

“Authentic Islam”
The Religious Profile of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī (1893-1987) as Reflected in his
Fatwas

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Introduction

On 22 June 1987, the internationally renowned Moroccan religious scholar Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī passed away at the advanced age of ninety-seven. Many of Al-Hilālī's friends eulogized him. Among them was Shaykh Ibn Bāz , Saudi Arabia's leading cleric for twenty-five years, who in his *Tuhfat 'al-Ikhwān bi-Tarājim Ba'd al-A'yān* (Gift to the Brethren on the Biographies of Some Eminent Scholars) said :

Al-Hilālī lived ninety-seven years just short of two months and some days. Wherever he was he gave his all for the sake of calling people to Allāh, May He Be Exalted. He visited many countries For a period of time, he called people to Allāh in Europe and also in India and on the Arabian Peninsula, as well as teaching at the Islamic University in Medina... He wrote many books. In his early life, he used to be a Tijani disciple, then Allāh saved him from this Sufi Order; he responded to the claims of the Tijani Order and he showed its defects.... A throng of people attended the funeral prayer when he died. He was buried in the cemetery of Casablanca. May Allāh make possible meeting him in Paradise.¹

One of the important Moroccan religious personalities who eulogized Al-Hilālī was 'Abd Allāh Guennūn (d.1989), who recalled that in the late nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century since they used to worship shrines people had strayed far away from practising authentic Islam. Guennūn stated that in these dark moments, Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī came to call people to pure monotheism, free of any taint of heresy which would spoil it. Guennūn says that is why many people followed Al-Hilālī. Nevertheless, some people displayed an aversion, even enmity, towards him because of his preaching:

He was openly waging a holy war against the disbelievers. He would never make an implicit speech resorting to metaphors; on the contrary, he would explicitly label anyone who worshipped a shrine a disbeliever. He used, may Allāh grant him mercy, to be very intransigent in matters of Islamic jurisprudence; and he used to incite people to fight the four Islamic schools of legal thought which represent Islamic jurisprudence... His war against the heresies and the abominable acts exposed him to many tribulations.

¹ Ibn-Bāz (2009), 70-71.

May Allāh grant him mercy, he used to be a distinguished scholar and a great expert on language.²

Many newspapers also published articles in commemoration of Al-Hilālī. In one of its edition entitled : *Ma Huwa Naṣīb Ihtimām I'lāminā bi Rijālatinā al-A'lām* (How much interest do our media devote to our great national figures?), *Al-Thawra* (The Revolution) wrote :

The Salafi preacher and leader of Islamic journalism in Morocco, one of the heroes of true Islamic nationalism, the great scholar, Dr Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī has recently passed away... Indeed, Al-Hilālī, may Allāh grant him Mercy, still lives on in every Muslim heart...³

The Moroccan Journal *Al Mithāq* (The Covenant) added:

Two qualities characterized Dr Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī: strong argumentation and rapid persuasion. He acquired these characteristics because he was an expert in the Quranic Science. He had a wide knowledge of the *Sunna*, and his discourse was both eloquent and beautiful. He had acquired profound knowledge thanks to the great scholars he had met during his travels in the East and the West. Al-Hilālī wrote and translated many books on preaching, culture and literature...⁴

The Indian journal, *Ṣawt Al-Umma* (The Voice of the Nation), published an article under the title: 'Min A'lām al-Salafiyyīn: Khātīmatu Shāhid Qarn: Kayfa Wada'at al-Maghrib al-'Ālim al-Mujāhid Dr Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī' (One of the great figures of Salafism: the end of a witness to a century. How has Morocco taken leave of the battling scholar Dr Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī?), going on to qualify Al-Hilālī as the scholar 'who made use of the opinions of all Islamic schools of thought provided they agree with the *Sunna*, and without privileging any school over another.'⁵ Among other piece of information it reported:

² Al-Sabtī (1993), 129.

³ Al-Thawra newspaper, Tiṭwān: 1987, 224.

⁴ See also Anonymous: "Al-'Ālim al-jalil al-duktur al-Hilālī fi dhimmat Allah," al-Furqan, 4, (1987), 107.

⁵ Sawt Al-Umma' al-Hindiyya, "Khātīmatu Shāhid Qarn: Kayfa Wada'at al-Maghrib al-'Ālim al-Mijāhid Dr Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī," Vol1. 2 (1987), 45-54.

...Four days before passing away, when his health was very fragile, Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī told his wife and his stepdaughter: ‘If I can’t stand up, then carry me and take me out so as to continue the Jihād for Allāh’s Cause, and call people to Islam... The Islamic funeral prayer *in absentia* was performed for him in many countries, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, India and Morocco. This is how Al-Hilālī passed away.⁶

The aim of this study is to deepen our understanding of the personal religious profile of this remarkable twentieth-century preacher of ‘authentic Islam’ within the wider spectrum of the prevailing currents of Salafism and Wahhabism in the same era. The study commences with an introduction, beginning with a discussion of the *Origins of the Salafiyya in Morocco*, to enable the reader to understand Al-Hilālī and his conversion to Salafism as a chain in a longer historical tradition in Morocco, stretching back to the early nineteenth century (1). This discussion will be followed by a survey of *Previous Studies on Al-Hilālī’s Life and Thought* (2). In conclusion, the *Research Question, Focus and Sources* (3) will be sketched.

The Origins of the Salafiyya in Morocco and Al-Hilālī’s Conversion

The ideas of the Moroccan Salafī Movement can be traced back to the Wahhābī School, which was founded in the Arabian Peninsula by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792).⁷ During the second half of the eighteenth century, the presence of Wahhabism made itself strongly felt in the circles of the ‘Alawite Sultans of Morocco. The success of the Wahhābī experiment coincided in particular with the reign of two sultans,⁸ namely Muḥammad Ibn ‘AbdAllāh (1757-1790) and Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822). The current Moroccan Salafī leaders consider the former to be the main precursor of their Movement in the country.⁹ The year 1811 can be considered to be the date of the introduction of the

⁶ See also Anonymous, “Al-‘Alim al-jalil al-duktur al-Hilālī fī dhimmat Allah,” *al-Furqan*, 4, 10 (1987). 7. See also Al-Sabtī (1993), 129.

⁷ Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb thought that Najd was infested with corrupt beliefs and religious practices repugnant to the fundamentals of the True Religion. He had discovered that the people had abandoned their faith, and was convinced that Muslims should inevitably make changes in their lives and tread the path of the Pious Predecessors. Prince Muḥammad bin Saud offered him all help and every assistance to carry out his task. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1999), 42.

⁸ Zeghal (2005), 42.

⁹ Ibn Zaidan (1937), 358.

Wahhābī doctrine in Morocco. After receiving a letter from the Saudi 'amīr Sa'ūd I (d. 1814), urging Tunisians to adopt Wahhabism, the Mufti of Tunis, forwarded a copy of it to Sultan Sulaymān.¹⁰ In fact, scholars are not quite sure about the identity of the author of the message. As Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb had died in 1792, King Ibn Sa'ūd himself is believed to have been the author of the letter, which contained an exposition of the articles of faith of the Wahhabi Movement.¹¹ Sultan Sulaymān seemed to have nurtured a great respect for Wahhābīsm, which angered many 'Moroccan 'ulamā' including those in Fes.¹²

Muḥammad Ḍarīf says that both Sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān and Sultan Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, who declared himself to be Malīkī by rite and Ḥanbalī by faith, were sympathetic towards Wahhabism and were not loath to use it as a tool to undercut the influence of Sufī brotherhoods and reinforce their own power.¹³ Muḥammad Ḍarīf continues by specifically saying that Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh had used Wahhābīsm to counter Sufism.¹⁴ This assumption still needs to be scientifically confirmed, especially in the light of the fact that it is well known that the Sultan greatly respected Sufīs and their symbols.¹⁵

In 1812, Mawlāy Sulaymān sent his son, Ibrahim, to Mecca with a group of Moroccan scholars both to perform the pilgrimage and to discuss some theological issues with the Sa'ūdīs. As a consequence of this encounter, the Wahhābīs reached an agreement with the Moroccan delegation. The Moroccans accepted the Wahhābī principle which adjured that it is compulsory to comply with the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*.¹⁶ Mawlāy Sulaymān was also inspired to write a treatise in which he sharply criticized the Sufī orders, warning Muslims against their innovations and forbidding both visiting the shrines and holding festivals (*mawāsim*).¹⁷ These strong measures are the reason that the later Salafīs in Morocco have looked upon Mawlāy Sulaymān as one of the forerunners of their Movement.¹⁸ Nevertheless, despite the fact that he repeatedly attacked the Darqāwiyya Order, he was himself a disciple of the Nāṣiriyya *tarīqa*. Moreover, he received and honoured the founder of

¹⁰ Abun-Nasr (1987), 247-264.

¹¹ Abun-Nasr (1963), 93.

¹² Al-Sā'ih (1969), 38.

¹³ Ḍarīf (2010), 110.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Zeghal (2005), 41.

¹⁶ Abun-Nasr (1963), 94.

¹⁷ Abun-Nasr (1963), 95.

¹⁸ Abun-Nasr (1963), 93.

the Tijāniyya Order, Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1735-1815), who left Algeria to settle in Fes in 1789.¹⁹ Hence, it would be wrong to conclude that the Wahhābī influence in Morocco was as strong as some might believe. If the truth be told, initially the doctrine did not find much support among the Moroccan population.

Malika Zeghal rightly points out that many different factors have to be taken into account in attempts to study the Moroccan Salafism of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. One of these factors is the combined influence exerted by Saudi Arabia and Egypt. At that time, both these countries were calling for religious reforms, demanding a return to ‘Authentic Islam’.²⁰ Scholars and pilgrims returning to Morocco from the East were one of the principal sources of introducing Wahhābīsm into Morocco. In the early years of its presence, the goal of this doctrine was to fight against the *Zawiyas* (Sufi religious centres) and oppose any religious practices perceived as blameworthy innovations (*bida’*). Malika Zeghal also argues that nationalism is another important element in trying to find an understanding of ideological and political Salafism in Morocco.²¹ ‘Allāl al-Fāsī (1910-1974), a famous and influential Moroccan Salafi, has also asserted that the roots of Moroccan Salafism can be traced back to the Wahhābī Reformism of the eighteenth century. ‘Allāl al-Fāsī connects Salafi nationalism directly to the Wahhābī doctrine.²²

As did their counterparts in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century,²³ the Moroccan Salafis upheld the religious tradition of *al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* (the pious predecessors).²⁴ Essentially, their aim was to revert to the ideals which could be found in the early days of Islam when it was led by the Prophet. They recognized the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna* as the only acceptable bases of religious and social legislation, thereby deviating from some of the *usūl* of the classical *madhhabs*, including the Malīkī *madhhab* which is very prominent in Morocco.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Salafī ideas already entrenched in Egypt began to spread to Morocco. ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Sanūsī (1845-1931), a Moroccan scholar,

¹⁹ Zeghal (2005) , 41.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Zeghal (2005), 42.

²² Al Fāsī (1972), 48.

²³ From the late 19th century, the term *Salafiyya* was used to refer to the revivalist thought of such Islamic modernists as Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghāni, Muḥammad ‘Abduh and Rashīd Rīdā. Central to their ideas were a return to and revival of the ideals and practices of the first generation of Muslims, the Salaf, whence the term Salafiyya by which Rīdā and his followers are often known.

²⁴ Abun-Nasr (1963), 93.

was one of the earliest persons to introduce these ideas into his country. He travelled to Syria and Turkey and lectured in Damascus and Istanbul. In 1886, after his return, he visited Sultan Moulāy al-Ḥasan (1873-1894) and took part in the religious lectures the latter used to organize (*durūs ḥadīthiyya*) in Fes. This Sultan appointed him a member of the royal learned council. Despite these marks of royal favour, he faced fierce opposition from the '*ulamā*' of Fes.²⁵

Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī (1878-1937) is the Moroccan *shaykh* most cited as having deeply influenced the Salafī Movement in Morocco in the early twentieth century. In 1896 he emigrated to Egypt to study at al-Azhar and later he was chosen to be a preacher in Mecca, where he remained until 1911. On his return to Morocco in 1907, he was appointed a judge. One year later he had risen to be Minister of Justice.²⁶ Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī’s influence as a propagator of Salafī Islam in Morocco was immense. Thanks to his efforts, Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz was convinced to become an advocate of Salafism and wrote a book, *Kashf al-Qinā* ‘*an I ‘tiqad Ṭawā’if al-Ibtidā*’²⁷ (Unmasking the Belief in Innovation of the Denominations), in which he attacked the Sufī orders, condemning various of their practices and beliefs as being incompatible with true Islam, specifically singling out the Tijani Order for criticism.²⁸ However, the time was not yet ripe for the Malīkī '*ulamā*' to accept Al-Dukkālī’s Salafism. In his book on the Moroccan Independence Movement, ‘Allāl al-Fāsī also mentions the importance of Al-Dukkālī’s appeal to return to the *Sunna* and to abandon heresies and blameworthy innovations (*bida* ‘). He states that a talented body of young men gathered around Al-Dukkālī and began distributing printed Salafī books imported from Egypt. In his description of the influence of Salafism in Morocco, Abu Bakr al-Qādirī, a scholar who participated in the Nationalist Movement, confirms that the return of Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī from the East and his subsequent teaching in Morocco was ‘like a cry which awoke those who were lying in their graves’.²⁹

Shortly after the First World War, the Salafī group in Morocco really began to become active in political and social life. It is commonly assumed that the Moroccan Nationalist Movement commenced its activities in November 1925. The members of this group, who

²⁵ Zeghal (2005), 40.

²⁶ Ryad (2008), 247-248.

²⁷ This book by Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz was published in Fes 1909. See Abun-Nasr (1963), 98.

²⁸ Abun-Nasr (1963), 98.

²⁹ Zeghal (2005), 40.

essentially came from the Qarawiyyin Mosque-University, had been inspired by the Salafiyya Movement whose mission was to adapt and modernize Islam in a world dominated by European colonialism. This Neo-Salafi Movement was led by ‘Allal al-Fāsī, a former student, as said, of Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī, who attempted to reform Islam for the purpose of freeing Muslims from stagnation and ridding them of the burdent of past accretions so that Islam could be harmonized with reason and modernity.³⁰

After the signing of the Protectorate Treaty in 1912, France saw influence of Wahhabism as one of the greatest threats it had to face. In 1928, Édouard Michaux Bellaire (1857-1930) held a conference, ‘Wahhabism in Morocco’, in which he expressed his fears about the success of the Wahhābī Movement in Morocco. His purpose was to champion the characteristics of Moroccan Islam which was based on the Malīkīte School of Law and was moderate and tolerant.³¹ Salafism was gradually converging people’s thoughts towards the path of nationalism at a time at which the collaboration of many Sufi brotherhoods in the Protectorate was strengthening the relationship between nationalism and Salafism.³² The Sufi orders, which had been attacked on religious grounds by the old Salafi Movement in Morocco, were now attacked on both religious and political levels. Al- Fāsī even had no scruples about going as far as to condemn the co-operation of the Sufi orders with France as apostasy (*ridda*).³³ In a nutshell, nationalist Salafism was a reformist movement with a tendency to criticize popular Islam. Whereas such classical Moroccan Salafists as Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī had been open to conciliation, their younger disciples were more obdurate. ‘Allal al-Fasī (d. 1974), who headed the Istiqlal Party from 1956 until his death, repeatedly claimed that Sufism had obscured the true nature of Islam which was to be found in the *Qur’ān*, the *ḥadīth*, and the practice of the pious predecessors (*salaf*).³⁴ Al-Fāsī was convinced that the *Sharī‘a* should become the source of all modern legislation in Muslim states.³⁵

After Independence, the Moroccan monarch chose to implement an official Islamic doctrine which was heavily influenced by Salafism. For years, the Ministry of Islamic Affairs

³⁰ Lauzière (2008), 306-308.

³¹ Ḍarīf (2010), 117.

³² Abun-Nasr (1987), 382.

³³ Lauzière (2008), 308-310.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Al-Fāsī (1999), 58-59.

was dominated by members of the Istiqlal Party, which had been founded in 1956 when a Salafī scholar, Mukhtār al-Sūsī (1900-1963), was the first minister of Islamic Affairs. He was succeeded by ‘Allāl al-Fāsī in 1961. The Salafī scholar Muḥammad Ibrahim al-Kattānī, a member of the Istiqlāl Party, even dared to advocate a Salafist ruler, writing an article entitled ‘The Salafiyya of Muḥammad V’, in which he stated that one of the indications of the king’s adherence to Salafism was his prohibition of people prostrating themselves before him, explaining that prostration was reserved only for God, and another was his reform of the Qarawiyyin in 1933, of the arguments for which he based on the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*.³⁶ Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī shared this view and praised both King Muḥammad V (1909-1961) and King Ḥasan II (1929-1999) for their Salafism and their support for the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*.³⁷

Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī handed on the torch of the Salafiyya in Morocco to his disciple, Moulay al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī (d.1964). Born into a family of ‘*ulama*’ in Tafilalt, he had studied at the Qarawiyyin and had formerly been a member of the Tijaniyya Sufī Order. He was converted to Salafism by his master, Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī.³⁸ As a consequence of this conversion, Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī turned his back on one of the most popular and widespread expressions of Moroccan Islam in favour of embracing the modernist Salafiyya Movement. His ideas were heavily influenced by Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and hence he was more purist than his mentor Al-Dukkālī. He attacked the Sufī orders, a decision which made him many enemies. By the 1920s, Moulay al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī had become an important figure in the Salafiyya Movement and one of its pioneers in Morocco.³⁹ In 1921 one of his greatest achievements was to convince Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī (1893-1987) to convert to Salafism.

Born in 1893 in Sijilmāsa (in the Tafilalt region of south-eastern Morocco), Al-Hilālī was educated by his father, who was a jurist and the assistant judge in their village. At the age of twenty-two, Al-Hilālī visited Muḥammad ‘ibn Habīb Allāh al-Shanqīṭī (d. 1922), the leading scholar in Algeria and he remained there studying with this professor for at least three years. During this period, Al-Hilālī familiarized himself with Malīkī jurisprudence and Arabic grammar. He also honed his teaching skills, as he occasionally substituted for Al-Shanqīṭī, but it was in Fes, not in Algeria, that Al-Hilālī’s religious profile changed drastically. Having

³⁶ Zeghal (2005), 51.

³⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Tamassuk bi al-Kitāb,” 1979, 4-7.

³⁸ Abun-Nasr (1963), 99.

³⁹ Ibid., 10-15.

returned to Morocco, he attended classes at the Qarawiyyin where he had no difficulty attaining his secondary school his diploma (*shahādat al-Thawāfiyya*).

