him—that He said: 'This house is raided by an army. When this army is in the desert the moon will eclipse upon them.' Then they said to Him: 'O Apostle of God, there are some amongst this army who have been forced to join them.' Then He said: 'They will be called (on the Last Day) according to their intentions. When the punishment which God sends down upon the army (of the infidels) who raid the Muslims comes down upon those amongst them who are forced and upon those of them who are not, how (much more will this be the case with) the punishment which God sends them through the hands of the believers?' Does God not say (Qur'ān 9.52): 'Do ye wait for anything in our case but one of the two goods (i.e., victory or death leading to future reward), while in your case we wait for God afflicting you with punishment, either from Himself or at our hands?'

(line 18) We cannot know who are the ones who were forced into the army of the infidels. We cannot differentiate between those who are and those who are not. When we kill them in accordance with the Command of God we are both rewarded and excused. They, however, will be judged according to their inten-

tions. Whoever is forced into an army of infidels is not able to withdraw from fighting. He will be reunited with his fellow Muslims on the Day of Resurrection. So, when such a person is killed for standing by his religion, this is not greater than the killing of someone from the camp of the Muslims.

(line 21) When someone flees (from the army of infidels) some people regard fighting him in the same category as fighting the rebels designated as *Al-Bughāh* who are guilty of allegorizing religion.

(§105) Is it permissible when part of the army of these people is potentially refractory, to pursue those amongst them who run away from the battlefield, to kill the prisoners of war taken from them and to kill their wounded? About this question there are two well-established views amongst the scholars of Islam. Some say that this must not be done because a herald from the army of 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib announced on the Day of the Battle of the Camel that someone who fled from the battlefield would not be pursued, the wounded would not be finished off and the prisoners of war would not be killed. Others say (however) that this must be done, because the Battle of the Camel (is not a good precedent to follow) because there was no potentially refractory group in the army (of 'Alī's enemies).

(p. 300, line 1) With "fighting" is meant: to push them back. When they have been pushed back already, there is no need to continue to do, as is the case when someone attacks (*ṣā'il*). It is reported that at the Battle of the Camel and at the Battle at Ṣiffin their situation was not like this, and those who regard them as (the rebels designated as) *Al-Bughāh* who are guilty of allegorizing religion make these two views (mentioned before) applicable to them. However, they (the Mongols) are not (to be regarded) as (the rebels designated as) *Al-Bughāh* who are guilty of allegorizing religion. They are, on the other hand, to be classified in the same category as the dangerously heretical Khārijīs and the people who refused to pay the *zakāt* tax, and the people of the town al-Ṭā'if,²⁶ and others like them who have to be fought on account of their rebellion against the prescripts of Islam. This position has not been clear to many of the scholars of Islam." (Here ends the passage quoted from Ibn Taymiyah).

(§106) The Proper Method of Fighting

With the advance of time and the development of mankind emerges a question we must ask ourselves. There is no doubt that the modern methods of fighting differ to a certain extent from the methods of fighting in the time of the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him —. What is the Muslim's method of fighting in this day and age? Can he use his own intellect and his own individual judgment?

(§107) Deceiving the Infidels: One of the Arts of Fighting in Islam

(The Apostle) says: "War is deceit," and Al-Nawawī remarks in his commentary on this Tradition: "Scholars are agreed on the permissibility of deceiving the infidels in war however possible, except when this would imply a breach of a treaty or of a promise of safety (from attack), for then it is not allowed (to deceive them)." It is, however, a fact that there is no treaty between us and them since they wage war against the religion of God — Praised and Exalted He is — and (therefore) Muslims are free to choose the most suitable method of fighting so that deception, which is victory with the fewest losses and by the easiest means possible, is realized.

(§108) The Method of Fighting in the Attack of the *Aḥzāb*

After the Jewish leaders were successful in inciting unbelieving groups (*al-aḥzāb*) against the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — and His Call to Islam, and the situation had become dangerous, the Muslims quickly conceived a unique plan of which the Arabs had not heard before, for they knew only of fighting on exposed battlefields. This plan was suggested by (Salmān) al-Fārisī²⁷ and it was to dig a deep trench which would encircle Medina from the side of the plain and make a division between the defenders and the attackers. (Thus) the method of fighting is not a revelation nor

(is it) an established custom (*sunnah*) but the Muslim has the right to use his own intellect, to organize and to deliberate.

(§109) Lying to the Enemy

The permissibility of lying is clear from the Tradition, in three cases. "Al-Ṭabarī said: 'In respect to lying in war, oblique modes of speech²⁸ are permitted, that is, without in fact lying, which is not allowed.' This is what he said, and it is evident that lying is essentially permitted, but it is better to limit oneself to speaking ambiguously, and God knows best." (This quotation is) taken intact from Al-Nawawī's commentary.

(§110) Islamic Planning

By studying the night expeditions (wherein the Muslims marched at night and lay in concealment during the day) the Muslims can extract Islamic plans and battle deceptions whose principles were practiced by many Muslims, and we mention by way of example:

1) the night expedition to murder Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf in the year 3 of the Hijrah, transmitted in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al-Bukhārī on the authority of Jābir ibn 'Abdallāh: "The Apostle — God's Peace be upon Him — said: 'Who will go for Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, for he has wronged God and His Apostle?' Then Muḥammad ibn Maslamah stood and said: 'O Apostle of God, do you wish me to kill him?' He said: 'Yes.' (Muḥammad ibn Maslamah then) said: 'Allow me to say something' — that is, he asked permission of the Prophet, God's Peace be upon Him, to say things contradictory to the belief in God so as to feign disbelief in front of Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, and He gave him this permission.

(§111) (The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — said: 'Say (what you want),' so Muḥammad ibn Maslamah went to Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf and said that this man — meaning the Prophet, God's Peace be upon Him — has asked us for a tithe and is burdening us.²⁹ The literal sense of this is to refuse the tithe and to transgress against the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — and this is

Unbelief. This conveys the meaning that a Muslim may pretend to genuine friendship with the enemy in war, even if the matter goes so far that idolatry and disbelief are feigned as well.