By 1921, Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī had converted to Salafism in Fes. His conversion was the result of a debate with Moulay al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī (d.1964) about the core of Tijānī mystical knowledge and the *khātām al-Awliyā’* (seal of sainthood) in his order.⁴⁰ Al-Tijānī was awarded the title of *khātām al-Awliyā’* (seal of the saints) on the analogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, who is considered Seal of the Prophets. In common with most inhabitants of his region, Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī had joined a Sufī order, the *Tijāniyya* and, like other members, was in favour of the practice of visiting shrines to ask help from the saints buried in them (*istimdād*).⁴¹

The arguments raised by Al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī revolved around one single question, which lay at the very core of the Tijāniyya’s legitimacy: did the Prophet Muḥammad truly appear to Ahmad al-Tijānī while the latter was awake rather than asleep? In other words, was this Sufī order really based on instructions which Al-Tijānī had received directly from the Prophet in the eighteenth century?⁴² Al-Hilālī avowed that the irrefutable proofs adduced by Al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī were the spur which caused him to abandon *al-Tijāniyya* utterly and completely.⁴³ Before his conversion, Al-Hilālī also claimed that the Prophet Muḥammad frequently came to him in a dream (*fi-l-manām*) and ordered him to study religious sciences. Al-Hilālī had asked the Prophet whether he should study in a Christian or a Muslim country. The Prophet had answered him saying that he could study in either country as all countries belonged to God. At that time, his greatest desire was to obey the Prophet and study the science of the *ḥadīth*, Qur’anic exegesis, theology and *fiqh*.⁴⁴ Remarkably enough, even after his conversion to Salafism, and throughout the rest of his life, Al-Hilālī continued to claim that the Prophet had appeared to him and that he had received instructions from him, which had made such an impression on him that he followed them strictly until his death.

‘Authentic Islam’ (*al-islām al-ṣahīh* or *al-islām al-ḥaqīqī*, as it is usually designated in Salafī writings) espoused by Salafism and Wahhabism, is closely related to the concerns and

⁴⁰ Ryad (2011), 4.

⁴¹ These were among the first things he later undermined in many *fatwas*. See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā Al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1. 130-131. 165-166, 212, 217, 230, 238.

⁴² Lauzière (2008), 98.

⁴³ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 4-14.

⁴⁴ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 10.

doctrines of its followers. The idea of *salafiyya* in Salafism refers to the *salaf*, the pious ancestors and the Prophet's Companions in the first three generations of Islamic history. Salafism evokes a return to the original Islam at the time of the Revelation. Therefore it advocates the direct reading of texts of the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*. To underline the convergence which now exists between the Salafiyya and Wahhabism, the term *Al-Salafiyya al-Wahhābīyya* is used at present⁴⁵ to distinguish it from the more 'liberal' form like that preached by Muḥammad 'Abduh. In this study I shall focus on the term 'Authentic' Islam (*al-islām al-Ṣaḥīḥ*) in the words of Al-Hilālī. Al-Hilālī does not refer to the term *Salafiyya* nor does he accept the use of the term *Wahhābīyya*. He explained that he rejected this on the grounds that it is just an extrinsic word which has been introduced by the enemies of Islam.⁴⁶ The term 'Authentic' Islam is used by Al-Hilālī in his writing as a reference to the 'Genuine' essence of Islam as it has come down from the early days of Islam and is not affected by culture.⁴⁷ Al-Hilālī said that the Islam of the Prophet and all the Pious Ancestors represents Islam in its purest form and therefore any Muslim is obliged to respect, protect, and adhere to it.⁴⁸ Al-Hilālī's version of Islam was based on his own personal quest in which he turned against the official doctrine of Islam in Morocco (for instance, against the authority of the Malīkī School of Law) and against the definitions of Islam which Sufī doctrines now which, in his eyes, misguided Muslims adhered.⁴⁹

'Authentic' Islam, he argued, relied on the absolute and unambiguous truth of Islam. Whatsoever diverges from this true Islam is wrong, untrue and therefore not genuine. Hence, in his writings the purpose of Al-Hilālī was to present the absolute and unambiguous truth of Islam. In most of his writings and audio files Al-Hilālī claims that 'Authentic' Islam' (*al-islām al-saḥīḥ*) is the only means to reach happiness in this world and the next, expecting all Muslims throughout the whole world to accept this fully. Muslims must choose between 'Authentic' Islam or heresy; between Eternal Bliss or Hell. In the current study, the interpretation of 'Authentic' Islam according to Al-Hilālī will be analysed in more detail, especially as he turned his back on Sufism, Malīkīsm and Ash'arism, all of which were

⁴⁵ Lauzière (2008), 6. see also Abou El Fadl (2003), 57. For Salafiyya of "Wahhabi" inspiration (*al-salafiyya al-wahhābīyya*). See Darīf (1992), 135.

⁴⁶ Al-Hilālī (1982), 25.

⁴⁷ Lauzière (2008), 384-386.

⁴⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya," 1976, Vol.2, 328.

⁴⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya," 1976, Vol.1. 103-104, 234; Vol2, 298; 302-303, 308, 337.

elements in the most popular and widespread expressions of Moroccan Islam. Many scholars, among them Muḥammad Ḍarīf, Malika Zeghal, Muḥammad Tozy to name a few, have confirmed that Wahhabism could trace its presence in Morocco to Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī.⁵⁰

Previous Studies of Al-Hilālī's Life and Thought

As one of the most significant Muslim religious figures of the twentieth century, the life of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī has been extensively studied and there are many references to Al-Hilālī's biography.⁵¹ Below I shall mention some of these studies, whose writers can be considered my direct predecessors in this field. I am restricting myself to the books and articles to which I could have access and which provided information on the life and work of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī.

With the exception of the study by Muḥammad al-Majdhūb (1907-1999) '*Ulamā' wa mufakkirūn 'araftuhum* (Scholars and Intellectuals I Have Known) published in 1977, all the studies mentioned below have been written since Al-Hilālī's death in 1987. The main characteristic of all these studies is their focus on Al-Hilālī's life. The principal source of this biographical information is his autobiography *Al-Da'wa 'ila Allāh* (The Call to Allāh), which was published in Morocco in 1973 when he was eighty-three. This book contains little information about the final phase of his life, namely: the years 1968 -1987, except in the last three pages which present some information about his time in Saudi Arabia and his return to Morocco.

In his book⁵² *Ulama' wa mufakkirūn 'araftuhum*, Muḥammad al-Majdhūb dedicates thirty pages to the life and thought of Al-Hilālī. Al-Majdhūb argues that Al-Hilālī devoted all his time and his energy to *da'wa* and the propagation of 'Authentic' Islam. He mentions that Al-Hilālī went to India where he managed to study under the supervision of several *ḥadith* scholars. Al-Majdhūb also reports that he had received a doctorate in Berlin, and had widely travelled widely.⁵³ Al-Majdhūb stresses the praise Al-Hilālī won among his contemporaries on account of his exceptional knowledge of *fiqh*, *ḥadith* and the Arabic language.⁵⁴ Although

⁵⁰ Ḍarīf (2010), 118; Zeghal (2005), 283-284.

⁵¹ Guennūn (1980), 145-147; 'Uqayl (2008), 485-496; Khayyāt (2004), 332-334.

Al-Ṭantāwī (1985), vol4, 64; Anṣārī (2006), Vol.2, 592-655; Al-Nadawī (1987), 91-117.

⁵² al-Majdhūb (1977).

⁵³ Al-Majdhūb (1977), 118-144.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

he lists a number of works, he does not make any reference to the *fatwas* he issued. The most important source of Al-Majdhūb's study was his personal contact with Al-Hilālī in Saudi Arabia and Al-Hilālī's autobiography *Al-Da'wa*. His study is one of the sources most frequently used by scholars involved in the study of the works of Al-Hilālī.

The first study, I would like to mention, entirely devoted to Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī's life and thought in Morocco is that of Mukhlis al-Sabti, *al-Salafiyya al-Wahhābīyya bi-l-Maghrib: Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī rā'idan*⁵⁵ (The Wahhābī-inspired Salafiyya in Morocco, Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī as a pioneer). Reflecting the contemporary terminological convergence of Salafiyya and Wahhabism, Al-Sabti uses the term Al-Salafiyya al-Wahhābīyya. He probably introduced this term to express the influence scholars in Saudi Arabia had on Al-Hilālī's thought. The weakness of Al-Sabti's study is that abounds with exaggerated claims. He even claims that Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī was the first to introduce Al-Salafiyya al-Wahhābiya into Morocco. As was mentioned earlier, the presence of Wahhabism in Morocco had been noticeable in the circle of the 'Alawite Sultans ever since the nineteenth century and the success of the experiment with this doctrine coincided with the reign of two particular sultans, namely Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh (1757-1790) and Moulay Sulaymān (1792-1822).

Most of Al-Hilālī's students I interviewed distanced themselves from Al-Sabti's condemnations and claims, looking askance at what they saw as his misrepresentations of Al-Hilālī's thought. Among them is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Maghrāwī (b. 1948), the founder and head of the pietistic association *Jam'iyyat al-Da'wa ilā al-Qur'an wa-l-Sunna* (The Association for the Call to the *Qur'an* and the *Sunna*), who said he thought that *Wahhābīyya* (Wahhabism) is an extrinsic word which had been introduced by 'the enemies of reform and monotheism', who still continue to misuse it right up to the present day. In fact, 'Authentic' Islam had nothing to do with these false terminologies. He acknowledges that, as all reform movements, Salafism is subject to periods in the doldrums and periods of revival, sometimes it even suffers an eclipse. He stated that, in Morocco Sufism has been the predominant religious tradition throughout the last few centuries. The enemies of Islam, among them the Sufis and the Secularists from everywhere, had conspired together to plot against 'Authentic' Islam.⁵⁶ In spite of its weaknesses, Al-Sabti's study⁵⁷ is nonetheless a

⁵⁵ Al-Sabti (1993), 6-8.

⁵⁶ My personal conversation with Sheikh Dr 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Maghrāwī, in his house in Marrakesh, Morocco, on 8-8-2012.

useful starting point because of its impact on the tone and contents of later studies. Many of his core assumptions and arguments, as well as those of Al-Hilālī's students, have been adopted by other authors and have remained central to the discussions of Al-Hilālī as a Wahhābī-inspired Salafī. This current dissertation will present a critical examination of these assumptions and ideas.

Some studies devoting their attention to Al-Hilālī's life and thought,⁵⁸ show that Al-Hilālī was able to leave his mark on the Salafists in Saudi Arabia and in its Islamic universities. His success is attributable to his ability to inspire a respect unequalled by those who came after him from Morocco. *Shaykh* Abū 'Ubaydah, Mashhūr ibn Ḥasan al-Salmān (b. 1960), a student of *Shaykh* Muḥammad Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Albānī from Jordan, edited the Moroccan edition of Al-Hilālī's book *Sabīl al-Rashād fī hady khayr al-'ibād*⁵⁹ (The Path to Right-Mindedness) published in 1979-1980, consisting of three volumes. This book concentrates on the Quranic verses relating to *Tawḥīd*, divided into *Tawḥīd al-Rubūbiyya* (lordship), *Tawḥīd al-'ibāda* (worship) and *Tawḥīd al-Asmā' wa-l-Ṣifāt* (divine names and attributes). Al-Hilālī added a new type of *Tawḥīd* namely *Tawḥīd al-'ittibā'* (following both the Qur'an and the *Sunna*).⁶⁰ Mashhūr dedicated the first part of his first volume to Al-Hilālī's biography.

⁵⁷ Prof. Dr Belāfirjī, a student of Al-Hilālī, and a colleague of Al-Sabti in the University in Casablanca, argued during my personal conversation with him when he visited The Hague on 24 December 2011, that Al-Sabti's study is full with undocumented assumptions and misrepresentations of Al-Hilālī's thought.

⁵⁸ In his master's thesis "Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī juhūduhu fī al-Da'wa ilā Allah", Khalid al-Zahrānī from al-Madina University in Saudi Arabia, made an attempt to study Al-Hilālī's role in spreading the Salafīyya. He hinted that Al-Hilālī's priority was to pursue *Da'wa* and to represent Islam in its purest form. See Al-Zahrānī (2006). Just as Khālīd al-Zahrānī, the Saudi researcher 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umaysān, wrote his MA thesis on Al-Hilālī, as well. In his "Juhūdu Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn fī 'aqīdat as-salaf wa al-radd 'alā al-mukhālīfīn" he very briefly studied the life and thought of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and his role in calling people to the *madhhab as-salaf*, indicating that by doing so they would acquire a better grasp and a purer understanding of Islam. In Al-'Umaysān's view Al-Hilālī was able to be harsh enough to destroy the reputation of his opponents, among attacks by proving that the very basis of the *Tijaniyya* was false. See Al-'Umaysān (2008). In his Book *Min 'al'lām al-da'wa wa al-ḥaraka al-islāmiyya al-mu'āṣirā*, 'Abd Allah al-'Uqayl devotes 11 pages to the biography of Al-Hilālī. See Al-'Uqayl (2008).

⁵⁹ Al-Hilālī (2006), Vol.1. 381, 517.

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1. 26.

Mashhūr also edited an unpublished *Collection of Poems*,⁶¹ which he entitled *Minḥat al-Kabīr al-Muta‘ālī fī Diwān Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī* (The Gift of the Great and Transcendent [Allāh] in the *Diwan of Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī*). Mashhūr concludes that Al-Hilālī’s poetry was a weapon he used against polytheism and innovation, using it as a vehicle to criticize Sufi orders and misguided heretics.⁶² Mashhūr says it also represented an invitation to the *madhhab al-salaf* and a call to the unity of Creed, and of language. In this unpublished collection of poems, Al-Hilālī describes his travels to different countries and cities, recounting his suffering and patience in the face of adversity and his purpose, namely: to be able to guide people to the Straight Path.⁶³ Actually the collection of poems Mashhūr edited is incomplete. The original unpublished collection preserved in the family archive in Morocco consists of two volumes; and he only edited the first volume. Apparently, he was not aware of the existence of a second volume which covers the last two decades of Al-Hilālī’s life. The author succeeded in obtaining the first volume of the manuscript through the mediation of ‘Abd al-Ghānī, the grandson of Al-Hilālī. Interestingly, in the second unpublished volume, Al-Hilālī has used poetry as a vehicle of self-expression and to declare his adherence to the doctrine of ‘Authentic’ Islam, issuing a call for monotheism, and the return to the *Qur’ān* and *Sunna* which represent nothing but true Islam.

Henri Lauzière, of Georgetown University, might be the only one who has extensively studied the life and the thought of Al-Hilālī as part of the evolution of the Salafiyya in the twentieth century.⁶⁴ In his PhD thesis, Lauzière emphasizes Al-Hilālī’s life and thought in as far as they provide a valuable vantage point from which to examine the evolution of the Salafiyya in the twentieth century.⁶⁵ However, as he mentions, the principal focus of his dissertation is on the Salafiyya and is not intended to be a biography of Al-Hilālī.⁶⁶ The bulk of the biographical information in his study of Al-Hilālī is taken from Al-Hilālī’s autobiographical book *al-Da‘wa ‘ila Allāh* (The Call to Allāh), which he published in

⁶¹ Edited and published without the permission of al-Hilālī’s family. (My personal conversation with Al-Hilālī’s grandson ‘Abd al-Ghānī Muḥammad Būzakrī, in the Moroccan city of Meknes, on 11 August 2010). A book against Shaykh Abū ‘Ubayda was published in Meknes in 2012, see ‘Alī ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Gharbī, (2012), *Kashf mā janā bihī al-tujār al-fujār ‘alā kutub al-Hilālī al mikhyār*, Meknes.

⁶² Al-Hilālī (2010b), 26.

⁶³ Al-Hilālī (2010b), 58-65.

⁶⁴ Lauzière (2008).

⁶⁵ Lauzière (2008), 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Morocco in 1973 at the age of eighty-three.⁶⁷ A serious critical note to Henri Lauzière's study is that the author has reached some generalized conclusions solely on the basis of some of Al-Hilālī's published books. In a separate chapter, *The Salafiyya in the Postcolonial Era*, the author mentions Al-Hilālī's discomfort in Morocco and his return to Saudi Arabia, but does not deal with the last two decades of his life, namely: his time in Saudi Arabia and his return to Morocco, nor did he have access to Al-Hilālī's numerous unpublished works and private audio files. When discussing the relationship between Al-Hilālī and the Moroccan Islamic Movement, Lauzière quotes certain accusations against Al-Hilālī based on undocumented assumptions.⁶⁸ He states, for instance, that Al-Hilālī recruited Muḥammad Zuḥal (b.1943) on behalf of the Saudi Intelligence Service at a salary of 5,000 *Dirhams* a month, from an Internet site which teems with exaggerated claims,⁶⁹ as well as the assumption that Al-Hilālī even earned the nickname *Shaqī* (mischievous) al-Din instead of Taqī al-Dīn.⁷⁰

Lauzière makes the interesting remark that working together Al-Hilālī and Khan produced one of the most important tools for Islamic studies in the West, namely: *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran* which was so widely distributed at the time that Al-Hilālī became a household name in the West, especially in America and Britain.⁷¹ Lauzière mentions that Al-Hilālī accepted the more stringent Wahhābī opinion which obliges women to cover their face and hands. However, in a personal interview,⁷² one of his students, Al-Raysūnī (b.1943,), stressed that when he was still a lecturer in Saudi Arabia, Al-Hilālī did not agree with the covering of women's faces. This was a bone of contention with Ibn Bāz (the leading scholar in Saudi Arabia at the time) who believed it was compulsory. In an article, Al-Hilālī wrote that the duty of a woman was to wear the veil but not the *niqāb*. He regarded the latter as a virtue left to the free choice of the woman herself and there was no shame in exposing her face and hands. If she wears the headscarf, she does not violate Islamic law provided she does not expose her charms. Al-Raysūnī claims that the article written by his teacher, Taqī Al-Dīn Hilālī, was torn out, meaning that the pages about

⁶⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a) , 269-274 , in which, Al-Hilālī states: 'The dictation of this book was finished on Saturday (12 Rabī' al-Tānī 1391/1970) at my house in Medina (in Saudi Arabia).'

⁶⁸ Lauzière (2008), 370.

⁶⁹ www.achabibah.com, accessed 12-01-2013

⁷⁰ Lauzière (2008), 371.

⁷¹ As quoted in Lauzière (2008), 356.

⁷² My personal conversation with Shaykh al-Raysūnī 9 August 2011 in his house in Marrakesh in the Moroccan city of Chefchaouen, on 9-8-2011.

the veil were cut out of the edition of the journal which was printed in Medina.⁷³ Apparently Ibn Bāz had not paid any attention to it before the final version of magazine was printed. However, when he found out that Al-Hilālī had written that covering the woman's face was not compulsory he ordered all the pages of the article be cut out with scissors. This made Al-Hilālī go to the chancellor, 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Bāz, asking him about what had happened as the article had been removed from that international Islamic University magazine in al-Medina.⁷⁴ This difference in opinions caused ruptures in the relationship between Al-Hilālī and the Saudi religious establishment. This contention, as his grandson and his students informed the author,⁷⁵ was the main reason behind Al-Hilālī's departure of from Saudi Arabia in the year 1974. Because of his lack of primary sources about Al-Hilālī, Lauzière mentions that the reason of his departure from Saudi Arabia was obscure and left a number of questions unanswered.⁷⁶

Lauzière's primary sources include Al-Hilālī's published religious writings, his journalistic work, plus a variety of other Salafī materials.⁷⁷ Lauzière correctly concludes that it was difficult to determine to which type of Salafism Al-Hilālī belonged as he was obviously a modernist in some respects and purist in others.⁷⁸ The purpose of this dissertation is to detail Al-Hilālī's profile more sharply. There is a vital need for such a study as I have also noticed that in some *fatwas* Al-Hilālī do indeed reveal that paradoxically he was a modernist in some and a purist Salafī in others.

For his PhD research on Ridā's works,⁷⁹ Umar Ryad also managed to gain access to Al-Hilālī's archive in Morocco.⁸⁰ More recently, he has written a chapter on Al-Hilālī's life in

⁷³ Al-Hilālī, "Radd," 1974, 1-32.

⁷⁴ Personal conversation with Sheikh al-Raysūnī 9 August 2011 at his house in the city of Chefchaouen , Morocco, on 9-8-2011.

⁷⁵ Personal conversation with Al-Hilālī's grandson 'Abd al-Ghānī Muḥammad Būzakrī , in the Moroccan city of Meknes , on 11 aug 2010, and confirmed during a personal conversation with Al-Hilālī's student al-Dar'awī, in the Moroccan city of Meknes , on 11 aug 2011

⁷⁶ Lauzière (2008), 365-366.

⁷⁷ Lauzière (2008), 8.

⁷⁸ Lauzière (2008), 28.

⁷⁹ Ryad (2008).

⁸⁰ I express my thanks to Dr Umar Ryad, who introduced me to Al-Hilālī's family, Mr Abdel-Ghanī Bū Zakrī, the grandson of Al-Hilālī, and Dr Muḥammad al-Dar'āoui of the University of Meknes, one of Al-Hilālī's students, for their generosity and hospitable reception during my stay in Morocco.

Germany in the book *Islam in Interwar Europe*. The title of Ryad's chapter is: *A Salafi student, Orientalist scholarship, and Radio Berlin in Nazi Germany: Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and his experiences in the West*. In this chapter, among other topics, Ryad talks about Al-Hilālī's co-operation with Orientalists, especially the well-known German Orientalist Paul Kahle (1875-1964). Ryad ends his chapter with Al-Hilālī's role in Nazi propaganda. In this, he discusses radio as an anti-colonial weapon and Al-Hilālī's anti-communism. He refers to the sermons on *Jihād*, the Berber *Dhahīr* and Arab chivalry which Al-Hilālī broadcast in 1939.⁸¹

Research Question, Focus and Sources

The purpose of the present study is to sharpen our understanding of Al-Hilālī's religious profile as it evolved throughout the various periods of his life, especially in those of his writings which were directed to larger audiences, concentrating in particular on his *fatwas* which often took the form of public debates and polemics. Several of these smaller publications have gone through a series of reprints and enjoyed wide, international distribution, occasionally subsidized by rich friends or the Saudi government. Any study of these primary sources and many other contemporary printed materials can occasionally be deepened by the consultation of unpublished documents from Al-Hilālī's private archive in Morocco, and by personal interviews with Al-Hilālī's grandson and with his most influential Moroccan students who are still alive, now members of the older generation.

This study will be divided into nine chapters. Apart from this introductory chapter, which offer some overall remarks, the other nine chapters are divided as follows. The *first chapter* (Early years in Morocco. Studies and Conversion to Salafism , 1900- 1921) offers a brief sketch of the formative period of *Al-Hilālī's* convictions. This chapter pays special attention to the debate which Al-Hilālī had with Muhammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī (d.1964), which represented the turning-point in his religious life. Actually, the latter convinced him that the doctrinal foundation of the Tijaniyya Order was mere falsehood. Muhammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī challenged Al-Hilālī to defend the fact that Aḥmad al-Tijānī, the founder of the Order, had really met the Prophet. In his book *al-Hadiyya al-Hādiyya ilā al-Ṭā’ifa al-Tijāniyya* (The Guiding Gift to the Tijaniyya Order), Al-Hilālī also traces his decision to turn his back to Sufism on a vision of the Prophet whom, he claimed, he had seen

⁸¹ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 136-137.

twice in his dreams. In Al-Hilālī's eyes, these visions of the Prophet were a central theme in his both acceptance of Salafism and repudiation of Sufism.

In the *second chapter* (Egypt, India, Iraq and Arabia, 1921-1927: Early Polemics with Sufism and Shiism), Al-Hilālī's attitudes will be examined in the light of his early missionary work in Egypt and elsewhere. This chapter is dedicated to his debate with 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Kāzimī (1871-1935) and Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī (1855-1939). Al-Hilālī composed his answers to Al-Qazwīnī in the form of a booklet entitled *al-Qāḍī al-'adl fī ḥukm al-bina' 'ala al-qubūr*, which was published in Cairo in 1927 at the request of Rashīd Riḍā. In Arabia, Al-Hilālī re-edited his booklet of the same title on the 25 August 1927. This chapter will discuss the differences between the first version published in Egypt and this second published in Arabia. In Al-Hilālī's own words, he used a moderate (*layyina*) language in the first version, whereas in the version published in Arabia he used a harsher language (*khashina*) because, as he said, in Arabia there was no need to worry about how the Shi'a in Iraq would react. In Saudi Arabia, in the period between 1927 and 1930, Al-Hilālī acted, among other offices, as an expert advisor to the Wahhābīs in matters concerning the Shia and mysticism, as well as in scientific matters, namely: the issue of whether the Earth was round or flat. In the 1920s, the differences in the religious points of views between the 'ulama' of the Najd who were following the *madhhab* of Imam Ibn Ḥanbal and Al-Hilālī who saw himself as an independent scholar was already in evidence.

Chapter Three (India, Afghanistan and Iraq, 1930-1936 : Polemics against the Aḥmadiyya and against the *niqāb*) deals with the first steps in Al-Hilālī's international preaching. In 1932, at the request of Mr Sulayman al-Nadawī (d.1953), Al-Hilālī established an Arabic journal named *al-Diyā'* (the brightness) which became a channel through which he could preach his Islamic views. Incidentally, the foundation of this journal allowed him to put into practice some of the religious convictions to which he had adhered to before his conversion to 'Authentic' Islam. For instance, he openly stated that shaving the beard was not a sin and that the covering of a woman's face was not compulsory. All this resulted in his temporary dismissal from the *Nadwat al-'Ulamā'*. During the time he spent in India, he also learned English from a Christian missionary, as he had realized that learning a foreign language would be of great importance in defending his faith. In this chapter, Al-Hilālī's evolving ideas about the Qadyāniyya sect and its growing success will be discussed. Special attention will be paid to his *fatwa* entitled *Al-Isfār 'an al-ḥaqq fī mas'alat al-sufūr wa-l-ḥijāb* (*Uncovering the truth about covering and uncovering the hands and the face*).

Chapter Four (Germany, 1936-1942: Propagating ‘Authentic’ Islam and Combatting Colonialism from Europe) focuses on the *fatwas* he issued during his time in Germany. Special attention will be devoted to the approximately thirty-five addresses (in Arabic), Al-Hilālī gave on Radio Berlin in the period 1939 to 1941. His principal goal was to illustrate the crimes of French, British and Jewish colonial powers and to preach *jihād* against them.

Chapter Five (Spanish Morocco, 1942-1947: First Confrontations with Moroccan Scholars and the Issue of Shaving the Beard), begins with a discussion of the reason for Al-Hilālī’s departure from Germany in 1942 and his vicissitudes in Spanish Morocco. Besides the confrontation Al-Hilālī had with Spain, this chapter also discusses his conflicts with many Moroccan scholars, among them Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1902-1962) arising from three main issues: his open rejection of the Malīkī School, his sharp criticism of Sufism and the *fatwa* he issued on the permissibility of shaving the beard. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1902-1962) wondered how Al-Hilālī could pretend to implement the *Sunna* when he believed that shaving the beard was not compulsory. Consequently a large part of this chapter will be devoted to Al-Hilālī’s *fatwa* on the ruling of Islām about shaving the beard, in which he argued that a Muslim’s refusal to grow a beard represents a major sin.

Chapter Six discusses Al-Hilālī’s time in Iraq, where he had settled from 1947 to 1959. Al-Hilālī studied Western works and exploited them in his writings. His very motivation in using such studies was also to fulfil his aim of *da‘wā* (Islamic mission) and to use them as a tool in a ‘counter attack’ against non-Muslims. For instance, some Moroccan students from the University of Granada in Spain, who were complaining about the offensive some Christian professors had launched against Islam and Moroccans, requested Al-Hilālī provide them with arguments which could be used to refute them. In response, Al-Hilālī translated and commented on the booklet by the American polymath and atheist Joseph McCabe (1867- 1955), *The Moorish Civilization in Spain*, a rather superficial pamphlet containing many sweeping statements in support of the Arab civilization in Spain and repudiating Christianity, which served Al-Hilālī’s purpose very well. His Arabic version of the booklet was published in Iraq in December 1949 with the help of a friend. It is the main subject of this chapter.

Chapter Seven (Post-Independence Morocco, 1960-1968: Polemics against the Bahā’īs) shows how Al-Hilālī was able to lead an active intellectual and religious life in Morocco after Independence. Often, however, his religious activities, especially those in Meknes, turned out to be controversial. He actually found himself in trouble with ordinary

Muslims because he of his vehement attacks on the Sufi orders, as well as being in hot water with the local authorities, as he never let up on his challenges to the official jurisprudential and theological schools of thought, namely the Malīkīte School and the Asharite Creed. Despite such clashes, Al-Hilālī's political life was not as active as his intellectual or religious pursuits. During this period, Al-Hilālī became involved in a discussion about the affair of the Baha'īs in Morocco. His ensuing *fatwa*, *Ḥukm al-murtadd fī al-Islām* (The Ruling on the Apostate in Islam), which will be discussed in detail within the wider context of contemporary Moroccan history.

In *Chapter Eight*, the extent to which Al-Hilālī's religious profile was affected by his time in Saudi Arabia will be examined and assessed. In this chapter, his difference in views with the Saudi religious establishment will be discussed. As will be shown, Al-Hilālī did not accept the more stringent Wahhabi opinion which obliges women to cover their face and hands. This chapter also discusses Al-Hilālī's very successful *fatwa* entitled *al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* (The Evangelical Proofs that Jesus Is a Human Being and Has No Share in Divinity). Al-Hilālī was interested in providing irrefutable arguments to challenge Christians, showing that they were wrong and must be recognized as infidels because they attribute a divine status to a prophet.

Chapter Nine (The Final phase, Morocco 1974-1987: The unpublished collection of *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliya*). In September 1976, Al-Hilālī finished his unpublished collection of *fatwas* entitled *al-'Uyūn al-Zilāliyya fī Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliya* (The Albuminous Water Sources of the Hilalian *Fatwas*) which he had commenced sixteen years earlier, in 1960. In the present, concluding chapter, we shall discuss the scope of this work: the kind of people who were asking the questions and Al-Hilālī's methodology. Finally, I have selected one *fatwa* of special historical interest for a somewhat detailed discussion. This *fatwa* is related to the question of whether Muslims are allowed to live in the non-Muslim world. This is an issue Al-Hilālī addressed at various intervals during his long and fruitful life, for the first time in 1938, from Germany (see Chapter 4). He allowed Muslims to live in Europe, but prohibited them to apply for citizenship of non-Muslim countries, as this would involve them having to declare their loyalty to a non-Muslim country and require them to abide by its (non-Islamic) laws. We compare Al-Hilālī's views with the convictions of two prominent Saudi muftis on the same issue.

Our study ends with Conclusions, in which we hope to present, in accordance with the main purpose of our research, a survey of the religious convictions characteristic of Al-Hilālī's interpretation of his 'Authentic' Islam gauged from the sources we have studied.

1. Early Years in Morocco (1900- 1921): Studies and Conversion to Salafism

1.1. Early years in Morocco

Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī was born in Sijilmāsa, in the Tafilālt region of southeastern Morocco in 1894. Al-Hilālī claimed to be a descendant of Al-Ḥusain ibn ‘Alī - the grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad. As his name would indicate, Al-Hilālī’s origins could be traced back to the Banū Hilāl, one of the armed Arab tribes which migrated to North Africa in the ninth century, in the reign of the Faṭimid Caliph al-Muntaṣir, to help him quash the revolutionary forces threatening his authority. According to ancient tradition, one member of the Al-Hilālī family had travelled from the city of Qayrawān in the south of Tunisia to southern Morocco, where he made his home.¹ Al-Hilālī himself stated that he belonged to a family of *fuqahā*’ (religious scholars), his great-grandfather Al-Ṭayyib al-Hilālī, his grandfather Muḥammad Al-Hilālī and his father ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Hilālī were all well-known *faqīhs* but they were Sufis and had no knowledge of the *Sunna* of the Prophet.² Al-Hilālī describes his youth, taking a particularly critical view of the condition of religious life at the time, as follows:

I grew up in the region of Sijilmāsa and I memorized the *Qur’ān* when I was twelve years old. The people of my city were fervent followers of the Sufi Orders, one could hardly find anyone, be he a scholar or uneducated, who did not adhere to [one of] the Sufi brotherhoods. The disciples of those orders loved their *Shaykh* so deeply they would call on him for help in times of adversity and take recourse to him against calamities, and were unremitting in their praise of him. If good befell them, they would praise him for that; but were adversity to touch them, they would accuse themselves of not loving their Master truly and of the slackness of their adherence to the brotherhood, without even giving a thought to the fact that anything either in Heaven or on Earth was beyond [the powers of] their Master. In their eyes, the latter was able to do all things. Al-Hilālī emphasized that the people often repeated the saying: ‘He who does not have a *Shaykh*, will have the Satan for his *Shaykh*.’³

¹ Al-Majdhūb (1977), 183.

² Ibid.

³ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 7.

In Morocco the Tijaniyya Sufi orders can be divided into two groups. One group into which are recruited only the *shurafā'* (nobles) and the educated people, and another whose members are drawn from the populace in general.⁴ Al-Hilālī was rather fascinated by the first group. He had often heard his father say: 'I would have been a member of the Tijāniyya Order, if the latter did not prohibit visiting the shrines of all saints except that of the Messenger of Allāh (peace be upon him!), those of the Companions and the shrine of Shaykh Al-Tijānī and those of the of Tijani saints.'⁵ Expounding on this he said, he could not renounce visiting the shrine of his grandfather, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Hilālī, who was also a famous saint whose shrine, situated in the eastern part of southern Morocco, was visited regularly by people.⁶ Had this not been the case, he would have been happy to receive the Tijānī *wird*⁷ from the *muqaddam* (representative of the order).⁸ Al-Hilālī's own desire to receive the Tijānī *wird* was also very highly motivated and hence, when he reached puberty, he went to the *muqaddam* to ask him for the Tijānī *wird*. The representative of the order also gave him the *wazīfah* (the daily office: a similar formulaic prayer which is chanted in group).⁹ It should be noted that within al-

⁴ This statement is based on my own experience, as my father was *muqaddam* of the *Tijaniyya* (representative of the order in Tafilalt in southern Morocco, from 1960-1987).

⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 7.

⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 8.

⁷ The specific religious litany of the Tijaniyya Order repeated twice daily by its members, consisting of phrases from the Qur'ān, supplications and the like. The *wird* is as follows: *lā ilāha illā Allah* (there is no God save Allah), to be repeated a hundred times; *istiğfār* (the formula for beseeching the forgiveness of Allah), to be repeated a hundred times; *taṣliya* or saying prayers to honour the Prophet (peace be upon him), to be repeated a hundred times. Any form of the variants of the salutation is acceptable; but the *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* (Prayer of the Opener) is the best. The latter begins as follows : O Allah! Bless our Master Muḥammad (pbuh) who opened what had been closed ... etc. See Al-Hilālī (2005b), 9.

⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 8.

⁹ The *wazīfah* is made up of the following elements: (1) reciting the formula of penitence, *Astagfiru Allah al-'Azim alladhi lā Ilāha illā huwa al-ḥayy al-qayyūm*" (I ask Allah for forgiveness, no one has the right to be worshipped but He, the Ever Living, the One Who sustains and protects all that exists) thirty times. (2) Reciting *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* (Prayer of the Opener) fifty times. (3) Reciting *lā ilāha illā Allah* (there is no God save Allah) a hundred times. (4) Reciting *Jawharat al-Kamāl* twelve times. This supplication opens with the following words: 'O Allah, send benediction upon and salute the source of divine mercy...' However, one must not recite *Jawharat al-Kamāl* without having performed the ritual cleansing with water, not with dry earth (*tayammum*) . He who cannot perform ablutions with water, should recite *Ṣalātu l-Fātiḥ* in place of *Jawharat al-Kamāl*, twenty times . The reason ablution with water is compulsory while reciting this prayer is the common belief according

Tijāniyya only the word *muqaddam* (representative) not *shaykh* is used, because Shaykh Al-Tijānī forbade anyone else to become the master in the order. Were anyone else to be entitled to use the title of *shaykh* would have meant that that person could have changed the litanies of the order and made alterations to its foundationary principles. This would be completely unthinkable, because, in the view of Al-Tijānī, the founder of this religious brotherhood had been the Prophet himself, who had taught Shaykh Al-Tijani all the teachings necessary to this order. Most cogently, this revelation had occurred while the latter was awake and not in a vision. Therefore, the first disciple of this order was Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Tijānī himself and it was the Prophet who had endowed him with sainthood. All those who had propagated the order or taught its litanies and the daily office were merely his representatives. Therefore, the order had one single source and one single Master and it was impermissible that it should have more than one source or more than one Master as is clearly stated in the literature of the Tijāniyya Brotherhood.¹⁰

Al-Hilālī himself stated that he performed the litanies twice daily, once in the morning and once in the evening, in the state of religious purity required before performing the prayers. He would sit down while reciting his litanies, closing his eyes and imagining the figure of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī. The Tijanis believe that the *shaykh* was a white man, whose face had taken on a reddish hue, with a white beard¹¹. Each Tijani had to imagine that a beam of light emanated from the Shaykh's heart and pierced their own hearts. Furthermore, there was one more invocation which had to be recited a thousand times every Friday, precisely before sunset, namely: the formula *lā ilāha illā Allāh*.¹² Al-Hilālī continued to recite this *wird* in all sincerity, took part in the daily office (*wazīfa*), hereby abiding by the rules set up by the Tijani community and remained a member of the Tijaniyya for some nine years.¹³

In 1915, (when he was twenty-one years old), Al-Hilālī crossed the border into Algeria, settling in the city of Berkān, where he made his living as a junior *imam*. In that period, as he was travelling about the country a series of unusual experiences caused him to

to which the Prophet, peace be upon him, and the four orthodox Caliphs attended its recitation and remained there as long as it was recited. See Al-Hilālī (2005b), 9.