(§112) 'I have come to you to ask you for a loan.' (Ka'b) said: 'You too then became weary³⁰ of him.' (Muḥammad ibn Maslamah) said: 'We have followed him (i.e., Muḥammad) and we wish not to leave him until we see what becomes of him, so we wanted you to lend us a camel's load or two (of dates).' Ka'b agreed, saying: 'Give me a security,' whereupon they³¹ said: 'What do you want?' He said: 'Give me your wives as security.' They said: 'How can we give our wives as security when you are the handsomest of the Arabs?' He said: 'Give me your sons as security?' They said: 'How can we give you our sons as security? They will be reviled when people would say that they were given as security for a camel's load or two of dates. That is a disgrace for us, but we will give you our *cuirasses*, that is, arms. Thereupon he made an appointment with Ka'b to come to him. He went at night, taking with him Abū Nā'ilah, the foster brother of Ka'b, and Ka'b summoned them to the fort and he too went there.

His wife said to him: 'Where are you going at this hour?' and he said: 'It is only Muḥammad ibn Maslamah and my brother Abū Nā'ilah. Another (transmitter) than 'Amr said that she said to him: 'I hear a voice as if *blood* were dripping from it.' He said: 'It is only my brother, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, and my foster brother Abū Nā'ilah. Verily, if someone noble is summoned to attack at night, he does not refuse.'

(§113) (So the transmitter of this Tradition) says, and (Ka'b) admitted Muḥammad ibn Maslamah with two men who were said to belong to Sufyān. 'Amr names them as Al-Ḥārith ibn Aws and 'Abbād ibn Bishr.³² 'Amr (then continues) saying: 'Then Muḥammad ibn Maslamah said: 'When he comes I will make a motion with his hair to smell it, so when you see me get a hold of his head, then take him and strike at him.' — That was a way to get into a position to kill him since he was large-bodied and sturdy —.'

In this story are useful lessons in the great art of fighting. Some orientalists have claimed, along with those in whose hearts is the sickness of doubt (cf. Qur'ān 2.9), that the murder of Ka'b ibn

al-Ashraf was perfidious and treacherous to him. The refutation to them is that that infidel had broken his pledge and devoted all his efforts to harm the Muslims.

"The Jews came to the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — after the murder of Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, and said: O Muḥammad, something happened to our friend this night,' — that is, he was killed —, 'but he was one of our chiefs, now killed by assassination, without a crime or misdeed of which we know.' (The Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — replied: If he had remained still like the others with the same opinions remain still, then he would not have been assassinated. He, however, wronged Us and mocked Us with poetry, and not one of you has ever done this without having the sword as punishment! (Quoted from a book entitled) *Al-Ṣārim al-Maslūl 'alā Shāṭim al-Rasūl* by Ibn Taymīyah, p. 71.

2) (§114) The night expedition of 'Abdallāh to Abū Sufyān, which was in the year 4 of the Hijrah. The occasion of this was that the news had reached the Prophet that Sha'bān ibn Khālid al-Hudhallī was residing in *Uranah* and that he was assembling crowds to wage war against the Muslims. Then the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — ordered 'Abdallāh ibn Unays al-Jihnī to kill (Sha'bān). 'Abdallāh said that he said: "O Apostle of God, describe him to me so that I know him." Then the Apostle — God's Peace be upon Him — said: "When you see him, the Devil will remind you. That will be the sign of what is between you and him." He said: "I asked permission of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — to say (to him whatever was needed) — this is the same permission Muḥammad ibn Maslamah asked — and He permitted me. Then He said to me: "Tell him that you are from the tribe of Banū Khuzā'ah." — This was a lie but that is allowed —.

(§115) 'Abdallāh said: "I knew him by the description which the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — had given me and I was afraid of him. I said to myself that the Apostle of God had been right." 'Abdallāh further said: "It was time for the afternoon prayer, he had entered already when I saw him and I feared that there would be an exchange of words between me and him

which would keep me from my prayer, so I performed my prayer while walking towards him gesturing with my head. When I reached him, he said: 'From which tribe is this man?' I said: 'From Banū Khuzā'ah. I heard of your gathering to attack Muḥammad so I came to be with you.' — In this expression is a feigning of friendship —. He said: 'Sure, I am assembling to attack him.' 'Abdallāh said: 'Then I walked with him and talked to him and he liked my talk, and I recited (poetry) for him and said: What a strange new religion Muḥammad has created, it separates us from our forefathers and calls their virtues stupidities. — This speech is Unbelief.

Abū Sufyān said that he (Muḥammad) had not (yet) met anyone who resembled *him,* and, leaning on a walking stick, he crushed the ground, until he reached his tent. His companions then left him for homes nearby which encircled (his tent). Then he said: 'Come on, brother of Khuzā'ah,' and I neared him and he said: 'Sit down.' "

'Abdallāh (continued his story) saying: "So I sat with him until, when the people had become quiet and slept, I surprised him and killed him. I cut off his head and left, leaving his women³⁴ bent over him. When I reached Medina, I found the Apostle of God — God's peace be upon him — and the moment He saw me He said: 'May you thrive!' I said: 'May you thrive, O Apostle of God!' Then I placed the head in front of Him and told Him my story."

3) (§116) The story of Nu'aym ibn Mas'ūd in the attack of the *Aḥzāb* (the coalition of anti-Muḥammad tribes). When Nu'aym ibn Mas'ūd *became Muslim, he was ordered to conceal his conversion* and was sent back to the infidels in order to sow dissension between them.

Nu'aym went to (the Jewish Medinan tribe) Banū Qurayzah and said to them (pretending to give) friendly advice: "Do not fight together with those people — meaning the (Meccan pagan tribes) Quraysh and Ghaṭafān — without taking hostages from among their chiefs as security who will then be in your hands." That was after he had convinced them that (the Meccans of) Quraysh and Ghaṭafān as such did not belong to the people of Medina (as the Qurayzah did) and, should something happen, (these Mec-

can tribes) would stick to their own people and leave (the Qurayzah at the mercy of) the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him —. They said to him: "You have a point there."

(§117) Then he went to the Quraysh and informed them that the Jews of Banū Qurayzah regretted their alliance with them and had sent messengers to Muḥammad, saying: "Do you want us to bring to you (some of the) leaders of these two tribes (Quraysh and Ghaṭafān) so that you can behead them?" Then he went to the Ghaṭafān and said the same.