¹⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 9.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

doubt his Sufi convictions for the first time.¹⁴ Once, when he was in Algeria with a companion, the latter asked him to take care of his camel. While he was taking his afternoon nap in one of the tents in the desert, the head-stall of the camel loosened and it run away into the wilderness. Each time Al-Hilālī tried to recapture it, the camel would wait until he had almost caught it and then would run away again. It was extremely hot as it was the height of noon. Al-Hilālī sincerely began to ask his *Shaykh* to help him catch the camel; but in vain. In fact, he blamed himself for the fact that the *Shaykh* did not respond to his invocations and accused himself of insincerity and laziness. Al-Hilālī stated resolutely that he had not accused the *Shaykh* of being unable to help him fulfil his task.¹⁵

Against the advice of the Tijani scholars not to read anything about Sufism except their own books, Al-Hilālī had seized the chance to read the first volume of Al-Ghazālī's work *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of Religious Sciences). This book reawakened his interest in Sufism and he began to make great efforts to pray more often and with more dedication. It was now he began observing the night prayer, even when it was intensely cold. In this period he had an unusual experience, which he described as follows. Once, while he was praying beside his small tent at night, he suddenly saw a white cloud which filled the horizon like a high mountain. This white cloud began to move closer towards him from the East - the direction towards which the Muslims in both Algeria and Morocco should pray - until it came to a halt far away from him. Then, a person emerged from that cloud; this person walked until he came close to him when he began to join Al-Hilālī in prayer. His clothes were like those of a young girl; yet, because of the utter darkness, Al-Hilālī could not see his face properly. When the stranger began to lead him in prayer, he was utterly terrified to the point that he could not recite the *Qur'ān*, despite the fact that he had memorized it perfectly. The man prayed with him six *raka'āt* (units of prayer). Al-Hilālī did not want to talk to him because the literature of the order advised its brethren not to become engaged in anything which might happen to them until they should have reached a state of divine receptivity when the veils would be removed from their eyes and they would have access to the world of the Unseen¹⁶.

A few days later al-Hilālī saw the Prophet in a dream. He took his hand and entreated him: 'O Messenger of Allāh, show me the path to Allāh.' He was told: 'Acquire knowledge.' Al-Hilālī was perfectly well aware that he was in Algeria which was a French colony at that

¹⁴ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 9. See Also, Lauzière (2008), 88-89.

¹⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 9.

¹⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 11.

time. He recalled that the scholars of the region of Tafilālt used to accuse anyone who travelled to Algeria of unbelief; they even went as far as to order him to perform *ghusl* (the full ritual washing of his body) and embrace Islam once again when he came back. They also commanded him to make a new marriage contract with his wife.¹⁷ Al-Hilālī stated:

This was the Messenger of Allāh, peace be upon him, advising me to seek knowledge, while I was living in a country ruled by Christians. I might be either a sinner or an infidel. So how might I seek knowledge there? So I asked him: ‘Should I seek knowledge in a Muslim or in a Christian country?’ He told me: ‘The whole world belongs to Allāh.’ After which I entreated him: ‘O Messenger of Allāh, pray for me to die as a believer.’ The Messenger of Allāh raised his index finger to the sky and said to me: ‘That is with Allāh.’¹⁸

Al-Hilālī himself asserted that these instructions made such an impression on him, he followed them very closely for the rest of his life. The influence of this experience might, for instance, be traced in Al-Hilālī’s later favourable views about migrating to or settling in a non-Muslim land, a viewpoint which distanced him from his much stricter colleagues of Wahhābī orientation.¹⁹

However, since the Prophet had not condemned his affiliation with the Tijaniyya, the thought of abandoning Sufism never occurred to him. In Al-Hilālī’s mind, leaving his *ṭarīqa* was still tantamount to leaving Islam.²⁰ Therefore Al-Hilālī’s religious profile remained unchanged and continued to revolve around Sufism. He admits in his own words that: ‘He was caught up in a reckless disregard and in absolute error. He would even have considered leaving the Tijāniyyah Order as apostasy; which was the reason he had never imagined budging an inch away from this religious community.’²¹

Al-Hilālī’s teacher in this period was the local Algerian scholar Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb Allāh al-Shanqīṭī (d.1918), with whom he studied for at least three years. During this period, Al-Hilālī applied himself to studying Malīkīte jurisprudence and Arabic grammar. He also

¹⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 13-14

¹⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 14.

¹⁹ See our discussion of Al-Hilālī’s view on this matter in Chapter 9 of this dissertation.

²⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 31; Lauzière (2008), 92.

²¹ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 31.

developed his teaching skills, as he was frequently asked to stand in for Al-Shanqīṭī. Two years later, in 1921, he was given the opportunity to move back to his native country when Aḥmed Ibn al-Hājj Al-‘Āyyashī Skirij (1877-1944), a fellow Tijani and chief *qāḍī* (judge) of the city of Oujda, asked him to teach his son Arabic literature.

In Fes, he enrolled himself in al-Qarawiyyīn University. It was also in Fes, in November 1921, that Al-Hilālī had a discussion with the enlightened man of learning and Sufi leader ‘Abd Al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (1884-1962), whom he had actually met earlier in Oujda.²² This scholar criticized the Tijāniyya Order and told Al-Hilālī that, ‘The foundations of the Tijāniyya Order are teetering on the brink of a precipice; therefore, no sane man should never be one of its disciples.’ Al-Kattānī accused the Sufi orders of falsehood and of being a thoroughly fraudulent industry, manipulating to consume the people's wealth unlawfully and enslave them.²³ Al-Kattānī added that he had not founded the order of which he himself was in charge (the Kattaniyya Order). It had been founded by somebody else. Moreover, he spent the money he was taking from his disciples to promote various social interests and he knew that other people would never have done what he did.²⁴ In his discussion of Al-Kattānī, Al-Hilālī mentioned that the former had even added that half of the book on which the Tijanī Order was founded, namely the *Jawāhir al-Ma‘ānī* (Jewels of Meanings), ‘...and which you claim your Master had dictated to ‘Ali Ḥarāzīm had been plagiarized and that the true author of this book was Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘an al-Andalusī (d. 1778), who is buried in Fes.’²⁵ Al-Hilālī said that when he compared the two books himself, he had discovered that the first

²² ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī was a famous Islamic scholar with a modernist vision and mission. He called for the foundation of a House of Representatives (Parliament) and a constitution in which the tasks of the king and other governmental institutions would be delineated. The most influential event in the life of this scholar was the death of his brother while in confinement. This can be seen in his book *Ma ‘Aliqa fī al-Bāl min ‘Ayyām al-‘Iṭiqāl*; ‘What was kept in mind from the days of imprisonment’. In 1954, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, as the head of the religious brotherhood of the Kattaniyya, plotted with Pasha Thami Al-Glāouī, sometimes known in English-speaking countries as the Lord of the Atlas, to depose King Moḥammed V and replace him with a substitute ‘Alaouite, Ben Arafā. Later, he became the object of an enormous hostile propaganda campaign, alleging that he was a spy and loyal to the French, etcetera. In 1962, he passed away in exile in the city of Nice in France. See Al-Kattānī (2013), 102.

²³ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 18. See also Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 32.

²⁴ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 32.

²⁵ Ibid.

volume of the *Jewels of Meanings* was indeed a complete plagiarism.²⁶

1.2. Conversion to Salafism

Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī (d.1964) was employed as a judge in Fes and Al-Hilālī avoided meeting him because the judge despised Aḥmad al-Tijānī and spoke evil of his order. However, a bookseller by the name of *Shaykh* ‘Umar ibn al- Khayyāṭ told al-Hilālī that he would forgo an enormous store of knowledge were he not to meet Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī. He stated categorically that, if Al-Hilālī was truly seeking knowledge, he had to be sufficiently tolerant to be able to meet people from different backgrounds. Were he to do so, he would expand his knowledge. Nevertheless, he should not imitate them blindly in all they claimed; on the contrary, he should accept what seemed to be plausible and refute what was nonsense.²⁷ Eventually, *Shaykh* ‘Umar ibn al- Khayyāṭ convinced Al-Hilālī to meet Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī at his home in Fes. During that meeting, Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī and some of his friends engaged in a discussion about the Kattaniyya and the Tijaniyya Orders, mocking their disciples. Consequently, Al-Hilālī was subjected to precisely what he had wanted to avoid, namely: being forced to speak ill of the Tijaniyya Order²⁸. Aḥmad Al-Tijānī had claimed that the Prophet had told him while he was awake (not in a vision) to order his disciples not to keep company with those who despised him because, by so doing they would harm him, the Prophet.²⁹ The upshot was that Al-Hilālī felt depressed. As a disciple of the Tijaniyya and bound to follow the orders of his *Shaykh*, it was impermissible for him to take part in a gathering at which people spoke ill of Aḥmad Al-Tijānī.³⁰

It was on this occasion that Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī confessed to Al-Hilālī that he, too, had once belonged to the Tijaniyya; but he had left it he realized that it was worthless.³¹ He

²⁶ Ibid. On this issue it is worthy to note that one of the most influential figures in the Tijani Order, Aḥmed Ibn al-Hāj al-‘Āyyāshī Skirij (1877-1944), who has admitted in his book, *Tījān al ghawānī fī sharḥ jawāhir al - ma ‘ānī* (Crowns of Female Singers: Commentary on the Gems of Indications), the fact that nearly one- third of *Al-Jawāhir*, had been taken from *Al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*. See Al-Qādirī (1932). About the issue of plagiarism see further Loimeier (1997).

²⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 19-20. See also Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1 33.

²⁸ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 33.

²⁹ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 22-23.

³⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 22-23. See also Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 33.

³¹ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 33.

challenged al-Hilālī to a theological debate (*munāẓara*) about the soundness of his beliefs. Al-Hilālī later wrote that he was torn between abiding by his order in ignorance and imitation or accepting the challenge of the debate, thereby following the path of the great scholars who espoused dialectical reasoning. He chose the latter path and eventually embraced the principles of the Salafiyya. The first in what was to be a series of debates occurred on 12 November 1921.³²

The debate

The arguments Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī put forward all revolved around one single question, which lies at the core of the Tijaniyya’s legitimacy namely: did the Prophet truly appear to Aḥmad al-Tijānī while the latter was awake rather than asleep?³³ (To understand the significance of this issue, it is important to bear in mind that the Tijaniyya, unlike other Sufi brotherhoods, believe that Aḥmad al-Tijānī obtained his mystical knowledge in 1782 through appearance vision of the Prophet which supposedly occurred when he was *yaqẓatan*, namely: while he was awake.³⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī told Al-Hilālī:

I want to debate one single issue with you. If you can prove its veracity, the foundations of the Tijāniyya Order will not collapse. [This single issue is] ...the claim that Al-Tijani met the Prophet, peace be upon him, while awake and hence not in a vision, and has received from him the teachings of this order. Therefore, if this meeting can be proven, you are right and I am wrong. Turning back to the Truth is indeed right. If, however, his claim proves to be falsehood, then I am right and you are wrong, and you are the one who should reject falsehood and abide by the Truth. Then he asked Al-Hilālī: ‘Do you want to begin the debate or would you prefer that I commence it?’ The latter said to him: ‘Go ahead.’ He then told Al-Hilālī: ‘Indeed I do have arguments aplenty. Each one of these is sufficient to show that the claim of Al-Tijānī is actually false.’³⁵

The *first argument* with which Al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī confronted Al-Hilālī was that of the conflict arising from the succession to the Prophet which set the Meccans against the

³² Al-Hilālī (2005b), 20. See Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 30.

³³ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 24. See also Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 33.

³⁴ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 31.

³⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 24.

Medinans in 632. Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī stated that the conflict between the two groups reached such proportions it prevented them from burying the Prophet. Indeed, the Prophet remained unburied for three days. This led Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī to wonder why it was that the Prophet did not appear to the Companions to help them resolve the conflict by choosing his successor himself? How could he have left this big issue undecided? Truly, if the Prophet had spoken to any person in a normal state of wakefulness after his death, he certainly would have spoken to his Companions and made peace among them. This would have been far more important than appearing to the Shaykh al-Tijānī after 1,200 years. And why did he appear? To tell him that he was saved and that whomsoever received his word would enter Paradise without having to account for himself, in the company of his father, sons and wife, but with the exception of his grandchildren. How could the Prophet choose not to appear while they were awake and talk to the best people he had left behind him about very important issues, whereas he was prepared meet somebody was not the equal of the Companions in merit, only to talk to him about unimportant matters?³⁶ Al-Hilālī countered this by stating that Aḥmad had answered this objection during his own lifetime by stating that during his lifetime the Prophet was in the habit of meeting specific people for special reasons, and common people for general matters. After his death, however, meeting the common people for general matters had been interrupted but the meeting of specific people for specific reasons had continued. Therefore the *Shaykh* must have belonged to the latter category.³⁷ Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī rejected this claim which implied that the Sharī‘a might be divided up into general and specific matters. He firmly stated that there were only five categories of rules (*aḥkām*) in Islamic Law. If these litanies of the Tijaniyya were indeed part of the Islamic practice, they should either be compulsory or recommended, because they were said to be an act for which Allāh had designated a reward. However, the Prophet had taught his community all the obligatory and recommended acts before he died.³⁸ Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī went on to argue by adducing the *ḥadīth*,³⁹ according to which ‘Alī had been asked: ‘Has the Messenger of Allāh given you, o family of the Prophet, something apart from the *Qur’ān*?’ Ali had replied: ‘I swear by the One who causes the seed of grain to burst and sprout and the One who has created mankind, the Prophet did not favour us with anything [extra], except for the power of

³⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 26. See Also Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 34.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (3461).

understanding what has been bestowed (by Allāh) upon the Muslims (written) in this sheet.’ When they opened it, they found out that it contained writings related to the blood money to be paid by the killer to the relatives of the victim, the ransom for the releasing of captives from the hands of their enemies and the rule that no Muslim should be killed in *qiṣāṣ* (retribution) for the killing of an infidel. So, why was it that, whereas the Prophet did not favour his family and his successors with anything, meanwhile he would distinguish a man living towards the End of Time with something which contradicted the teachings of the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*?⁴⁰

The *second argument* put forward by Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī hinged on the discussion between Abu Bakr and Fatima about her inheritance and whether she should have received some share in the legacy of her father, the Prophet. Surely, the situation of a beloved relative of the Prophet who felt that she had been deprived of her inheritance⁴¹ and had felt angry about this issue for six months after the death of her father (the Prophet),⁴² would normally have seriously troubled the thoughts of the Prophet. If he were to appear to anybody after his death for one reason or another, he would certainly have appeared to Abu Bakr to tell him: ‘No longer observe the statement I made during my lifetime; so give her her share of the inheritance’, or he would have appeared to Fatima to say to her: ‘O, my daughter, do not be angry with Abu Bakr; he has not done anything wrong, he has merely complied with my commands.’⁴³

The *third argument* adduced was that the Prophet could have also appeared at the Battle of al-Jamal, in Basra in 656 CE, to prevent the internecine conflict⁴⁴ and bloodshed in which many Companions and Successors were killed, even though just one word from him would have been enough to prevent the slaughter.⁴⁵ Yet, the Prophet did not do this.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 27.

⁴¹ According to Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Abu Bakr had answered her that the Messenger of Allah had said: ‘We Prophets leave no inheritance, what we leave behind us is a voluntary charity.’ See Al-Bukhārī (2926), Muslim (1757).

⁴² According to Al-Bukhārī, the Prophet had clearly stated: ‘I can entrust neither my wealth nor myself to anybody except Abu Bakr.’ See Al-Bukhārī, (3454).

⁴³ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 27. See Also Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 35.

⁴⁴ This concerns the conflicts which took place between Ṭalha, Az-Zubayr and ‘Ā’isha, on the one hand, and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib on the other hand.

⁴⁵ Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī refers here to *Sūrat al-Tawba* (The Repentance) about the Prophet’s mercy for and pity on the believers, and his sorrow about the hardships that might afflict Muslims. Allah, May

The *fourth argument* which *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī used was based on the Prophet’s possible appearance in a vision to the leader of the Kharijites in broad daylight to order him to obey ‘Alī and thereby to prevent bloodshed. Yet again, such a vision never took place.⁴⁷

The *fifth argument* was in the form of a question which *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī posed to Al-Hilālī asking why the Prophet did not appear in a vision to intervene in the dispute which erupted between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah at a time at which the unity of the *umma* was clearly at stake. Ibn al-‘Arabī wondered how the Prophet could have refrained from appearing to the best of people after him, at a juncture at which his appearance would have been of enormous importance since it would have unified the Muslims and settled all matters of litigation among them. Furthermore, it would also have prevented that terrible bloodshed, especially when it is remembered that the Prophet is the one who best exemplifies the teaching of the *Qur’ān* which says: ‘The believers are nothing more nor less than brothers.’⁴⁸ So reconcile yourself with your brothers.’⁴⁹ Despite all these omissions the Prophet was supposed to have appeared to *Shaykh* Al-Tijānī towards the End of Time for the sake of a matter of trifling importance.⁵⁰

In each of the points he raised, *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī suggested that it would have been illogical for the Prophet to appear in broad daylight to Aḥmad al-Tijānī as he had never appeared thus in these afore-mentioned cases which were of far greater import.⁵¹ Throughout the debate, these arguments increasingly astonished Al-Hilālī. Each time Al-Hilālī answered that the fact that the Prophet had appeared and talked to *Shaykh* al-Tijānī was no more and no less than a reward of Allāh. Al-Hilālī himself admitted that such an event was irrational because it contradicted the text of the *Qur’ān* and the records of the *Sunna*. Nevertheless, despite the fact that he could not provide Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Arabī with a

He Be Exalted says: ‘Verily, there has come to you a Messenger (Muḥammad) from amongst yourselves (who you know well). It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty. He (Muhammad) is anxious about you; for the believers (he is) full of pity, kind and merciful.’ (Qur’ān 9: 128).

⁴⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 22-23. Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 35.

⁴⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 29. Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 35.

⁴⁸ (Qur’ān: 49:10).

⁴⁹ (Qur’ān: 8:1).

⁵⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 29. Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 35.

⁵¹ Ibid.

plausible answer, he did not concede his arguments.⁵²

Al-Hilālī and Shaykh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī met another seven times after this initial meeting. Each time, the meeting would begin after the sunset prayer and go on beyond the evening prayer. After seven meetings had been held, in Al-Hilālī’s own statement, he had become aware that he had been misguided and realized that he had been completely mistaken about Islam. He was rapidly convinced that all Sufī brotherhoods were misleading.⁵³ Al-Hilālī asked Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī: ‘Who among the Moroccan scholars holds the view according to which all matters related to theology or jurisprudence should be examined in the light of both the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*, even though our knowledge of the former is limited, so that we should accept that which complies with them both and refute what contradicts their teachings?’ *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī replied: ‘The great scholar and representative of the Tijāniyya Order in Morocco agrees with me on this point, namely *Shaykh* Al-Fāṭimī Al-Sharā’idī,⁵⁴ who was one of the prominent scholars of the Tijāniyyah Order.⁵⁵ Subsequently, Al-Hilālī went to him and told him that *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī claimed that one should examine all religious matters, related either to the Creed or to jurisprudence, in the light of the texts of the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna* and refute whatever, according to him, contradicts the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*, even if it was an opinion held by *Imam* Mālik or *Shaykh* Aḥmad Al-Tijani.’ *Shaykh* Al-Fāṭimī Al-Sharā’idī said:

I am a very old man and I can no longer fight. *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī is a young man; that is why he is ready to fight. However, you asked me in public about an important issue which should be addressed. But I could not answer your question in public. Anyway, you should be aware that what *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī has said is the truth about which there is no doubt. Indeed, I used to be a disciple of the Qadiriyya Order and then of the Wazzaniyyah Order for some time and finally I became a committed disciple of the Tijāniyya Order, I even became its representative. All the same, I found it was useless to adhere to these religious groups, so I distanced myself from them. I have kept only one thing from

⁵² Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1 36.

⁵³ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 30. Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1 35.

⁵⁴ Al-Hilālī praised the Qādī Al-Fāṭimī Al-Sharā’idī in 1921 in a poem entitled *Madḥ al-‘Allāma al-Faqīh Sīdī Al-Fāṭimī Al-Sharā’idī*. See Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 643.

⁵⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 30. Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 35.

Sufism: look for a *Shaykh* to instruct who exalts the commands of the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* in word and deed. In fact, if I had found such a *Shaykh* I would have surely become his disciple. Let me know if you meet a *Shaykh* to instruct whose moral qualities are high and who exalts the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* in word and deed when you travel to the East so as to meet him.⁵⁶

The *auctor intellectualis* of the arguments Al-Hilālī had to answer in his debate with *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī seems to have been *Shaykh* Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī, the great Moroccan scholar and reformist who lived from 1878 to 1956. Al-Dukkālī had used those same arguments to silence Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī, thereby obliging him to quit the Sufi order of which he was a member at that time. The original debate between Al-Dukkālī and Ibn al-‘Arabī can be found in the book *Ghāyat al-amānī fī al-radd ‘ala al-Nabhānī* (The Foremost Objectives in Challenging Al-Nabhani), whose author is the ‘Iraqi Salafī scholar Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī Al- Baghdādī (1855-1923). It is a book in which the author challenges and attacks the Sufi orders.⁵⁷

The debate as it had taken place between Ibn al-‘Arabī and Al-Hilālī was included by the latter in his book *al-Hadiyya al-Hādiya ilā al-Ṭā’ifa al-Tijāniyya* (The Gift Guidance for the Tijaniyya Order) published in al-Madīna in 1972. Al-Hilālī says that the reason he wrote this book was to halt the spread of open and covert ‘polytheism’ and related heresies which he observed in all Muslim countries, at a time at which the number of scholars of the *Qur'ān* and *Sunna* calling people to Islam was falling and both the populace and the scholars were turning in droves to join the Sufi orders, especially the Tijāniyya Order whose followers could be counted in the tens of millions in the Islamic world. As an expert on this religious brotherhood, he informed *Shaykh* ‘Abd Al-‘Azīz ibn Bāz (1910-1999), head of the Islamic University in Medina, about some of the aberrations of the former group. Ibn Bāz urged him to write a book whose purpose would be to disclose the true nature of the Tijaniyya Order and the delusions into which it could lead. The book should be a warning to those who had not yet joined the group, as well as a wake-up call to those who were still living in a complete delusion on account of their membership of the Tijaniyya Order. ‘Abd Al-‘Azīz ibn Bāz took charge of the publication of the book.⁵⁸ He immediately printed and distributed 10,000

⁵⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 32. Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 36.

⁵⁷ Al-Alūsī (1971), Vol.1, 225-227.

⁵⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 5-6.

copies.⁵⁹

Al-Hilālī himself records that the certainty he had acquired in the wake of his debate with *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī gradually consolidated.⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī was extremely happy with the outcome of his conversion as ‘the darkness of polytheism and heresy’ had been stripped from him and the ‘path of monotheism’ had been opened up before him. He argued that, as the literature shows, the teachings of the Tijāniyya Order could never be compatible with the teachings of the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*.⁶¹ Al-Hilālī also revealed that after he had left the Tijaniya Order, his inner self whispered to him many things that he had read in the book *Jawāhir al-Ma‘ānī* (Jewels of Meanings) which are related to *Shaykh* Aḥmad al-Tijānī. The latter is believed to have said: ‘He who abandons his litanies in favour of ours, complying with the teachings of our Tijaniya Order, he shall fear neither the anger of Allāh nor that of his Messenger, nor that of his Master, be he alive or dead. Yet, he who receives our litanies and then turn his back on them, calamity shall knock at his door in this world and the Hereafter and he will surely die as an infidel. This is what he [the Prophet] has told me in a state of wakefulness, not in a vision. The Master of mankind has also told me: ‘Your disciples are indeed my disciples and your students are my students, I am their Master.’⁶²

Al-Hilālī mentioned that he wrestled with the whisperings of his inner self using arguments from the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*. He claimed that in 1942 the Prophet once again came to him in his dream. Al-Hilālī stated that when he saw the Prophet,

It entered my mind to begin my talk with him by asking him to pray to Allāh to ensure that I die as a believer. I think the reader still remembers that I had asked the Prophet the same thing in the first vision; yet nevertheless, the Prophet did not make any supplication for me, but he raised his index finger into the sky telling me: ‘It is with Allāh.’ I told him this time: ‘O, Messenger of Allāh. Pray to Allāh for me ensure that I

⁵⁹ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 11.

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī also mentions that , after completing his studies at al-Qarawiyyīn University, an unnamed scholar from Teṭouān is reported to have said that he asked Al-Fāṭimī Al-Sharā’idi to provide him with the litanies of the Tijāniyya Order. The former replied that that the Sufi order was worthless. How was it possible to memorize the *Qur’ān* and have studied the Islamic Sciences which help one to understand the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna* of the Prophet, and yet demand such an innovation? Al-Hilālī (2006a), 37.

⁶¹ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 38.

⁶² Al-Hilālī (2005b), 14; Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 39.

die as a believer.’ He said to me: ‘Invoke Allāh yourself and I shall say Amen.’ The Prophet raised his hands; since then, those inner voices have no longer disturbed me.⁶³

Al-Hilālī commented that the period which had elapsed between these two visions he experienced was twenty years. He interpreted the different visions and the reason that the Prophet made a supplication for him in the second vision and not in the first as a sign of his own transition from polytheism to pure monotheism and of his compliance with the teachings of the Prophet.⁶⁴ On the basis of Al-Hilālī’s own declaration, it seems appropriate to use the term *conversion*. He himself wrote about his ‘exit’ from Sufism and his ‘entry’ into the Islam of the Salafiyya.⁶⁵

In 1921, he was offered a post as a judge by Aḥmad Ibn al-Hājj Al-‘Āyyāshī Skirij (1877-1944), the chairman of the judges in the district of Oujda in the west of Morocco.⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī says that he refused the post because Aḥmad Skirij would have to consult the French inspector (*Mufattish/Murāqib*) before deciding on important Islamic issues which were to be judged by *Shari’a* law.⁶⁷ Al-Hilālī had noticed that Aḥmad Skirij used to meet the French observer every Saturday to inform him about all the sessions which had taken place at the tribunal and seek his advice about everything, despite the fact that he was himself the chief justice of the supreme court, a member of the two Holy Mosques Endowment League and a great scholar. At the time of his conversion in 1921, Al-Hilālī wondered, in his words penned in the year 1947:

Despite Aḥmad Skirij’s majestic rank, he subordinated Islamic Law to the opinions of that unbeliever, so in what sort of a situation would I have found myself!? Actually, I would definitely be meeting a young inspector of my own age to whom I would expatiate the *Shari’a* of the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh grant him peace, but I could not pronounce any verdict without his permission. Nonetheless, I would pretend to rule according to Islamic Law! Therefore, I did not accept the appointment as a

⁶³ Al-Hilālī (2005b), 15.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 7.

⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī (2010b), 450.

⁶⁷ Al-Majdhūb (1977), 194.

judge.⁶⁸

Al-Hilālī was convinced that both scholars and writers had to be either the voice of the colonizer in the country or be prepared for punishment. Besides his ambition to widen the scope of his studies, this might also have been a contributory factor which prompted Al-Hilālī to leave Morocco at the age of twenty-eight.⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī claimed that the French utterly refused, without giving any reason, to grant him a passport until Aḥmad Skirij, the representative of the Tijāniyya Order in Morocco, offered to be his guarantor and had reassured them that he harboured no enmity towards France. Aḥmad Skirij also sent a letter to the official representative of France in Cairo in which he solicited his help in taking care of Al-Hilālī. When he arrived to Cairo in Egypt, he went to the diplomat concerned to give him the letter. The Minister warmly welcomed him and he invited him to drink coffee with him. While they were talking, he told Al-Hilālī:

If you want to assume any high position in Morocco, I shall instantly send a message in which it would be made known that I myself had designated you for that selected function.

Al-Hilālī answered that he would rather travel all over the world to meet scholars of *ḥadith* to learn from them and look for manuscripts connected to this science.⁷⁰ If we take into account the fact that Aḥmad Skirij helped al-Hilālī to get his passport and go to Egypt by sending a letter of recommendation to the official representative of France in Cairo, it might be inferred that he had not (yet) openly condemned the Tijaniyya *Tarīqa*, and that, in Morocco, he had remained circumspect about his conversion to Salafism. Therefore, when Al-Hilālī speaks about his ‘conversion’ immediately after the debate he had with Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī, this should be understood as a private conversion which, he initially kept to himself. This assumption is also supported by the help he received from the Tijaniyya disciples during the early period of his stay in Egypt.

⁶⁸ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-’Isti‘mār,” 1947, 6.

⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī probably also travelled to Egypt because all the great scholars of the time, as among them Abū Shu‘ayb al-Dukkālī and Aḥmad ibn al-Ṣeddīq and others, used to go to Egypt either to seek knowledge or to meet the great Al-Azhar scholars.

⁷⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-’Isti‘mār,” 1947, 10.

2. Egypt, India and Iraq (1921-1927): Early Polemics with Sufism and Shi'ism

2.1. Early Polemics with Sufism

In Egypt, where Al-Hilālī remained from 1922 to 1923, among his other activities he served as a deputy imam, standing in for another Salafī preacher, named ‘Abd al-Zāhir Abū al-Samḥ (1882-1951), in the city of Alexandria for two months. This man had been accused by a group of people of being Wahhābī and of preaching a fifth *madhhab* (legal school), which they considered one of the greatest blasphemies he could possibly have committed. They wrote a letter to the governor of Alexandria requesting he stop Abū al-Samḥ from preaching.¹ I am inclined to date this activity to the first months of Al-Hilālī’s time in Egypt, because later his puritanical Salafistic inclinations, which might have reduced his chances of replacing an *imam* who had been dismissed for similar convictions, had come out into the open.

Al-Hilālī’s own conversion immediately aroused in him a great interest in calling other people to ‘pure’ Islam and therefore logically in (*da‘wa*). This missionary activity as a Salafī preacher would continue to occupy a great deal of his time throughout the rest of his life. As he writes in his autobiographical notes, he was still inexperienced and in 1922 was at a loss to know how to preach true Islam to a group of Tijanis in Egypt, who sent him money and supported him. He acted as if he was still a Sufī, but in the end he realized that the moral duty of a true Muslim was to be true to his own beliefs. He made a commitment to Allāh that he would never dissemble and would always tell the truth. He stated that his personal dedication was that he would call people to Allāh’s Oneness and to the *Sunna* of the Prophet, wherever he might happen to be.² Finally, he sent a message to the Tijanis in Algeria who still thought that he was a member of their group, sharing their beliefs. In it he thanked them and offered them proof that the Tijani doctrine could not live in the heart of man simultaneously with the *Sunna* of the Prophet.³

He then returned to Cairo and began to attend Rashīd Riḍā’s lectures. In view of his lack of financial resources, a certain Muḥammad al-Kharshī al-Shanqīṭī advised him to go to Upper Egypt where he could find some financial support.⁴ He was invited to a village called

¹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 15.

² Al-Hilālī (2005a), 12-14.

³ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 17.

⁴ Ibid.

al-Raymūn to preach in his house by a certain Ismāʿīl al-Sayfī. According to Al-Hilālī's own notes, many people responded to his call and turned to adhere to the teachings of the *Sunna*. Al-Hilālī remained in the village for three months until the time for the Pilgrimage, hoping that he would receive some financial support which would allow him go on *Hajj*. When he returned to Cairo, *Shaykh* Yūsuf, the mayor of al-Raymūn and a prominent Sufi *shaykh* who had converted to Salafism through the intervention of Al-Hilālī, sent him 13 Egyptian Pounds which was sufficient for both he and his younger brother, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Hilālī who had been accompanying him during his time in Egypt, to be able to perform the pilgrimage.⁵

Apparently, Al-Hilālī's preaching had an impact. In that same year, 1922, he began to gain some influence in another village in Upper Egypt. He even claimed to have converted half of its population to Salafism within eight days.⁶ This was to be his first experience not only as a Salafi preacher but also as a *mufti* whose duty was to answer questions put by the followers of Salafism. In early 1927, Al-Hilālī returned to the region for a short period and was pleased to hear that many of the inhabitants who had attended his preaching had remained faithful to Salafism after his departure and an even greater number of people had abandoned Sufism and had begun to follow the *Sunna*.⁷

In 1923, Al-Hilālī set out for his first pilgrimage in the company of some Salafi converts from al-Raymūn.⁸ In the same year he went to India, primarily to further his studies of *ḥadīth* under scholars of the group known as the *Ahl- al-Ḥadīth*, a reformist movement in the Indian subcontinent. They had made their first appearance as a distinct sect a century earlier, when they espoused the teaching of *Sayyid* Nadhīr Ḥusayn (d. 1902), an eminent theologian who specialized in the science of *ḥadīth* and lectured on it in Delhi for more than half a century, and also through the influence of Mawlawī Abū 'l-Wafā Thanā' Allāh (d. 1948), who edited the weekly *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* until 1947 and made a great name for himself as a controversialist and an expositor of the views of the school. The *Ahl-al-Ḥadīth* did not consider themselves bound by *taqlīd* or obedience to any of the four recognized *imāms* of the *fiqh* schools. They were convinced that the authentic traditions in conjunction with the

⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 33.

⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 32.

⁷ Al-Hilālī remained in contact with those converts and in 1947 he wrote articles about his Upper Egyptian brothers in the Salafi journal *Lisān al-Dīn*. See Al-Hilālī, "Muṣāb 'Ālīm", April 1947, 85-87.

⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 23-25.

Qur'ān were the only worthy guide for true Muslims. They also made every effort to eradicate customs whose origins might be traced to any innovation (*bid'a*).

In Delhi, Al-Hilālī met Nawāb Ṣadr ad-Dīn, who offered him a post as an Arabic teacher in his own local *madrasa*. In spite of his limited budget, he spent fifteen months there and studied under several Ahl-al-*Hadith* scholars, among whom were Ḥusayn ibn Muḥsin al-Anṣārī al-Yamanī (d.1925) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakpurī (d.1935). Al-Hilālī himself states that the latter was one of the six '*ūlama*' who, apart from the Prophet, had influenced him. At his request, in Rabī' al-Thānī 1343/ November 1924, he wrote four poems dealing with the *Ahl- al-Hadith*, entitled *Al-Hādiyāt* (The Guiding Prophetic Traditions).⁹ Al-Hilālī's *Shaykh* Al-Mubārakfūrī mentions the poems in the introduction to his *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwādī* (Masterpiece of the Diligent).¹⁰ These poems were among the first which Al-Hilālī composed.¹¹

After spending some time in Delhi, Al-Hilālī travelled to Calcutta to visit Abū al-Kalām Azad¹² (1888–1958), a famous Indian scholar of literature and politics. He enjoyed the latter's hospitality for fifteen days during which he wrote three articles about the history of the Berbers in Morocco, in which he protested against French rule in that country in general and in the region where the Berbers were located in the south in particular. These articles were published by Abū al- Kalām Azad's publishing house.¹³ Al-Hilālī postulated that one of the covert goals of France was to convert the Berbers away from Islam, robbing them of their religion.¹⁴

⁹ They were published in India, Al-Hilālī mentioned them in his book *The Call to Allah* (2005, p.170). The poems are also to be found in Al-Hilālī (2010b), 570-577. One of these poems, entitled *al-Mimiyya* begins as follows: 'He who missed the chosen Prophet from Mudar' (Man Fātahu al-Muṣṭafā al-Mukḥṭār Min Mudar). Al-Hilālī also included the poem of Ḥamīd al-Qurṭubī which al-Qaṣṭallānī quoted in the introduction to his '*Interpretation of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Al-Bukhārī*'. The poem begins as follows: 'The light of the *hadīth*...' (*Nūr al-Ḥadīth*).

¹⁰ Al-Mubārakfūrī (2005), 10-12.

¹¹ Al-Majdhūb (1977), Vol.1, 209.

¹² On him see Kumar (1991).

¹³ In these articles, Al-Hilālī argues that the Berbers originated from the Arabian Peninsula. From there they had moved to Syria where they had founded a kingdom. The name of their king was Jālūt (Goliath; his name is mentioned in the (Qur'ān 2:251). Eventually, they had moved to North Africa. See Al-Hilālī (1985), 95-96. See also Al-Hilālī, "Dhikrā al-Ṣāḥir al-Barbarī," 16 May 1939, 1-4.

In this same period, ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Māliḥ ‘Abādi, an employee at Abū al- Kalām Azad’s publishing house, asked Al-Hilālī about what rules should apply to a person who does not perform the prescribed prayers.¹⁵ Al-Hilālī answered by adducing the arguments of the scholars, but also not forgetting to explain their disagreements in this matter.¹⁶ Al-Hilālī, was personally convinced that there was not a shred of doubt that such a person was an infidel. Nonetheless, he was impressed by the reaction of the person who had asked him the question. The questioner produced the argument that a person who does not pray is still a Muslim and not an infidel. This man told him: ‘I have real proof that he is not an infidel: I do not pray, but I have no doubt I am a Muslim.’¹⁷

2.2. Polemics with Shi’ism

In 1925 Al-Hilālī moved to Basra where he met *Shaykh* Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shanqīfī (d.1933),¹⁸ who ran a local *madrasa* named the al-Najāt school in the al-Zubair district of Basra, whose daughter he subsequently married. During the time he spent in Iraq between 1925 and 1927, *Shaykh* Muṣṭafa Āl-Ibrāhīm¹⁹ suggested that Al-Hilālī should settle down and remain in Basra with him. In return for this decision, Al-Hilālī would be offered his own private school, with a high salary plus accommodation. Al-Hilālī accepted his offer and commenced teaching the *Shaykh* and a group of students the principles of Arabic grammar and literature. He also preached in the mosque, advising the congregation to abjure all kinds of heresies and adhere to the *Sunna* of the Prophet.²⁰

It was in Basra that Al-Hilālī launched his battle against Shi’ism. After reading some of their books, he had meetings with some Shiite clerics. He debated with ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Kāzīmī (1871-1935)²¹ and Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī (1855-1939),²² two famous religious

¹⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 175.

¹⁶ Al-Hilālī (1982), 15-19.

¹⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 175.

¹⁸ For his biography See Al-Hilālī, “Rukn yanhadimu”, (1933): *Al-Fath*, 7/304, 291-292.

¹⁹ *Shaykh* Muṣṭafa Āl-Ibrāhīm also sponsored Al-Hilālī’s marriage in Iraq to the daughter of his mentor, Muḥammad ibn Amīn al-Shanqīfī, by contributing the sum of 2200 Rubia. See Al-Hilālī(2005a), 229.

²⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005a),150-151.