Then Abū Sufyān and the chiefs of the Ghaṭafān sent to Banū Qurayzah (a certain) 'Ikrimah ibn Abī Jahl at the head of a group made up of men from the Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān. These said to Banū Qurayzah: "Go out early tomorrow morning to battle with us against Muḥammad." Thereupon Banū Qurayzah answered: "That is a Saturday on which we can do nothing. Also we will not fight together with you (against Muḥammad) if you do not give us some of your men as hostages who will be in our hands, as a surety for us, for we fear that you will scatter to your lands should the fighting become too much for you."

When the messengers returned, the Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān said: "By God, it is true why Nu'aym ibn Mas'ūd spoke about. We will not hand over a single man to you." Then Banū Qurayzah said: "The thing which Nu'aym mentioned is true. . . ."

In this way Nu'aym arranged the split in the ranks of the coalition of unbelieving *Aḥzāb*.

An Important Point

The permissibility of a Muslim penetrating into the ranks of the infidels even if that is to the advantage of the Muslims. Ibn Taymīyah says in the chapter on *Jihād*, p. 296:

(§118) "Muslim transmitted in his (Collection of Traditions entitled) *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, on the authority of the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — the story of the people of the Trench, wherein (is told of) the youth who was ordered to kill himself for the benefit of the religion, and therefore the four Imāms permit a Muslim to

penetrate into the ranks of the infidels even if he considered it probable that they would kill him, when this (penetration) is to the advantage of the Muslims."

What Ibn Taymīyah (here) says means that it is permissible for a Muslim to penetrate into the ranks of the infidel army even though this will lead to his death before he can see with his own eyes the advantage of this penetration.

(§119) The Summons (to Islam) before the Battle

The permissibility of attacking without warning the infidels who have been summoned to accept Islam. The Imām Muslim narrated on the authority of Ibn ʿAdī who said: "I wrote to Nāfiʿ asking him about the summons (to Islam) before the battle, and he answered me, writing that that was in the beginning of Islam. The Apostle of God—God's Peace be upon Him—had attacked the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq when they were unaware and their livestock was being given water, and their warriors were killed and taken as captives, and I think Yaḥyā (an earlier transmitter of this Tradition) said that (a certain) Juwayrīyah, or Al-Battah, the daughter of Al-Ḥārith, was wounded on that day.³⁵

(§120) Al-Nawawī's commentary: This Tradition demonstrates the permissibility of attacking the infidels who have been summoned to Islam without warning of attack, and concerning this issue there are three schools of thought, reported by *Al-Māzarī and the Judge.* The first: the warning of attack is absolutely necessary, Mālik and others said, and this (view) is weak.

The second: it is absolutely not necessary, and this is weaker than the first (view), or even invalid.

The third: it is necessary if the summons to Islam did not reach them, and it is not necessary if it did reach them but (in this case) it is recommended (only), and this is the correct viewpoint, pronounced by Nāfiʿ, a client of Ibn ʿUmar, Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Al-Thawrī, Al-Layth, Al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Thawr, Ibn al-Mundhir, and most others. Ibn al-Mundhir said: It is the opinion of the majority of the scholars. Here ends the quotation from Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim.³⁶

(§121) The Permissibility of Attacking the Infidels at Night and Firing at Them Even if it Leads to Killing Their Dependents. Attacking at Night.

On the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās on the authority of Al-Ṣaʿb ibn Jaththāmah, who said: "I said: 'O Apostle of God, when *attacking at night* we hit the dependents of the polytheists.—'Dependents': their children—. He then said: 'They are part of them.' " This Tradition is transmitted by Muslim.

The commentary: The Apostle of God—God's Peace be upon Him—was asked to give an opinion about the children of the polytheists who were *attacked at night* and some of their women and children were killed, whereupon He said: 'They are part of their fathers,' that is, there is no objection to it because the rules applying to their fathers pertain to them as well, in inheritance, marriage, retaliation, blood-money, and other things.

This means: when they do not do it on purpose without need for it (it is allowed to kill these dependents). End of the quotation from Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim, Chapter on *Jihād*.

(§122) To Refrain from Aiming at Killing Women, Monks, and Old Men

On the authority of Ibn ʿUmar: "A woman was found killed on one of the military campaigns of the Prophet—God's Peace be upon Him—, whereupon the Apostle of God—God's Peace be upon Him—forbade the killing of women, children, and old men." Transmitted by all except Al-Nisā'ī.

Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and Abū Dāwud relate that in one of His expeditions the Apostle of God—God's Peace be upon Him—passed by a dead woman who had been killed by the advance guard, and they stood looking at her, that is they were astonished at her beauty, until the Apostle of God—God's Peace be upon Him—met up with them and said: "She cannot have been fighting. . . ." Then he said to one of them: "Catch up with Khālid and tell him not to kill dependents nor slaves."³⁸

The previous Tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās concerning the permissi-

bility of killing dependents does not contradict this Tradition inasmuch as the situation in each Tradition is different from the other.

(§123) Asking a Polytheist for Help

On the authority of ʿĀʾishah — May God be pleased with Her — (there is a Tradition) that she once said: "The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — went out, and when He was in *Ḥarrat al-Wabarah* a man who was known for his courage and bravery came up to Him. The Companions of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — were glad when they saw him, and when he reached Him he said *to the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —*: 'I have come to follow you and fall with you.' * The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — said to him: 'Do you believe in God and His Apostle?' He said: 'No.' Then (Muḥammad) said: 'Go back, for we will never ask help from a polytheist.' Then He went on until when we came to Al-Shajarah the same man came up to us and said the same as he had said the first time. Thereupon the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — said to him, as He had said the first time: 'Go back, for we will never ask help from a polytheist.' Then the man went away and met us at Al-Baydā, and (Muḥammad) said to him, as He had said the first time: 'Do you believe in God and His Apostle?' Now he said: 'Yes.' Then (the Apostle) — God's Peace be upon Him — said to him: 'Then start!' " (This Tradition) is transmitted by Muslim.³⁹

Al-Nawawī says: "In another Tradition it is reported that the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — asked Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah for help before his conversion to Islam. Therefore a group of scholars adopted unrestrictedly (the view implicit in) the first Tradition, and Al-Shāfiʿī and others say that if the infidel has a good opinion about the Muslims and need requires that he be asked for help then he should be asked, otherwise it is disapproved.