²¹ I was not able to find a detailed biography of ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Kāzīmī, apart from the following information from Wikipedia:

http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AD%D8%B3%D9%86_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%A7%D8%B8%D9%85%D9%8A. accessed 27-04-2014.

scholars who were adherents of Twelver Shi'ism. The debate²³ between Al-Hilālī and 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Kāẓimi took place in the year 1343/1924. In it Al-Kāẓimi claimed that the Qurayshis had often changed elements of the *Qur'ān* in order to prove their right to be the successors of the Prophet and to his leadership of the Muslim community.²⁴ Al-Kāẓimi claimed that when the Twelfth Imam entered the state of occultation, the Muslim community lost its contact, not just with the Imam, but also with the true *Qur'ān*. He argued that the *Mahdī*, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Mahdī, who was believed to be the Twelfth Imam, would bring back the original text when he manifested himself at the End of Time.

The *Mahdī* is not mentioned in the *Qur'ān*, only in the *Hadith* and Al-Hilālī countered this by arguing that the Shiite *ḥadith* was not a reliable source of knowledge and therefore could not be used to reach the truth about Islam,²⁵ most notably the al-Kulaynī collection, the Shiite equivalent of Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Hilālī's argument was that this claim was contradictory to the sayings of the Imams of Ahl al-Bayt and their scholars, for instance, the *al-Ṣadūq* of Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, a Twelver Shi'a scholar (d. 381/991) who protested that the *Qur'ān* had never been altered one jot from the way in which it had been revealed.²⁶ Al-Hilālī argued that all the Imams of Ahl al-Bayt, and likewise all those of Al-Hilālī al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ, believed that no *tahrīf* (tampering) had occurred with the *Qur'ān*.²⁷ His second argument was that this statement had been confirmed by the Shiite scholar *Shaykh* Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī, who had stated that he did not believe that the *Qur'ān* had been changed. Al-Hilālī said that Al-Qazwīnī belonged to the Uṣūlī School of the Twelver Shi'a, which takes human reasoning as a fundamental principle in their studies and debates.²⁸

On 7 February 1927,²⁹ Al-Hilālī entered into a written discussion with the Shiite scholar Al-Mahdī Al-Qazwīnī from Basra, whose name has been mentioned earlier. The background to the debate was the publication of a series of anonymous anti-Shiite essays published in *al-Manār*, the famous Cairo journal. The first of these was entitled *Kalimāt 'an al-'irāq wa ahlihi* (Words on Iraq and its People), published in 1326/1908 by an anonymous

²² For his biography see, Al-Ziriklī (2002), Vol. 7,313.

²³ For a detailed report of this debate see Al-Hilālī (2005a), 186-193.

²⁴ On this subject see al-Ṭarabulusī (1983).

²⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Munāzara," 1927, 267. See also Al-Hilālī (2009), 13.

²⁶ Al-Hilālī(2005a), 186-193.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 186-193.

²⁹ The letter was dated on the 4th of Sha'bān 1345.

scholar who merely describes himself as ‘a scholar who is jealous of Iraq and the Sunni doctrine’. Among the points it raises is: ‘One of the great scourges is the expansion of the Shia doctrine throughout the whole of Iraq, indeed to such an extent that three-quarters of its population have become Shiites, thanks to their diligent scholars and the efforts of the Shiite students, endorsed by the support of the local government, which hampers Sunnite efforts and resists their proselytism.’³⁰ The author added that the city of an-Najaf hosted those Shiite scholars who had reached the degree of *ijtihād*, and 16,000 students who were studying Islamic Sciences. Their practices were spreading all over the country, misleading the people who were worshipping graves and supporting imitation and superstitions.³¹

Another article on the same subject of the expansion of Shia Islam had been published in *al-Manār*.³² It had been sent by a Christian from Beirut named Sulaymān Affandī al-Bustānī and in it he describes the reaction of the Ottoman Empire to the expansion of Shiism in Iraq. Somewhat alarmed, the Sublime Porte had resolved to send some scholars to the provinces of Basra and Karbala to offer guidance to the nomadic tribes which lived there. The Ottoman state had realized the importance taking such a step when it became aware that the Shiites had already sent their preachers and counsellors both there and to other Bedouin tribes. Subsequently, the Christian author claims they had converted most of them to the Shiite doctrine, permitting, among other customs, the practice of marriage with a number women purely for pleasure.³³

A third, and by far the most important article in this series was written by an unnamed scholar from Bahrain, referred to as a ‘correspondent of *al-Manār* in Bahrain’. It was entitled *al-Bida‘ wa-al-khurāfāt wa-al-taqālīd wa-al-‘adāt ‘inda al-Shi‘a* (Innovations, superstitions, traditions and common practices of the Shiites) and was published in *al-Manār* in 1328/1910. Its author had made a study of the issue of the veneration of graves in Shia Islam³⁴ and he claims that all the *imams* of *Ahl al-Bayt* tradition, as did the imams of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣaliḥ*, believed that worshipping at the tombs of the *imams* was strictly forbidden and contradictory

Anonymous (al-Muḥarram 1326/February 1908): “Kalimāt ‘an al-‘Irāq wa-ahlihī,” *Al-Manār*, Vol.11, 45-46.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Anonymous (5 Ramadan 1317/ 7 januari 1900): “Al-Akhhbār wa al-’Arā’ : Nashr Madhhab al-Shi‘a,” *Al-Manār*, Vol.2, 682-683.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Anonymous (1328/1910) , “Al-Bida‘ wa-al-khurāfāt wa-al-ṭaqālīd wa-al-‘adāt ‘inda al-Shi‘a,” *Al-Manār*, Part 4 Vol.13, 303-313.

to the pronouncements of the *imams* of *Ahl al-Bayt* themselves, whose precepts Shiites were bound to follow.³⁵ He states that he had travelled all around Iraq which had enabled him to become well acquainted with the Iraqis, whether they be Sunnites or Shiites. He lists the ideas that the Shiite preachers propagated among the villagers and ‘those who dwelt in huts’. This author from Bahrain states that he had read the above- mentioned article ‘Words on Iraq and its people’ and that he wanted to draw Rashīd Riḍā’s attention to the fact that their preachers had indeed failed to teach them the Islamic commandments.³⁶ He added that it was strange that no Shiite scholar condemned the veneration of graves, even though in the literature related to Shia jurisprudence it was mentioned that it is unlawful to build structures on graves, on the grounds of the statement of *Shaykh* Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī (d. 1266/1849), who reported that ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib had told some of his companions: ‘Shall I not send you on the same mission as the one on which the Messenger of Allāh sent me? Demolishing graves and pulling down the sculptures.’³⁷

The author from Bahrain confirms the prohibition with a saying of Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq(702-765) on this matter: ‘Everything you put on a grave with the exception of dust is indeed a burden on the deceased.’³⁸ The author wrote it was really astonishing to note that modern Shia scholars made the following comment when they report in their books the inadmissibility of building structures on the graves or putting lamps on them:

The graves of the Holy *Imams* should be excluded from this ruling, because their shrines are among the houses which Allāh has ordered to be raised, in them His Name is remembered. This is the grounds they adduce to legitimate worshipping the graves and transforming the tombs into idols to be worshipped alongside Allāh. Nevertheless,

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Al-Hilālī (2009), 183.

³⁷ Al-Najafī (1992), Vol.4, 335. See also al-‘Ālamī (1409), *Wasā’il al-Shī’a*, 202. The author from Bahrain also quotes from *al-Kāfi fī ‘ilm al-dīn* (What is Sufficient in the Knowledge of the Faith), written by Muhammad ibn Ya‘qūb al- Kulaynī (864-941). On the authority of Sama’ah, who is reported to have said: ‘When I asked Al-Ṣādūq about visiting graves and building structures on them, he told me: “There is nothing wrong about visiting graves, but mosques should not be built on them.” Actually, the Prophet said: “Do not make my grave a mosque! Indeed, Allah cursed the Jews and the Christians, for they took the graves of their Prophets as places of worship.”’

³⁸ Al-Najafī (1992), Vol.4, 335, 351. see also al-‘Ālamī (1409), *Wasā’il al-Shī’a*, 202.

See also Al-Kulaynī, “Al-Kāfi,” Vol.2, 203.

they turn a blind eye to the reports of the family of the Prophet which are reported in their literature.³⁹

The correspondent from Bahrain goes on to remark, ‘In the literature of the Twelver Shia Sect we come across many *ḥadiths* and numerous statements of the *Imams* they consider infallible, which clearly show that it is forbidden to build upon graves, and that it is compulsory to destroy whatever has been built on them.’⁴⁰ He wishes that one of the Shiite scholars who might also happen to be a reader of *al-Manār* will wake up after he has looked into this article, and launch a reform in the Shia faith.⁴¹ He argues that the Shia are strong polytheists, who show an exaggerated devotion to the family of the Prophet. To prove his arguments, he invites people to visit the shrine of Ḥusain ibn ‘Ali. He adds: ‘How much do I wish that ‘Ali ibn Mūsa al-Kāẓim would arise from his grave and see the pagan profanities these people commit at his tomb, even though his grandfather, the Prophet, was sent to expunge paganism!’⁴² After Rashīd Riḍā received the afore-mentioned essay, he decided to publish it in the hope of exposing any latent confusion about this matter.⁴³ In his comments, he argues that since the founding of *al-Manār* in 1315/1897, he had done his best to encourage unity between Muslims and the non-Muslims who co-habit with them. He adds that one of his objectives in the publications of *al-Manār* was that those who contributed to it should criticize the religious group or sect to which they personally belonged. If one was sometimes obliged to criticize the opposing group, the criticism should be made gently in order to avert the worst consequences of fanaticism.⁴⁴

In his letter, Al- Hilālī asked Al-Qazwīnī, whom he thought had reached the status of *ijtihād*, whether the claims made by the unnamed author from Bahrain were correct, and whether the *ḥadiths* to which he referred were authentic. If they were authentic, were there any other reports which contradicted them, thereby rendering them invalid to be taken into account when issuing legal opinions and in calling people to comply with the teachings they contained? If, however, these *ḥadiths* were correct, what was preventing Shia scholars from

Anonymous (Rabī‘ al-Thānī 1328/ April 1910): “Al-Bida‘ wa-al-khurāfāt wa-al-taqālīd wa-al-‘adāt ‘inda al-Shi‘a”, *Al-Manār*, Vol.13, part 4, 303-313.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

Riḍā, Rashīd (Dhū al-Hijjah 1345/June 1927): “Mas’alat al-Qubūr wa al-Mashāhid ‘Inda al-Shi‘a: Munāzara bayna ‘ālim Shi‘ī wa ‘Ālim Sunnī”, *al-Manār*, Vol.28, 349.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

preaching their message? How could they bury their heads in the sand and say nothing about those huge decorated shrines in al-Najaf and Karbalā’? Was this not contradictory to the sayings of the *imams* of Ahl al-Bayt who it was their duty to follow?⁴⁵ Al-Hilālī, who had previously met al-Qazwīnī, knew he nurtured the desired to encourage harmony between Muslims through compliance with the content of the religious texts and the abandoning of sectarian intransigence.⁴⁶ Apparently, Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī was far from satisfied with the anonymous 1910 article in *al-Manār*. Two and a half weeks after the date of Al-Hilālī’s letter, on February 25 1927,⁴⁷ he sent a long reply which opens with the following lines:

Greetings to and peace be upon His Excellency, the righteous *Shaykh* Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Hilālī. May Allāh preserve him from harm, and support me, him and all the Muslims in accomplishing what pleases Allāh. Well, we have dealt carefully with your honourable letter, dated 4 Sha‘bān, and we have also examined the article to which you have referred, which one of *al-Manār’s* correspondents has published in *al-Manār*.⁴⁸ We have received your questioning of the truthfulness of the article with pleasure and delight. Our aim is to uncover the confusion and to remove the misunderstanding between Muslims. This is the reason we have examined every paragraph of the article meticulously, even though this has taken a great deal of time; but, I believe, you will forgive us for this, if Allāh is willing. Finally, we hope that you will scrutinize this reply and think deeply about it. Then it is up to you to pass judgement between the Shiites and *al-Manār* and its correspondent. Which of the two groups is on the Right Path? Which of the two is in need of advice? Which of the two deserves forgiveness? I likewise hope that you will not cease your communication with us and disclose the facts and survey the views of the two parties.⁴⁹

Al-Hilālī immediately replied:

⁴⁵ Al-Hilālī, (2009), 52.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ 22 Sha‘bān 1345.

⁴⁸ Anonymous (Rabī‘ al-Thānī 1328/ April 1910): “Al-Bida‘ wa-al-khurāfāt wa-al-taqālīd wa-al-‘adāt ‘inda al-Shi‘a,” *Al-Manār*, Vol.13, part 4, , 311.

⁴⁹ Riḍā, Rashīd (Dhū al-Hijjah 1345/June 1927), 349.

In the name of Allāh the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. To the great scholar, the noble investigator, Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī, may Allāh preserve him from harm, and make his wishes come true, the peace and the mercy of Allāh be upon you! I acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated 22 Sha'ban, 1345 [25 February, 1927]. I read it with admiration and deep satisfaction. I praise your stern determination and your sublime care which are compatible with the position Allāh has bestowed upon you. One token of your perfect kindness and sublime wit is the fact that you have allowed me to give a long reply to what has been reported in *al-Manār*. Moreover, how splendid are your noble qualities, resembling gardens, fresh water sources, the fruits of your research, written in an eloquent and colourful style, whet the appetite. [Endowed] with all those qualities, you should feel proud of yourself, and not have to apologize. Since you have requested me to be a judge between you and *al-Manār*, and after reading the reply you wrote in answer to the journal carefully, I feel obliged to accede to your request. However, I should acknowledge my ineptitude and my lack of knowledge. Nevertheless, I shall do all I can not to be governed by whim. My guidance can have no other source but Allāh. I shall not personally take the side of one doctrine against another, because I do not follow any doctrine except that of the Truth. The message I am writing here in answer to your request is the same I intend to use if Allāh, may He be exalted, asks me [about it] on the Last Day, - the Angels, the Prophets and the Saints shall be [my] witnesses. If you have no doubt about my sincerity, I do not think my discourse will offend you, even though it might contradict your doctrine.⁵⁰

Al-Hilālī composed his answer to Al-Qazwīnī in the form of a booklet entitled *al-Qāḍī al-'adl fī ḥukm al-bina' 'ala al-qubūr*; (The Just Judge on the Ruling of Building on Tombs), which was published in Cairo in 1927 at the request of Rashīd Riḍā, who mentioned that Al-Hilālī had visited him in June of that same year. Rashīd Riḍā took the rough copy and ordered it to be printed immediately without any changes. Al-Hilālī had also given him the reply of the Shiite scholar.⁵¹ In this reply, among other points, Al-Qazwīnī accuses Rashīd Riḍā of having published false allegations. Al-Qazwīnī had even cast doubt about the fact that *Aal-Manār* had a correspondent in Bahraïn.⁵² Rashīd Riḍā decided to publish the text of Al-Qazwīnī's reply

⁵⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Munāzara," 1927, 439.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

and commented upon his decision in the form of short footnotes saying: ‘We are publishing some brief notes on this pamphlet, before publishing the reply of the Sunni scholar [Al-Hilālī], to avoid a situation whereby some non-polytheist might read it and be influenced by the logical fallacies it contains without having the opportunity to read the reply to the latter pamphlet.’⁵³

With Al-Hilālī’s permission, Rashīd Riḍā also published the former’s complete refutation of Al-Qazwīnī in his journal *al-Manār*, in six parts between 1927 and 1928, under the title *Munāẓara bayna ‘ālim shi‘ī wa ‘ālim sunnī* (A debate between a Shi‘ī and a Sunni scholar [Al-Hilālī]).⁵⁴ Because Al-Hilālī was on the point of travelling to Mecca for the Pilgrimage, he requested Rashīd Riḍā send him the original manuscript in Mecca, after its publication in *al-Manār*.⁵⁵ According to Ṣādiq ibn Salīm ibn Ṣādiq, who edited *al-Qāḍī al-‘adl fī ḥukm al-bina’ ‘alā al-qubūr* in 2009, the contents of the articles are identical to those in the booklet *al-Qāḍī al-‘adl*.⁵⁶

In fact, Riḍā would have liked to see an answer of some contemporary Shiite scholars stating their evidence on this issue. However, only Al-Hilālī was prepared to step into the breach. In his booklet, *al-Qāḍī al-‘adl fī ḥukm al-bina’ ‘alā al-qubūr* (The Just Judge on the Ruling of Building on Tombs), Al-Hilālī assumes the role of a judge between the Shiite *Shaykh* Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī and the Salafī *Shaykh* Rashīd Riḍā. Al-Hilālī says he has judged properly, using the correct arguments and adducing the right evidence, free of bias.⁵⁷ In order to answer the arguments of Al-Qazwīnī, Al-Hilālī had to respond to thirty-three major questions on the ruling of the building on graves, taking into account the most authoritative Shiite sources.⁵⁸ In this study I shall focus on four main arguments, namely: (a) Al-Qazwīnī’s

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ For the publication of the first part, see *al-Manār*, 28 (22 ṣafar 1346/ 27 August 1927), 439-440; for Part Two, see *al-Manār*, 28 (Rabī‘ al-‘Awwal 1346/ 26 September 1927): 512-533; for Part Three see *al-Manār*, (30 Rabī‘ al-‘Akhīr I 1346/ 26 October 1927): 595-601; for Part Four see *al-Manār*, 28 (Jumādā al-Ūlā 1346/ 24 November 1927): 684-692; for see Part Five see *al-Manār*, 28 (30 Rajab 1346/ 23 January 1928) : 772-781; for Part Six see *al-Manār*, 29 (30 Ramadan 1346/ 22 March 1928) : 57-62.

⁵⁵ Al-Hilālī (2009), 183.

⁵⁶ Al-Hilālī (2009); See also Al-Hilālī, “Munāẓara,” 1927. I have indeed made a comparison between Al-Hilālī’s booklet and the collection of the articles published in *Aal-Manār*. The contents of the articles are identical to the booklet *al-Qāḍī al-‘Adl*, with the exception of a few small changes which I mention at the end of this chapter.

⁵⁷ Riḍā, Rashīd (ḍi al-Hijjah 1345/jun 1927), 349.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

accusation of defamation and falsification against the author from Bahrain; (b) the building of domes on graves; (c) the views of Shia versus Sunni Muslims; and (d) the issue of independent reasoning (*ijtihād*).