(§124) The two Traditions (mentioned before) refer to these two situations. If an infidel is present (in the Muslim army) with

(proper) permission then he should be given something, but not a real share of the booty as is given to Muslims. This is the opinion of the schools of Mālik, Al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfah and the majority. Al-Zuhri and Al-Awzāʿī say, however, that (such an infidel) should be given his share, and God knows best." Here ends the quotation from Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim, the chapter on *Jihād*.⁴⁰

Mālik says regarding the permissibility of asking polytheists and infidels for help: "On the condition that they are servants to the Muslims; then it is allowed."

Abū Ḥanīfah says that they can be asked for help, and they can help unrestrictedly when (the law of) Islam is usually applied to them, but when they usually follow the laws of polytheism, then it is disapproved.

(§125) Al-Shāfiʿī says that it is allowed under two conditions, the first of these is that there are few Muslims and many polytheists, and the second is that these polytheists are known to have a good opinion of Islam and be inclined to it, and when one asks them for help, one should give them a small something but no share, that is, one gives them a compensation (for their trouble) but does not share with them in the shares of the booty given to the Muslims.

(§126) Is it Permitted to Fell and Burn the Trees of the Infidels?

The Imām Muslim relates, on the authority of Nāfiʿ on the authority of ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar, that the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — burned the date trees of Banū al-Naḍir and felled them, at Buwayrah. Qutaybah and Ibn *Rumḥ* added in their Traditions: "Whereupon God — Exalted and Majestic He is — revealed (Qurʾān 59.5): 'What palm trees ye cut down, or left standing on their roots was by the permission of God, that He might disgrace the wicked doers.' " Quoted from Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim, vol. 12.

Al-Nawawī says in his commentary on Muslim's Tradition

Collection: "This Tradition contains the license to fell the trees of the infidels and burn them." Cf. the chapter on *jihād* in Al-Nawawī's Commentary on Muslim.⁴¹

(§127) Should Whoever is Frightened of Capture Surrender *or* Fight Until He is Killed?

On the authority of Abū Hurayrah: "The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — sent *ten men on an expedition* as spies. He put ʿĀsim ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī in charge, and they set off until they were in Al-Had'ah, which is between ʿUṣfān and Mecca, and said to belong to the (tribe called) Liḥyān. Then close to 200 men, all of them archers, made them rush away. (These archers also) followed their tracks. When ʿĀsim and his companions saw them, they took refuge in a tract of desert land, and there they were surrounded by these people, who said to them: 'Dismount and surrender. You have our pledge and word of honour that *we* will not kill any of you.'

"ʿĀsim ibn Thābit, commander of the expedition, said: 'As for me, by God, I will not dismount today into the care of an infidel. O God, inform your Prophet about us.' Thereupon they shot at them and killed ʿĀsim *who was at the head of seven men.* Three men dismounted, going by their pledge and their word of honor: Khubayb al-Anṣārī, Ibn *Dathīnah* and another man, and when they had seized them they loosed the strings of their bows and bound them with them.

"The third man said: 'This is the first *perfidious act* and by God, I am not accompanying you for I have in these dead an example (which warns me) that you want dead men.'

"They dragged him and struggled with him (trying to get him) to accompany him but he resisted, so they killed him and set off with Khubayb and Ibn *Dathīnah* until they sold them in Mecca after the Battle of Badr."

Then (Abū Hurayra went on with) the story of the murder of Khubayb, and said: "God answered ʿĀsim ibn Thābit's prayer on the day he was hit, because the Prophet of God — God's Peace be

upon Him — told His Companions their news and what happened to them." (This is an) extract from Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal), Al-Bukhārī and Abū Dāwud.⁴²

(§128) The Tactics of a Muslim Army

On the authority of ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir: "The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — used to recommend to the men to fight under the banners of their own tribes." Transmitted by Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal).⁴³

On the authority of Al-Barā' ibn ʿĀzib: "The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — said: 'You will meet the enemy tomorrow and if your watchword is *ḥā'-mīm* (cf. the first verse of the surahs 40–46) they will not be victorious.'" Transmitted by Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal).⁴⁴

On the authority of Al-Ḥasan on the authority of Qays ibn ʿAbbād who said: "The Companions of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — used to disapprove of the sound of the voice during the battle." Transmitted by Abū Dāwud.

(§129) The Recommended Times for Going out on a Military Expedition

On the authority of Ka'b ibn Mālīk: "The Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — went out on a Thursday on the military expedition to Tabūk, and He used to like to go out on a Thursday." (This Tradition) is generally agreed upon.

On the authority of Nu'mān ibn *Muqarran*: "When the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — was not fighting in the early part of the day, He used to postpone the battle until the sun was set and the winds blew and victory would be sent down." Transmitted by Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and Abū Dāwud. Al-Bukhārī has a different version, saying: "He waited until the winds blew and the prayers had been attended to."⁴⁵

Recommendation to Pray for Victory When Meeting the Enemy, and Prayers for Battle

(We here quote) from the Prayers for Battle of the Prophet—God's Peace be upon Him—: "O God, Revealer of the Book, Giver of Rain, Router of Enemy Parties, Thou routest them and grantest us victory over them." (Taken from) Muslim's *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁴⁶

(§130) An Important Matter Which Requires Attention

Complete devotion to *jihād* for the cause of God: "Complete devotion" (*ikhhlās*) can be defined as "removing all imperfections from the aspiration of getting closer to God—Exalted and Majestic He is—." It is also said that it can be defined as "forgetting the outward appearance of things created by looking uninterruptedly towards the Creator."

In his chapter on "Satan's *Deceiving* the Fighters," Al-Imām Ibn al-Jawzī mentions: "Satan deceived many people so that they went out to wage *jihād*, their intention being vainglory and pride, hoping that it would be said that So-and-so is a Fighter for God. Probably, however, the real intention was that (they hoped that) people would say that So-and-So was a hero, or in pursuit of booty. Deeds, however, are (to be judged) according to their intentions."

On the authority of Abū Mūsā, who said: "A man came to the Prophet—God's Peace be upon Him—and said: 'O Apostle of God, did you see the man fighting with valor and the one fighting with ardor and the one fighting in pride? Which of these fights for God's cause? (The Apostle)—God's Peace be upon Him—said: 'Whoever fights in order to make the word of God supreme. He is the one fighting for God's cause.'"⁴⁷ Both (Muslim and Al-Bukhārī) transmit (this Tradition).

On the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd—May God be pleased with him—, who said: "Be careful not to say: 'So-and-So died a martyr, or was killed as a martyr,' for there is the man who fights for booty and the man who fights to be remembered and the man who fights so that his standing will be seen."⁴⁸

There is also a Tradition with a chain of authorities transmitting it, going back to the authority of Abū Hurayrah—May God be pleased with him—who said: "The first group of people who will be judged on the Day of the Resurrection consists of three men. The first was a man who had died in battle. He was brought forward and then He informed him of His favors. This he understood. (God) said: 'What did you do for them?' (The man) said: 'I fought in Your name until I was martyred.' (God) said: 'You lie, instead you fought so that it would be said that you are courageous, and so it was said.' Then it was ordered that he be dragged on his face until he was thrown into the fire."

"The second man had studied and taught religion, and he had recited the Qur'ān. He was brought forward, and He informed him of His favors. This he understood. (God) said: 'What did you do for them?' The man said: 'I studied and taught in Your name and recited the Qur'ān.' (God) said: 'You lie, instead you studied so that it would be said that you were learned, and so it was said. You recited the Qur'ān so that it would be said that you were a Qur'ān reciter, and so it was said.' Then it was ordered that he be dragged on his face until he was thrown into the fire."

(§131) "The third man was someone to whom God had been generous and He had given him every possible possession. He was brought forward, and (God) informed him of His favors. This he understood. (God) said: 'What did you do for them?' He said: 'I did not stray from the path on which You desire that there be charity, and I was only charitable in Your name.' (God) said: 'You lie, instead you did that so that it would be said that you were generous, and so it was said.' Then it was ordered that he be dragged on his face until he was thrown into the fire." Muslim alone included this Tradition in his Collection (Vol. 13, p. 50, Trad. 152).

There is also the report with a chain of authorities going back to Muḥammad on the authority of Abū Ḥatim Al-Rāzī, who said: "I heard 'Abduh ibn Sulaymān say: 'We were on a military expedition with 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak in the Byzantine empire when we unexpectedly came upon the enemy, and when the two battle lines faced each other, one of the enemy got out of line and called for a dual. A man left our line and came to him and chased him for

an hour, finally stabbing and killing him. Then another contested him, and he killed him also. Then he called for a duel and a man came out to him; he chased him for an hour and then he stabbed him and killed him.'

(§132) "The people thronged to him, and I was among those who crowded around him, and there he was, his face veiled with his sleeve. I took hold of the edge of his sleeve and drew it away, and lo it was 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak. * (I) * said: 'Is it you, Abū 'Umar. Why do you keep aloof from us?' Then I said: 'Look all of you, may God have mercy upon you, at this devoted man. How he feared for the sincerity of his devotion to God with everybody looking at him, and their praising him, so he veiled himself. . . .'"

There is also the story of Ibrāhīm ibn Ādām who was fighting but when they took the war booty, he did not take anything of the spoils so that his (heavenly) reward would be greater; Satan certainly deceives a fighter when he takes war booty. Perhaps he takes things he has no right to since he has little knowledge and thinks that the possessions of the infidels are permitted to whom-ever takes them, and he does not know that to take fraudulently more than your share from the war booty constitutes a sin.

In the two Tradition Collections known as *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (we read) a Tradition⁴⁹ on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, who said: "We went out with the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — to Khaybar, and God granted us victory. We took neither gold nor silver as booty but only household goods, food, and clothes. Then we set out for Wādī *al-Qurā.*"

"There was a servant with the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — who, when we dismounted, began to untie the saddlebags of the Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him —. At that moment he was struck by an arrow which spelled his death. But when we said: 'May he enjoy this! He has attained martyrdom, O Apostle of God!', the Apostle of God said: 'Not at all. By Him Who has the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, the cloak which he is wearing is burning him with fire for he took it from the spoils on the day of the battle of Khaybar. It was not allotted to him from the shares.'"

Abū Hurayrah continued, saying: "The people got frightened, and a man brought a sandal strap or two sandal straps, and said: 'I acquired it on the day of the battle of Khaybar.' The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — said: 'One sandal strap of fire' or 'Two sandal straps of fire.'"

(§133) Perhaps a fighter knows that it is forbidden (to take whatever he likes from the war booty) but when he sees the thing he cannot resist taking it. Perhaps he thinks that his waging *jihād* justifies whatever he does. Here it is clear that belief and knowledge have great influence (on his behavior).

It has been transmitted to us with an uninterrupted chain of authorities on the authority of *Hubayrah* ibn al-Ashaff on the authority of Abū 'Ubaydah al-'Anbarī, who said: "When the Muslims descended on Ctesiphon and collected the spoils⁵⁰ a man approached with legally acquired war booty and handed it over to the man in charge of dividing the booty. Those with him said: 'We have never seen a thing which equals (*ya'dil*) it, and we do not have anything which even approximates it.' Then they said: 'Did you (already) take something from it?' He said: 'No, by God, if I had I would not have brought it to you.' Then they knew that this man had character and standing and they said: 'Who are you?' He said: 'By God, I will not tell you so that you praise me nor will I tempt you so that you laud me. I praise God and am pleased with His reward.' They then followed him as one man until he reached his companions. There they asked about him and he turned out to be 'Āmir ibn 'Abd al-Qays."