Al-Qazwīnī severely criticizes the anonymous author from Bahrain, accusing him of defamation and falsification. He also states that this correspondent of *al-Manār* had done all this to discredit the Shiites and tarnish their reputation, especially among those who were not acquainted with them and their doctrines.⁵⁹ In his notes on Al-Qazwīnī's article, Rashīd Riḍā states that it was in fact he, Al-Qazwīnī, who had falsified the texts of the *Imams*. The correspondent of *al-Manār* had not used any words to deserve such a rebuke, associating *al-Manār* with his opinions on this issue and tarnishing its history.⁶⁰ Al-Qazwīnī also casts doubt on the fact that *al-Manār* even had a correspondent in Bahrain. He goes as far as to insinuate that the author of the letter from Bahrain which had been published in *al-Manār* was indeed Rashīd Riḍā himself.⁶¹ Rashīd Riḍā merely restricted himself to the following comment: 'This sentence is unequivocal evidence of the scepticism of the fact that *al-Manār* has attributed the article to its correspondent.'⁶² Al-Hilālī asserts that Rashīd Riḍā was far too elevated to tell lies, even should it be necessary to tell lies for the sake of religious dissimulation! Why would he have done this, if the situation did not necessitate telling any lie at all?⁶³

On the main subject of the debate, namely: the building of domes on graves, Al Qazwīnī states that indubitably worshiping, supplication, reciting the *Qur'ān* and all forms of the invocation of Allāh and the prescribed Islamic acts at holy places were more likely to be accepted than those performed in ordinary locations. Indeed, he thought that this was the reason that praying in the mosque was better than praying somewhere else.⁶⁴ Rashīd Riḍā riposted that this was not true for two reasons. First of all, knowledge of the religious acts Allāh would be most likely to accept from Muslims can only be reached through the concrete texts of the *Qur'ān* and the statements of the Prophet, because this is a matter related to piety which excludes all forms of rational interpretation. In fact, the Prophet had clearly stated in a way which left no room for interpretation that the three Holy Mosques [in Mecca, al-Madīna

⁵⁹Ibid. See Al-Hilālī (2009), 52.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Al-Hilālī, "Munāzara," 1927, 439.

⁶⁴ Riḍā, Rashīd (ḍi al-Hijjah 1345/jun 1927), 349.

and Jerusalem] were more efficacious than all the other places. Therefore, he prohibited making journeys for the sake of worshipping to places other than those three. Therefore, it was a religious invalidation to draw an analogy with other places. The second argument was that the Prophet himself had sharply reprimanded and fiercely condemned the act of glorifying the shrines of saints, let alone worshipping there or decorating these buildings by hanging big lamps on them.⁶⁵

Al Qazwīnī claims that the pious Muslims of the first generations and the Muslim *imams* used to pray and make supplications alongside the grave of the Prophet. Rashīd Riḍā retorted that this statement was utterly wrong. He claimed that Al-Qazwīnī would not be able to produce any authentic text to substantiate his claim. Moreover, the acts of the righteous Muslims who succeeded those of the first generations, especially those who lived after the heresies had gained predominance, should not be taken into account.⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī argues that building domes on graves and exaggerated care of them were recent innovations of the Shia sect, in a similar vein to the other innovations they had introduced earlier, among them obsequies to commemorate the death of a member of the family of the Prophet such as Imam Al-Ḥussein. Beating their chests on ‘*Ashūra*’ and slapping their cheeks, striking their shoulders with chains and cutting their heads with swords so that blood would flow are all innovations which have no basis in Islam. He adds that the Shia scholars were the first to introduce the innovation.⁶⁷

Attacking the argument that the Sunnites held the same opinion about building upon a grave as the Shiites, Al-Qazwīnī criticizes Rashīd Riḍā, accusing him of being prejudiced against the Shia community.⁶⁸ He argues that both the correspondent of *al-Manār* from Baḥrain and its editor, Rashīd Riḍā, had not levelled the same criticism against those Sunni Muslims who had been constructing buildings and domes on graves for more than 900 years.⁶⁹ Rashīd Riḍā comments that the Bahrani correspondent of *al-Manār* had censured such behaviour not because the Shiites committed it, but because it contradicted the precepts of Islam. Any Sunnite who behaved like the Shiites would be equally censured for their his conduct. Al-Hilālī says that the author of the article in *al-Manār* was not tolerant of the

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Munāzara,” 1927, 439.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Sunnites at all; on the contrary, he blamed them more than he blamed the Shiites.⁷⁰ Moreover, Rashīd Riḍā was a reasonable person, he neither discredited the Shia community nor tolerated the mistakes of the Sunni community. In fact, the reverse was true, anyone who read his journal was aware of the fact that he criticized the Sunnites more than the Shiites.⁷¹

Al-Hilālī comments that Rashīd Riḍā had not failed to criticize those who considered themselves to be Sunni Muslims for building domes on graves and worshipping at them. The criticism he levelled against the Shiites was much gentler than his censure of the Sunnites. Al-Hilālī maintains that Rashīd Riḍā was a known advocate of civility and tolerance as long as religious duties were not trespassed upon. He argues that his behaviour towards the Shiites was peaceable and cordial to the extent that he used to accept the invitation of the Shia community to attend the annual memorial they organized in Cairo, which marks the period of the martyrdom of Husayn and his followers at Karbala, to express their grief and commemorate the events in processions and passion plays (*taziyah*).⁷² Al-Hilālī was convinced that Rashīd Riḍā believed that refusing their invitation would lead to discord and create a rupture in inter-Muslim relations; and this was more harmful to Muslim unity than attending a memorial ceremony at which a heresy was celebrated.⁷³ Al-Hilālī points out that Rashīd Riḍā had never been a fanatical adherent of any doctrine or a religious community at the expense of another doctrine or another community! He would rather look for the most telling evidence in favour of this or that point of view. He also had many friends among Shia scholars. He wonders how Al-Qazwīnī could ever accuse him of intransigence. Nonetheless, Al-Hilālī did not pretend that Rashīd Riḍā was infallible, as nobody except the Prophet Muḥammad was infallible.⁷⁴ Al-Hilālī admitted that many Sunnites worshipped at shrines in the same fashion as the Shiites. It was well known that the graves Sunni Muslims had built in Mecca, Al-Madina, Al-Ṭāʾif, Egypt, the Levant, Iraq and in many other places were more numerous than those the Shi'i Muslims had erected. Indeed, we have noticed, says Al-Hilālī, that building of mosques on tombs is a common phenomenon in Egypt, Iraq and Morocco. Examples in Morocco were the tombs of the second ruler of the Idrisid dynasty, Moulay Idrīs ibn Idrīs and that of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, both in the city of Fez. A mosque had been built on all

⁷⁰ Al-Hilālī (2009), 117.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Anonymous, "Al-Bida' wa-al-khurāfāt wa-al-ṭaqālīd wa-al-ʿadāt 'inda al-Shi'a," *al-Manār*, Part 4 Vol.13, 312.

⁷⁴ Al-Hilālī (2009), 168.

these tombs and they had become the object of popular veneration.

The last part of the debate is devoted to the concept of *ijtihād* (the principle of the independent reasoning of qualified religious scholars in Islam). Al-Qazwīnī argues that Sunni Muslims were not qualified to exercise *ijtihād* in their attempts to derive Islamic laws from the authoritative sources, because Sunni scholars had reached a consensus on the obligation to follow one of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence.⁷⁵ As far as Al-Hilālī was concerned the issue at stake had nothing to do with the concept of *ijtihād*, because, without exception there was not one single scholar who was allowed to give independent legal opinions on standard issues (*uṣūl*). Indeed, the unlawfulness of building domes on graves and the obligation to destroy them was one of these conclusive issues, as was proven by irrefutable and definitive texts. Al-Hilālī wonders what the argument of the Sunni Muslims would be if they had recourse to *ijtihād* on this issue, be they qualified to give legal reasoning independently or unqualified as claimed by Al-Qazwīnī? What could prevent them from issuing legal opinions independently if they had a full knowledge of Islamic law, and after they had mastered the tools required for the exercise of judgement in legislation? Al-Hilālī says that Al-Qazwīnī's statement limited the independent reasoning to Shiite scholars, even if Sunni scholars were qualified to exercise *ijtihād*.⁷⁶ Al-Hilālī issues a rebuke saying that, assuming that the sciences necessary for *ijtihād* did not exist within any Muslim, it would still have been unlawful for the Sunni scholars throughout all those centuries to accept ignorance of the proofs required Islamic law. Furthermore, Al-Hilālī argues that Sunni scholars had travelled everywhere to meet the scholars who had the monopoly on the exercise of judgement in legislation and to learn from them whatever would enable them to derive the rulings of the Islamic law related to different issues, and to be able to distinguish lawful and the unlawful acts on the basis of firm evidence.⁷⁷ (In 1960, Al-Hilālī again dealt with this issue. He wrote an article in the Moroccan official religious journal, entitled *Hal ikhtaṣṣat al-imāmiyya bi-faṭḥ bāb al-ijtihād*, (Is the opening of the gate of *ijtihād* exclusively limited to the Shiites?) In it, Al-Hilālī argues that the Shia confined the faculty of independent reasoning to the Shiite scholars in order to discredit the Sunnites, pretending that there was nobody among them who could derive the Islamic Laws from the legal sources, and could, moreover, be able to distinguish lawful and unlawful acts simply because Sunni Muslims were precluded

⁷⁵ Al-Hilālī (2009), 157.

⁷⁶ Al-Hilālī (2009), 159.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

from reaching the status of *ijtihād*).⁷⁸

It is worthy of note that Al-Hilālī continued his argumentation by saying that the Righteous Predecessors and their posterity never ceased to invite scholars to practice *ijtihād*, but they did persist in prohibiting and disparaging imitation. As-Suyūfī surveyed those scholars who urged the practice of *ijtihād* and spoke slightly of imitation. He mentions the opinions of scholars on the prohibition of imitation, especially the viewpoints of the four *Imams*.⁷⁹ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya had also written a book on the disparagement of imitation. These scholars stated unequivocally that there is a consensus among the Sunni scholars on the prohibition of *taqlīd* (imitation).⁸⁰ Scholars should only pronounce their judgement on any legal matter, especially if the latter is new, after they have carried out a careful inquiry.⁸¹

In the end, Al-Hilālī proclaimed Riḍā the winner of the debate. There is some reason to wonder how fair Al-Hilālī was in his judgement. It seems to me that the main goal of Al-Hilālī's booklet was to show the errors and the logical fallacies that the Shiite scholar (Al-Qazwīnī) had committed. Rashīd Riḍā rewarded Al-Hilālī by sending a letter to King Ibn Sa'ūd requesting this ruler take special care to him. In his book *al-Da'wa ila Allāh*, Al-Hilālī says: 'I travelled to the Hijaz for the pilgrimage and Rashīd Riḍā wrote to King Ibn Sa'ūd requesting him to host me in the Kingdom and telling him: "Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī is one of the best scholars to come to your country."⁸² In his book, Muḥammad al-Majdhūb (1907-1999) mentions that Rashīd Riḍā wrote to King Ibn Sa'ūd: 'Al-Hilālī, the Moroccan, is among the best *'ulama'* who have come to you from far away. I recommend you take advantage of his knowledge.'⁸³

In confirmation of Riḍā's recommendation and at the request of the local authorities, Al-Hilālī re-edited his booklet *al-Qāḍī al-'adl fī ḥukm al-bina'* *'ala al-qubūr*, which he completed on the 25 August 1927.⁸⁴ Al-Hilālī said that the major difference between the first version, published in Egypt, and this second, published in Arabia, was that the language of the former was moderate (*layyina*), whereas the language of the latter is rather harsh (*khashina*),⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Imāmiyya," October 1960, 1 –2 .

⁷⁹ As-Suyūfī (n.d), 42.

⁸⁰ Al-Jawziyya (2004). 168-207.

⁸¹ Al-Hilālī (2009), 165.

⁸² Al-Hilālī (2005a), 127.

⁸³ Al-Majdhūb (1977), 187.

⁸⁴ 26 Safar 1346/August 1927 See Al-Hilālī (2010), 532-533.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

because, in his own words, in Arabia there was no need to worry about how the Shi'a in Iraq would react.⁸⁶ For instance, Al-Hilālī does not hesitate to accuse Al-Qazwīnī of not being a true scholar. He comments that Al-Qazwīnī was set on an unremitting quest to uncover the defects in the Sunni group.⁸⁷ Another difference was the use of insinuations, accusations and polemics in the second version. Al-Hilālī bluntly says that Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī had presented an ambiguous interpretation of numerous *ḥadīths*. He had tried to falsify their meaning and interpret them according to what he wanted them to say.⁸⁸ Furthermore, commenting on the fact that Al-Qazwīnī accused the author from Baḥrain of falsification and ignorance, Al-Hilālī states that commencing a debate by insulting and underestimating one's opponent was a token of defeat and, moreover, cursing was the refuge of the weak. Al-Hilālī stresses this was indeed the capital offence of the Shiites (whom he calls here by their nickname *Rafidites*), because even the Great Companions of the Prophet, whom Allāh praised in the *Qur'ān*,⁸⁹ were not spared their vituperation; they cursed people with whom Allāh was well pleased, and they assigned those for whom Allāh had prepared Paradise to Hell. They promised good to those whom Allāh had promised evil. Yet, it was the Will of Allāh's which would prevail, whereas what the the Rafidites hoped for would not come about.⁹⁰ Furthermore, Al-Hilālī accuses the Shi'a of invariably and ubiquitously resorting to the technique of *taqiyya* (religious dissimulation).⁹¹

Al-Hilālī considers Al-Qazwīnī's statement that the Sunni scholars were not capable of deriving Islamic Laws because they lacked the capacity for *ijtihād*, as a most grievous and bitter defamation. Not only did Al-Qazwīnī deny the Sunni scholars the ability to extrapolate legal judgments, he also repudiates their capacity to have knowledge of lawful and unlawful acts. He says sarcastically that this implies that the judges and the *muftis* of Sunni Islam used to shed blood, legalize fornication, use people's property unlawfully, because they were ignorant of the distinction between lawful and the unlawful acts.⁹² Al-Hilālī wondered if this was the right way to summon Muslims to seek conciliation. He asks them to leaving

⁸⁶ Al-Hilālī, (2009), 25.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Al-Hilālī (2009), 37.

⁸⁹ (Qur'ān 9: 100), (Qur'ān 48:18), (Qur'ān [57:18]).

⁹⁰ Al-Hilālī (2009), 134.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

intransigence and dissension behind them!

In the second version, Al-Hilālī also praises Arabia. In his own words, he states that there was no land freer of polytheism than the Najd. It was for this reason that Allāh had bestowed on its inhabitants His love, had granted them victory and made His sanctuary secure in their hands.⁹³ Al-Hilālī's statement that making a construction upon a grave was an act of disbelief was derived from the books of Ibn Taymiyya, who argued that nobody builds anything upon a grave unless he exceeds the proper bounds in loving the person who is buried in that tomb. Indeed, it is tantamount to the gateway into polytheism. The Prophet, says Ibn Taymiyya, feared that his nation would relapse into polytheism, therefore he refused to allow his people to use graves as the sites of mosques because prostration was an act of worship exclusively reserved for Allāh, and this country should not become a haunt of polytheism.⁹⁴ Remarkably enough, Al-Hilālī's view on this matter did not waver throughout his whole life.

In the Arabian version, Al-Hilālī discusses the concept of innovation, wondering how Muslims could hope to become close to Allāh by disobeying and contradicting the Prophet, belittling his commands and interdictions. He was convinced that Allāh cursed all the places at which shrines and idols were worshiped, and heaped opprobrium and misery on them. He would also send against them their enemies, who would enter the very innermost corners of their dwellings, and afflict on them a horrible torment.⁹⁵ In fact, in his own words, Al-Hilālī is expressing the tenets of the Wahhābī doctrine, namely: religious practices which had not been considered acts of faith by the three first generations of Islam (the period of the Companions and the Followers), cannot be considered true articles of faith at the present time. This blanket statement applies to all innovations. For instance, had building domes on the tombs of the saints been a sign of faith, the Prophet would have done it or would have recommended it. Furthermore, if there were religious texts from which the legality of building domes might be inferred, or the fact that the latter is a good act might be understood, the Best Three Generations would have never abandoned this practice. Whoever wanted to be the first to boast a virtue which even the Prophet and the Three First Best Generations did not have or act in contradiction to acts of the Prophet and the pious predecessors, was deviating far astray from Islamic monotheism and is spreading vices and heresies.⁹⁶

⁹³ Al-Hilālī (2009), 110.

⁹⁴ Ibn Taymiyya (1999), Vol.1, 334-335.

⁹⁵ Al-Hilālī (2009), 137.

⁹⁶ Al-Hilālī (1965), 86.

Another difference in the second edition of his booklet *al-Qādī al-‘adl* is Al-Hilālī’s wish to present it to King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, which he did, praising him in a famous poem while seated beside him.⁹⁷ The King ordered the Chief Judge *Shaykh* ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan to print and distribute a thousand copies immediately.⁹⁸

Shaykh Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī must have at least had a glance in this book, because Al-Hilālī was informed that Al-Qazwīnī was writing a book in response to it. However, Al-Hilālī had not been able to have a look at this response.⁹⁹ To some extent this book did him some harm. In Al-Hilālī’s own words, the publication of this volume was the reason lurking behind the feeling of enmity the Shiites nurtured against him and that, as he had been registered as an enemy of the Shia community, it was the reason he was unable to procure Iraqi citizenship in the late 1940s.¹⁰⁰ It is worthy of note that in 1942 Al-Hilālī wrote another book on the same subject entitled *Ziyārat al-Qubūr wa-l-istinjād bi-l-maqbūr* (Visiting the Graves and Supplicating the Entombed), in which he uses the same proofs from the *Qur’ān* and the *ḥadith*.¹⁰¹

In late 1927, Al-Hilālī decided to remain in Saudi Arabia in order collaborate with his Salafī brothers in the propagation of ‘Authentic’ Islam. After he had enjoyed the hospitality of the King for four months, *Shaykh* ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan, the incumbent Mufti of Saudi Arabia, offered Al-Hilālī the post of *imām* in the Holy Mosque in Mecca, an office which, he said himself, he turned down for religious reasons. He had stipulated that during prayers, people should perform ten praises or *tasbīḥ*-s in prostration and kneeling. *Shaykh* ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan did not agree with this because, he thought that it was a gruelling exercise in which people would not acquiesce.¹⁰² He was then appointed a lecturer at the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina.¹⁰³ Al-Hilālī stated that in 1928 he earned a monthly salary of ten gold *Dinars*¹⁰⁴ and,

⁹⁷ For the content of the poem see Al-Hilālī, (2009), 25.

⁹⁸ Al-Hilālī (2010b), 532-533.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ In 1942, Al-Hilālī released a commentary on the same subject, in a discussion of Ibn Taymiyya’s book on the visiting of the shrines, *Ziyārat al-qubūr wa-l-istinjād bi-l-maqbūr*, (The Visiting of Graves and the Supplication of the Entombed), which he published later, see Al-Hilālī (1949), “Ziyārat al-qubūr wa-l-istinjād bi-l-maqbūr,” *Lisān al-Dīn*, 3, 4, 27-30.

¹⁰² Al-Hilālī (2005a), 160.

¹⁰³ My personal conversation with Al-Hilālī’s grandson, ‘Abd al-Ghānī Muhammad Būzakrī, , in the Moroccan city of Meknes on 11 aug 2010.

as the cost of living in Medina was cheap, three gold *Dinars* were sufficient to live comfortably¹⁰⁵.