(§134) There Are Those Who Have Distanced Themselves from the Right Path

*Abstain! Verily some people meet with great misfortunes
Leave alone the things which passions want to seize!*

The poet demands (*yaṭlub*) from them (in this verse) to abstain from temptation, and he calls upon them to declare outright their true motive which is love of comfort and avoidance of hardships,

which they conceal. This is the same motive which the Qur'ān gives for those who stayed behind, in Surah 9 (verse 81) where God — Exalted He is — says: "Those who have been left behind rejoiced at their sitting still behind the Apostle of God, and have refused to strive with goods and person in the way of God; they said: 'Do not march out in the heat'; say: 'The fire of Hell will be hotter still, if they would use their intelligence.'"

(§135) "These people (who refuse today to wage *jihād*) have an example in the weakness of the zeal and the softness of the will (seen in the people mentioned in the verse of the Qur'ān quoted in the previous paragraph). Many are those who shirk hardship and flee from effort, and prefer cheap comfort to noble toil, base safety to sweet danger, and they collapse exhausted behind the marching fighting ranks who are in earnest, knowing the burdens of missions that serve to further the cause of Islam. These fighting ranks remain in their path which is filled with obstacles and thorns, because they are aware with an innate knowledge that fighting the obstacles and thorns is natural to man and that it is more pleasant and more beautiful than the sitting and staying behind, or the spiritless comfort that is in (these) men." (Quoted from Sayyid Quṭb's Qur'ān commentary entitled) *Fi Zilāl al-Qur'ān*, 10, 26.

"These are the people who prefer comfort to struggle in the hour of difficulty and who stayed behind from the riding party the first time; these people are not suited for strife. Their participation in *jihād* is not hoped for, nor is it allowed to force them to participate. The glory of *jihād* should not be given to these people who stayed behind and did so willingly."

"So if God bring thee back to a party of them, and they ask permission of thee to go forth, say: 'Ye shall never go forth with me, nor ever fight any enemy with me; ye were content to sit still the first time, so sit still with those who stay behind'" (Qur'ān 9.83).

"Missions which further the cause of Islam require solid, straightforward, steady, and healthy constitutions which can withstand a long and difficult strife. Military ranks which are permeated with the weak and the soft cannot effectively resist because (these weak and soft soldiers) will abandon the ranks in the hour of difficulty. They will cause failure, weakness, and con-

fusion to spread through the ranks. It is necessary to banish those who are weak and stay behind far away from the military ranks, in order to protect these from becoming disjointed and being put to flight. Indulgence towards those (weak people) is a crime towards the whole army."

(§136) Fatwās of the Jurists Regarding the Cleansing of the Ranks

Our forefathers had much to say concerning this. An example of what the First Generations of Muslims said can be found in the exposé by Imām Al-Shāfi'ī in his *Kitāb al-Umm* (when Al-Shāfi'ī discusses) what happened to the Hypocrites consequent to their participation in the noble expeditions of the Prophet, and the warning (which Al-Shāfi'ī gives) against those people in later generations of Muslims who have become known for possessing the same characteristics as these Hypocrites. These will be judged by analogy and will be punished with the same punishment.

Al-Shāfi'ī says: "The Apostle of God — God's Peace be upon Him — went on an expedition and there was someone with him whose hypocrisy was known, and who forsook (Muḥammad) on the Day of the battle of Uhud, taking with him 300 men. Later these were present with him on the Day of the battle of the Trench and they spoke the words which God — Exalted and Majestic He is — reported (Qur'ān 33.12): "God and His Apostle have promised us nothing but illusion."

Then the Prophet — God's Peace be upon Him — went on an expedition against Banū Al-Muṣṭaliq and (again) a number of people was present with Him on this occasion, and they said those words⁵¹ *which God repeated (Qur'ān 63.8): "If we return to the city, the highest in dignity will assuredly expel the most abased," and other things which God reported* concerning their hypocrisy.

Then He made an expedition to Tabūk and *there was a group present* with Him which fled on the evening of the (coalition of) Al-ʿAqabah to kill Him, but God protected Him against their evil intentions. Others who were with Him stayed behind, whereupon God revealed *during* the expedition to Tabūk, *or at his depar-

ture from there for there was no fighting in Tabūk* what they had been saying and doing: "If they intended to go forth they would make some preparation for it; but God is adverse to their being stirred up and hath made them laggards; the word has passed: 'Stay at home with the stay-at-homes'" (Qur'ān 9.46).

(§137) (On this verse, 9.46) Al-Shāfi'ī says: "God showed his Apostle their secrets and the true position of those who listened to them, and (God showed His Apostle) their desire (*ibtighā'*) to seduce those with Him with lies, false rumors, and incitement to forsake (Him). (God) informed (His Apostle) that He was adverse to stirring them up, so He had made them laggards *since* they had this intention. In this (*fihā*) is a proof that God commanded that those who were known by what they were known by (i.e., the hypocrites) would be prevented from going on an expedition with the Muslims because their presence would be a disadvantage to them."

(§138) It is not permitted to a leader to allow to participate in fights and expeditions with him those people who are described with what the hypocrites are described with. *If he went with them on an expedition it is not allowed to give such people a share in the booty, not even something small, because God forbade such people to go on an expedition with the Muslims* because they desire to provoke dissension and incite (the Muslims) to forsake (their leader), even if they are those who obey him with indifference or because of ties of kinship or friendship, for this might be more damaging (*aḍarr*) to them than many enemies (*adūw*)."

(This quotation is taken from) Al-Shāfi'ī's (book entitled) *Kitāb al-Umm*, vol. 4, p. 89.

(§139) Islamic jurisprudence has persisted in this view, and also Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī accepted *this opinion,* saying: "A commander must not bear the presence of someone who bothers him, that is, someone who keeps people away from going forth on an expedition and induces them to abstain from going out to it and to battle by saying, for instance: 'The heat or cold is severe,' or 'The hardship is severe,' and 'The routing of the enemy army is not assured.' Nor (should a commander tolerate the presence of) someone who spreads rumors, that is, someone who says: 'The army of the Muslims has been wiped out' and 'They have no

auxiliaries (*madad*)' or 'Their power is nothing compared to that of the infidels' or 'The infidels have great power and many auxiliaries and a capacity to endure hardships' and 'No one can resist them' and similar things."

"(Also a commander must not tolerate the presence of) someone who spies on the Muslims for the infidels and informs them of the deficiencies of the Muslims and writes them with news of the Muslims or shows them their deficiencies or where their spies are sheltered."

"(Also a commander must not tolerate the presence of) someone who sows the enmity and discord among the Muslims, and spreads corruption. (This all is based) on the word of God — Exalted He is —: 'But God is adverse to their being stirred up and hath made them laggards; the word has passed: "Stay at home with the stay-at-homes." If they were to go forth with you, they would add nothing to you, nothing but unsoundness; they would emphasize the rifts among you, desiring to bring sedition upon you' (Qur'ān 9.46–47). Since all these (kinds of) people (mentioned) are harmful to the Muslims, it is necessary to prevent them (from being present in the Muslim armies)." (Quoted from) *Al-Mughnī* by Ibn Qudāmah, vol. 8, p. 351.

(§140) The Vanity of a Man of Religion Makes It Impossible to Give Him the Command

We find in the wisdom (ascribed to) 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz — May God have mercy upon him — an argument which justifies keeping away (even) pious men who are all good from the responsibility (of command). When there is in him ostentatiousness or conceit, *this bars him from being a means (to our great aim).* Also, we must protect (such a man) against the possibilities of temptation, and the perpetration of a crime against himself and our Cause.

(§141) It has been transmitted that when the fifth rightly guided Caliph (i.e., 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, known as 'Umar II) succeeded to the Caliphate, he sent a messenger for Abū 'Ubayd *al-Mazajī* who was learned in Islamic jurisprudence and a great

Tradition scholar from the Schools of Mālik and Al-Awzā'ī, and one of those on whom the (previous) Caliph Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Mālik had much relied. Nevertheless 'Umar said to him: "This is the road to Palestine — you are one of its people, so follow it (and go away from here)." Thereupon it was said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, if you took a look at Abū 'Ubayd and how he works for the Good. . . ." Then 'Umar said: "It is more just if we do not tempt him,⁵² he is the pride of the masses." (This quotation is taken from Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī's *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 12, p. 158.

(§142) It is up to the leaders of the Muslim organizations (*jamā'āt al-Muslimīn*) today that they say to every propagandist (for the cause of Islam) who strives to obtain a reputation and a highly regarded social position the same that 'Umar said to Abū 'Ubayd.

(§143)⁵³ (Also they should) make them understand: "You missed the beginning of the road to your aim and consequently you passed by regions where the Call to Islam should have been made heard. Humility, sacrifice, and persisting in the right strategy is the True Road to the regions where you should *work (*ashghālak?*). *Take that road and follow it.*"

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

1. (§1) The word "year" (*sanah*) is not found in any version of the *Farīdah* that I consulted. There is, however, little doubt that it has to be added to the text. In AL-WĀḤIDĪ's *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, on the discussion of Qur'ān 57.16, we read that Qur'ān 57.16 was revealed in the first year after the Hijrah from Mecca to Medina. Traditionally the revelation of the Qur'ān is believed to have begun twelve years before the Hijrah. It then follows that Qur'ān 57.16 was revealed thirteen years after the beginning of the revelation of the Qur'ān.
2. (§10) In this context it is relevant to realize that an Egyptian reader certainly knows that 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ is the general who led the armies that conquered Egypt for the Islamic empire.
3. (§12) Probably Ḥāfiẓ al-Islām Zayn al-Dīn Abū Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī (d. 806 AH), the teacher of the better known Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, and the author of a commentary on the Tra-

ditions which occur in AL-GHAZĀLĪ's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. Since this commentary is printed at the bottom of the page of the Cairo (Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī) edition of the *Iḥyā'*, it must have been easily accessible to the author of the *Farīdah*.

4. (§25) The reference here is to the circumstance that in the Middle East a person's name betrays his religious affiliation. Someone called George is always a Christian, someone who is called Muḥammad is always a Muslim. A person's name is the only indication by which one remembers that someone bearing a Muslim name is actually a Muslim, so the text of the *Farīdah* here maintains.
5. (§35) The author here refers to vol. 4 of *Majmū'at Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah*, ed. AL-SHAYKH FARAJ ALLĀH ZAKĪ AL-KURDĪ, Cairo (Maṭb. Kurdistan al-'Ilmiyah), 1329. The "*Kitāb al-Jihād*" starts on p. 279 of this volume, with question 511.
6. (§35) The word *muṣannaf* occurs twice in this sentence. The second time it appears to be a dittography.
7. (§43) The term *Al-Bughāh* is used to designate Muslims who have rebelled against a lawful Imām. Some Muslim scholars regard both *al-bughāh* and apostates as people who have to be condemned to death. (TH.W. JUYNBOLL, *Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, Leiden, 1930, p. 305). The context indicates that Ibn Taymīyah is here discussing the Shī'ah. From this point until the end of the paragraph, the text of the *Farīdah* omits words, phrases, and even a complete line from the text of Ibn Taymīyah's fatwā. This does not facilitate the understanding of the text. I translated here the text of Ibn Taymīyah's fatwā as printed in the original, vol. 4, p. 296, lines 13–21, since the printed versions of the *Farīdah*, whatever their defects, make it obvious that this is what the author wanted.
8. (§45) Again there are small discrepancies between Ibn Taymīyah's original text and its transcript in the *Farīdah*.
9. (§64) At this point the text breaks off in the middle of the sentence, after the preposition *ilā*, both in the *Awqāf* and the *Aḥrār* editions. The Amman edition continues with "*kathīr min al-dirāsah*." Since the Amman edition has copied all the mistakes that are found in the *Aḥrār* edition, and has added many more mistakes of its own, it is probable that the addition *kathīr min al-dirāsah* is a (plausible) printer's conjecture.
10. (§65) Cf., e.g., Qur'ān 54.31: "We sent upon them one shout, and they were like the rubble of the wall builder."
11. (§66) The text of the passage quoted from Al-Nawawī's commentary

reads *bid'ah*, and not *mubd'ah* as the printed versions of the *Fariḍah* do.

12. (§66) The text of the passage quoted from Al-Nawawī's commentary reads *tustadām*, and not *tusnid* as the printed versions of the *Fariḍah* do. The passage is taken from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-Sharḥ al-Nawawī*, Cairo, 1349, 18 vols., vol. 12, p. 229, lines 9–13, *Bāb al-Imārah*, which immediately follows the chapter on *Jihād*. The printed texts of the *Fariḍah* leave out a few words from the original. In the translation these words have been added.
13. (§72) Cf., e.g., Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim quoted before, vol. 12, p. 109. The context indicates that the unusual word *arīṣīyyīn* denotes the subjects of the Emperor. The word may be derived from an Arabic form of the word "orthodox," by reducing the consonant clusters in the standard Arabic word "*urthuduksiyyīn*." The translation of the Letters follows Al-Nawawī's interpretation of them since it appears that Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Faraj used Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
14. (§73) *Al-Majūs* is a common Arabic designation for the adherents to the official religion of the Sasanid Empire.
15. (§82) Cf. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*,² s.v. Bābur; see also S. LANE-POOLE, *Bābar*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 173–181.
16. (§93) The sentence breaks off in all three printed versions of the *Fariḍah*.
17. (§94) On the problems the *Fariḍah* group experienced in finding a leader, see DR. 'UMAR 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, *Kalimat Ḥaqq*, Cairo (Dār al-I'tisām) 1985, pp. 83–88.
18. (§95) Cf. AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Jihād*, nr. 110.
19. (§95) Cf. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī li-'l-Qaṣṭallānī*, Cairo, 1288–1289, 10 vols., vol. 5, p. 135.
20. (§95) Cf. Al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim quoted before, vol. 13, p. 5 (*Imārah* 81). The printed versions of the *Fariḍah* read "15," which is probably an error for "5."
21. (§98) The Amman edition reads *bihi* and *rasūlihi*, which is no doubt correct. The two other editions read *bī* and *rasūlī*.
22. (§99) The printed texts of the *Fariḍah* differ. See, however, AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Jihād*, nr. 1 (ed. L. Krehl, Leiden, 1864, vol. 2, p. 199).
23. (§99) Cf. A.J. WENSINCK, "The Oriental Doctrine of the Martyrs," in *Semietische Studiën uit de Nalatenschap van Prof. Dr A.J. Wensinck*, Leiden, 1941, pp. 90–113.

24. (§101) The text of Ibn Kathīr reads *hākadhā*, which is omitted from the text of the *Fariḍah*. (IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, Cairo [ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī], n.d., vol. 2, p. 357.)
25. (§103) Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Faraj explains the word *tatarrasū* ("they provide their prisoners of war with arms and enlist them in their army") which Ibn Taymīyah here used with *iḥtamaw* ("they protect themselves").
26. (§105) The edition of Ibn Taymīyah's *Fatwās* that the *Fariḍah* copies is not a critical edition. Some of its mistakes are corrected by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Faraj. Here, for instance, the printed text of Ibn Taymīyah's *fatwā* reads *ḥaramīyah* ("thieves"), which should almost certainly be *Jahmīyah*, the name of a sect. The author of the *Fariḍah* did not correct this, but left the word out.
27. (§108) Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1913, vol. IV, p. 124.
28. (§109) AL-NAWAWĪ/MUSLIM, vol. 12, p. 45, reads *al-ma'ārīd*, cf. IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa-'l-Āthār*, iii, 212.
29. (§111) See AL-NAWAWĪ/MUSLIM, 12, 161: "This is a permitted oblique mode of speech, indeed recommended, because its inner meaning is that (Muḥammad) has disciplined us with the morals of the Revelation which brings about exhaustion, but it is an exhaustion for the gratification of God—Praised and Exalted He is—and therefore dear to us, and the literal sense which is understood by the one addressed is hardship, which is not dear to us."
30. (§112) AL-QASTALLĀNĪ/AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *Bulāq* 1288/1871, 6, 317–319.
31. (§112) Muḥammad ibn Maslamah appears to have been accompanied by others. A change in number is not uncommon in Arabic texts.
32. (§113) Cf. AL-BUKHĀRĪ, 6, 317–319; AL-NAWAWĪ/MUSLIM, 12, 162.
33. (§114) See, however, AL-WĀḤIDĪ, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. MARSDEN JONES, London, 1966, 531f and 532, n. 1.
34. (§115) Cf. IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313/1895, 3, 496f.
35. (§119) Again there are many discrepancies between the text of the *Fariḍah* and the version of the Tradition in Muslim.
36. (§120) AL-NAWAWĪ/MUSLIM, 12, 35–36.
37. (§121) *Ibid.*, 49–50, Tradition 27.
38. (§122) IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad*, 3, 488, lines 13–18.
39. (§123) Ḥarrat al-Wabarah was a place four miles from Medina.
40. (§124) AL-NAWAWĪ/MUSLIM, 12, 198, Tradition 150.

41. (§126) Ibid., 12, 50, Tradition 29.
42. (§127) Cf. IBN HANBAL, 2, 294, line 10; AL-QAṢṬALLĀNĪ/AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Būlāq, 1288/1871, 5, 183, *bāb* 170. The text of the *Farīdah* is closer to the version of Al-Bukhārī. Al-Qaṣṭallānī (p. 184) gives the name of the third man as ‘Abdallāh ibn Ṭāriq al-Balwī.
43. (§128) IBN HANBAL, 4, 263, lines 7–10.
44. (§128) Ibid., 289, lines 25–27.
45. (§129) IBN HANBAL, 5, 444, line 3 from bottom until 445; AL-BUKHĀRĪ, 5, 260, line 4 from bottom until 261, line 5 from top.
46. (§129) MUSLIM, 12, 47, *bāb* 6, but here in a slightly different version.
47. (§130) AL-NAWAWĪ/MUSLIM, 13, 49, Tradition 150.
48. (§130) Ibid., 13, 50.
49. (§132) AL-BUKHĀRĪ, 9, 452; (*Aymān* 33); MUSLIM, *Aymān*, Tradition 183.
50. (§133) The first *alladhīna . . . hādhā qaṭ* is a dittography.
51. (§136) The translation follows Al-Shāfi‘ī’s original text.
52. (§141) The translation follows Ibn Hajar’s original text.
53. (§143) The text of this paragraph of the *Farīdah* is corrupt.

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