After his successful book, *al-Qāḍī al-‘adl fī ḥukm al-bina’ ‘ala al-qubūr*, in which he attacked the Shia doctrine, while he was still in Arabia he addressed the errors of another sect, namely the Tijaniyya, explaining their tenets to the Wahhābīs who were unfamiliar with them. Al-Hilālī discovered that one of the professors in Medina, a certain Alfa Hashim from Mali (d.1932), was considered to be a *muqaddam* (leader) of the Tijaniyya. He wrote a paper in which he explained thirteen errors (*ḍalālāt*) committed by the Tijaniyya and gave it to Chief Judge, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan, who confronted the Sufi scholar with Al-Hilālī’s paper. Alfa Hashim agreed with the list of errors and, at Al-Hilālī’s request, printed it and distributed so that other people might be warned against committing what he called the same *ḍalālāt* (errors).¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, the present author has not been able to lay his hands on a copy of this publication.

In addition to his battles against such sects as Shi’ism and Sufism, Al-Hilālī acted as an expert advisor for the Wahhābīs and tried to prove their ignorance of different Islamic matters, including doctrines as in the case of the Tijaniyya sect, as well as of scientific matters. He also assumed the role of a *mufti* in some of these matters. For instance, at the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina, in Ramadan 1347/ February 1929, while he was still a *murāqib al-mudarrisīn* (supervisor of the teachers) of its institute (*al-Ma’had*) in al-Medina, a group of teachers raised a scientific question, namely: the issue of whether the earth was round or flat. Al-Hilālī explained that, undoubtedly the Earth was round. He supported his claim by referring to the fact that both Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya had confirmed this information. At that time, a Wahhābī scholar and former Chief *Qāḍī* named ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Bulayhid (d.1940) happened to visit the mosque, and the teachers asked him the same question. He replied that only misguided Muslims could deny the fact that the Earth was flat.¹⁰⁷ Al-Hilālī did concede that there was indeed a passage in the (*Qur’ān* 88:20) referring to the Earth as having a flattened surface (*suṭṭiḥat*), which some Wahhābīs (like Ibn Bulayhid) had understood literally. Al-Hilālī explained why he was wrong. Among other points, he adduced that the alternation of day and night and the difference in the sunrise and sunset in

¹⁰⁴ At that time one gold dinar was equal to one British pound.

¹⁰⁵ Lauzière (2008), 172; Al-Hilālī (2005a), 167.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 162. See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 167-168.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 164.

different regions, for example, the fact that the sun rises in Riyadh about half an hour earlier than it does in Medina.¹⁰⁸ Al-Hilālī added: ‘I had another plausible argument. If a traveller heads west in a straight line and keeps to that direction without deviating from it, he will return to the place from which he came.’¹⁰⁹ Hearing these words the Wahhābī scholar grew very angry. Most of the teachers had no doubt about what Ibn Bulayhid had told them, so they accused Al-Hilālī of having lost his mind.¹¹⁰

When Al-Hilālī could finally consult his library,¹¹¹ which had been shipped to him from Iraq, he finally found proofs to support his argument in the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim. He underlined the appropriate passages in red and sent them to Ibn Bulayhid, who refused to accept these arguments claiming that not every scholar was able to understand the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim. Finally, Al-Hilālī found yet more proof in a book by Ibn Qayyim, entitled *Miftāh Dār al-Sa‘ādah*, in which he mentions that the evidence that the Earth was round was the alternation of day and night in different countries. Despite this evidence, the Wahhābī *shaykh* refused to admit his error and said,¹¹² ‘It is possible that the Earth is round on the other side, but is flat on the side on which we happen to live.’¹¹³ Al-Hilālī mentioned that he later met another Wahhābī scholar named Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh, who argued that not all the ‘*ulama*’ in the Najd believed the Earth was flat.¹¹⁴ In the 1920s the difference in religious points of views between the ‘*ulama*’ of the Najd, who were following the *madhhab* of Imam Ibn Ḥanbal, and Al-Hilālī who saw himself as an independent Salafī, was already apparent¹¹⁵ The way Al-Hilālī chose to sign one of his articles in *al-Manār*, would have appeared strange to most Najdis. He preferred to designate himself as follows: ‘Independent Salafī scholar who does not cling absolutely to any of the legal schools.’¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Lauzière (2008), 157, Al-Hilālī (2005a), 165.

¹¹⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 165.

¹¹¹ This library was originally in the possession of the family of a certain *Shaykh* Ḥasan Ibn ‘Alī al-Qasīmī. After his death, Al-Hilālī had received it as a gift. See Al-Hilālī (2005a), 165.

¹¹² Lauzière (2008), 158, Al-Hilālī (2005a), 166.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ It is worth noting that Al-Hilālī issued a *fatwa* on the issue of the Earth in which he did not change his mind and still expressed the same view See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 76-77.

¹¹⁶ Lauzière (2008), 167; *al-Manār*, 28 (1927):439.

After a dispute with the governor of Medina, the former wrote to King Ibn Sa‘ūd accusing Al-Hilālī of criticizing the laws of the kingdom and ordered his financial secretary not to pay Al-Hilālī’s salary. Al-Hilālī was dismissed and sent to Mecca, where he was appointed a teacher in the Holy Mosque.¹¹⁷ He was also made a teacher in the *al-Ma‘had al-‘Ilmī al-Sa‘ūdī* (the Saudi Scientific Institute). However, it does not seem that he was happy with his situation in Saudi Arabia because the period between 1929 and 1930 was marred by several intellectual disagreements with the Wahhābīs which caused him tension and frustration. Eventually, in 1930 he became so discontented in Saudi Arabia he decided to leave. In his doctoral dissertation, *The Evolution of the Salafīyya in the Twentieth Century through the Life and Thought of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī*, Henry Lauzière has argued that the reason for Al-Hilālī’s departure from Saudi Arabia was linked to a controversy arising from his appointment by the Consultative Council (*Majlis al-Shūra*), which was not approved by King Ibn Sa‘ūd. This speculation seems to be wrong because, in one of his unpublished *fatwas*, Al-Hilālī declares that the real reason was a letter which he, his colleague Abū al-Samḥ and other fellow Salafīs had sent to King Ibn Sa‘ūd protesting against the celebration of *Īd al-julūs ‘ala al-‘arsh* (the Feast of the Accession to the Throne),¹¹⁸ which they qualified as a reprehensible innovation (*bid‘a*). As a consequence, Al-Hilālī was not able to obtain the authorization from Ibn Sa‘ūd which would have allowed him to leave the country and he decided to ask the help of the French embassy, which was able to convince Ibn Sa‘ūd to let Al-Hilālī leave, although, as he wrote to Ibn Sa‘ūd, he had hated seeking the help of the French embassy against an Islamic government.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Al-Hilālī (2010b), 104.

¹¹⁸ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, a letter he sent to Muḥammad al-Zamzamī, dated 05/11/1386 (in 1966, before his settlement in Saudi Arabia in 1968).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

3. India, Afghanistan and Iraq (1930-1936): Polemics against the Aḥmadiyya and against the Niqāb

The three years Al-Hilālī spent in Mecca and Medina assisting and guiding the Wahhābīs and the time he lived in Upper Egypt both provide evidence of his early commitment to international preaching.¹ He quickly adopted the role of a travelling Salafī missionary prepared to roam the whole world to propagate his message.²

After leaving Saudi Arabia in 1930, Al-Hilālī continued spreading the Salafīyya message in his travels in India, Afghanistan and Iraq, criticizing any belief which contradicted its principles. Nevertheless, he was not always consistent in abiding by the teachings of Salafism which he so vigorously promoted. For instance, when he went to Afghanistan in 1352/1934 and fell ill with malaria and became so frantic he decided to submit to a strange treatment, which he said he had had to resort to in his ‘time of Ignorance’ (before his conversion). He decided to write invocations on pieces of paper and almond shells and burn them.³ Surprisingly, his fever receded, something Al-Hilālī could not explain.⁴ Al-Hilālī states categorically that he was obliged to use this method to ease the pain he was suffering.⁵ Another example which shows that Al-Hilālī sometimes contradicted Salafī teachings was his belief that it is not obligatory for Muslims to follow the sayings of the Prophet concerning *ādāb* (decorum), especially in matters related to beard growth, dressing and eating. To substantiate his view, he argued that commands and prohibitions related to personal embellishment and natural customs should be understood in terms of recommendations and not in terms of commands. Al-Hilālī’s reply was based on lengthy quotations from the *ḥadīth*⁶ and this the reason he did not let his beard grow. When a scholar from the *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’* advised him to stop shaving his beard, he unwarily told the man to stop interfering in matters which did not concern him and to worry about his own affairs.⁷ His intemperance led to his temporary dismissal from the *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’* for one year. In fact, there are many *fatwas*

¹ Lauzière (2008), 199.

² Al-Hilālī (2005a), 224.

³ Before his conversion, he advised people to apply this kind of treatment. See Al-Hilālī (2005a), 181-182.

⁴ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 243.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005A), 46.

⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 227.

in the unpublished collection *Al-Fatāwā Al-Hilālīyya* in which Al-Hilālī, in contrast to many other Salafist scholars, declares he does not think that shaving the beard constitutes a major sin.⁸ In Muḥarram 1349/ June 1930,⁹ Al-Hilālī had been invited to teach in the *Kullīyyat Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’*¹⁰ in Lucknow (India) by Sulayman al-Nadawī (d.1953)¹¹ and ‘Abd al-‘Alī al-Ḥasan al-Nadawī (1895-1961).¹² Three months later, in September 1930, he was actually selected to become the chairman of the Arabic Literature Department at a monthly salary of 125 Indian Rupees.¹³ In the precarious economic situation in which he found himself, which had been aggravated after his temporary dismissal, Al-Hilālī continued to enjoy the financial support of his rich friend *Shaykh* Muṣṭafa Āl-Ibrāhīm.¹⁴

In late 1931, Al-Hilālī made a short trip the city of Azamgarh with Sulayman al-Nadawī and Abū al-Ḥasan Al-Nadawī.¹⁵ During that trip, Sulayman al-Nadawī and Al-Hilālī agreed to establish an Arabic magazine which they called *al-Ḍiyā’*.¹⁶ Al-Hilālī was appointed director and Mas‘ūd al-Nadawī the managing editor.¹⁷ *al-Ḍiyā’* was first published in the month of Muḥarram 1351/May 1932. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nadawī said that the publication of *al-Ḍiyā’* heralded a new era in the Arab press in India. The magazine was indeed a kind of symposium through to communicate with Muslims and make the *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’* known

⁸ These *fatwas* will be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 224.

¹⁰ *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’* was established in 1892 (1316), for further detailed information see Al-Nadawī (1975), 61.

¹¹ About Sulaymān Al-Nadawī (1884-1953), see Al-Nadawī (1987), 275-276.

¹² About him see Al-Nadawī (1987), 276. He was the older brother of the well-known Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nadawī (d.1999) and Vice-President of the *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’* until his death in 1961.

¹³ *Al-Nadawī* (1987), 99. In his autobiography, *Al-Da‘wa ‘ilā Allah*, Al-Hilālī mentioned a monthly salary of 100 Rupees. See Al-Hilālī (2005a), 226.

¹⁴ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 158.

¹⁵ In his book, Al-Nadawī makes the following remarks about Al-Hilālī, ‘One of the most important events that took place in this period and which made a glorious history, was the introduction of the great scholar and researcher of Arabic literature and the successful teacher, Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī, to the *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’*. It is suffices to show his value to mention that whenever the scholars Rashīd Riḍā and Shakīb Arsalān, disagreed on any issue related to the Arabic language, they referred to Al-Hilālī to end up their linguistic disagreement.’. See Al-Nadawī (1987), 99-100.

¹⁶ *al-Ḍiyā’* was an Arabic monthly magazine; it was published in Lucknow (India). It was founded by Mas‘ūd al-Nadawī. The two managing editors of the Magazine were Sulayman al-Nadawī, and Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī. See Al-Nadawī (1987), 99-100.

¹⁷ Al-Nadawī (1987), 99.

throughout the Arab world.¹⁸ *Al-Ḍiyā'* also became a channel through which Al-Hilālī could preach his Salafī ideas. Published from 1932 to 1935, the magazine discussed the ideals of the Salafīyya. Al-Hilālī sent copies of the journal to his mentor, Rashīd Riḍā, who reprinted its first edition in *al-Manār*.¹⁹

Al-Hilālī remained in Luknow until the end of 1933. It was during this period that he learned English and began to insist in his articles that Muslims should master both Arabic and foreign languages.²⁰ He was convinced that in his era no complete knowledge could not be achieved without the knowledge of a foreign language. Since the predominant foreign language in India was English, he began learning it from his students and from other persons.²¹ Despite the fact that he was still a beginner, he realized that the pronunciation of Indian English did not accord with the rules of the Received Pronunciation of British English. Therefore, he went to a Christian missionary post whose director was a Canadian.²² They agreed that Al-Hilālī would be given three free lessons a week and that each lesson would last half an hour. In return, Al-Hilālī committed himself to attending the preaching sessions of his English teacher.²³

In one of his letters, Al-Hilālī informed Riḍā that he had written Arabic footnotes on Matthew's Gospel in his copy of the New Testament which a young American, whose name was Smith,²⁴ had sent to him. In the same letter, Al-Hilālī asked Rashīd Riḍā if he would like to publish these notes in *al-Manār* when they were ready,²⁵ but it seems that Al-Hilālī failed to send the article to him for publication. Al-Hilālī mentioned that both Riḍā and Shakīb Aرسالān (1869–1946) were interested in reading his comments²⁶ because, when Al-Hilālī informed Shakīb Aرسالān (1869–1946) about them, he wanted a copy for himself. Al-Hilālī told him that there were no copies left at the publishing House, but that he was ready to write some explanatory comments similar to the footnotes he had previously made on Matthew's

¹⁸ Al-Nadawī (1987), 100.

¹⁹ See Rashīd Riḍā, Muḥarram 1351/July 1932, *al-Manār*, 32, 345.

²⁰ See also Al-Hilālī, “Ta’allum al-Lughāt,” October 1949.

²¹ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 24.

²² Ryad (2009), 266.

²³ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 24.

²⁴ His full name was Fred William Smith. I found it in a letter from Al-Hilālī addressed to Rashīd Riḍā dated 24/05/1352 circa 1934. See Ryad (2009), 270.

²⁵ Letter of Al-Hilālī to Riḍā, Lucknow (28 Jumāda al-Thāniya 1352/ 18 October 1933), See Ryad (2009), 266.

²⁶ Ibid.

Gospel.²⁷ The reason behind his writing of these Arabic footnotes was, Al-Hilālī said, the arbitrariness of the Christians, their abusiveness and the distorted vision they had of Islam, turning the evident truths upside down.²⁸

Al-Hilālī originally entitled his booklet : *Ḥawāshī Shattā ‘alā Injīl Mattā (Various Footnotes on the Gospel of Matthew)*.²⁹ It was later republished in *Majallat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn*³⁰ (The Young Muslims’ Magazine) in Basra by Hajj Ṭāhā Al-Fayyād (1899-1967). In spite of a long enquiry, the present author has not been able to lay hands on a copy of this booklet, nor did he find any information about the year of its publication in Basra. However, some forty years later, Al-Hilālī probably reused his *Ḥawāshī* in his book *al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya*,³¹ which was written in the form of a *fatwa* at the request of Ismā‘īl Mundhir al-Darūbī al-Baghdādī [d.2007] , an Iraqi engineering student in the United States. The Iraqi student wanted to use the book in the polemical debates in which he used to engage with Christians there. The title of this book is *The Evangelical Proofs that Jesus Is a Human Being and Has No Share in Divinity*. He also provided this student with the numbers of chapters and verses from the four Gospels.³² A special study will be devoted to this *fatwa* in Chapter 8.

3.1. Polemics against the Aḥmadiyya

On 23 October, 1932, while he was still living in India, Al-Hilālī wrote an article about the Qadyaniyya Movement which was published in *al-Fath*.³³ Al-Hilālī began his article by talking about the reason behind the existence of such groups. He argues that they had come into being as a consequence of ignorance of the Arabic language and of having to rely on translated books to acquire religious knowledge.³⁴ Al-Hilālī thought that it was people who did not know Arabic who were likely to make such mistakes. To substantiate his argument, he

²⁷ Al-Hilālī, *al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya*, (n.d., approximately 1969), 6; See also Al-Hilālī (2010a), 29.

²⁸ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 24-30.

²⁹ Al-Hilālī (2006b), 311.

³⁰ The magazine *Al-Shubbān al-Muslimūn* was established by the Iraqi writer and lawyer Haj Ṭāhā Al-Fayyād [1899-1967] and had been founded in 1928. Haj Ṭāhā Al-Fayyād was also the owner of *Sahīfat al-Sijil* which was a newspaper with Islamic views and religious tendencies founded in 1937. see

<http://www.basratuna.net/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=11967> edited 10-02-2011

³¹ Ryad (2008), 51.

³² Al-Hilālī did not cite any specific sources or which Arabic version he he used.

³³ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Qādyāniyyūn,” 1932, 232-234.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

points out that the Qadyaniyya did not attract the Muslims ‘...in the civilized Arabic countries’ (*bilād al-‘arab al-mutaḥaddīra*), despite the fact that this religious group was making tremendous efforts to propagate its ideology worldwide. Al-Hilālī asserts that anyone who knew Arabic would never believe that both the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna* show that Ghulām Aḥmad (d.1908) was both the *Mahdi* and a Messenger sent to all mankind.³⁵

Al-Hilālī was greatly amazed by the nature of the this sect because, he claimed, they used different languages to spread their faith and that their predication in both the East and the West was supported by considerable financial means. Moreover, they were very highly organized, with many missionary centres in Asia, Europe, America and Africa.³⁶ He thought the centres equalled those of the Christians both in knowledge and in methods of proselytation. However, as far as success and influence in the Muslim world was concerned, he believed that there was no comparison between the two confessions. His argument was that the Qadyānis were more successful because they were extremely well informed about Islam and that they used this knowledge in spreading their innovations and heresies, whereas the knowledge of Christians in matters of the Islamic faith was very weak, and their superstitions were blatantly apparent to everyone, with the exception of animals, ‘cattle eating in the fields and fools’ (*al-Bulh allādhīnahum ka al-An‘ām al-Sā’ima*). Al-Hilālī believed that the laziness of Muslims had also contributed to the success of the Qadyanis.³⁷ He asked himself if Islam could benefit from the Qadyāniyya Movement. He was convinced that paradoxically the work of this religious community was both useful and harmful to Islam.³⁸ The harm came from the false theological principles it was propagating, but its usefulness sprang from the efforts this community was making to spread and defend Islam. Since America, Europe and many non-Muslims in the East did not know anything about Islam or the biography of the Prophet, any effort to repair this lack of information was useful.³⁹ Al-Hilālī noted that, with the exception of the Qadyaniyya disciples who were spending their energy and money to achieve that goal, nobody was defending Islam. He believed that, even if all the religious reformers were to shout themselves hoarse and write until their pens broke, they would never be able to accumulate the same amount of money or gather the same number of people in all the Islamic

³⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Qādiyāniyyūn,” 1932, 232.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 233.

³⁹ Ibid.

countries as this small community, indeed not even the tenth of them. He thought that the evil of a Western soldier who was sent to an Islamic country, bearing in mind the false beliefs he had learnt from the books of the enemies of Islam, was greater than that of a soldier who was aware of the true nature of Islam and the biography of the Prophet.⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī explained that the former thought that he was relieving humanity by exterminating Islam and the Muslims, whereas the conscience of the latter would rebuke him for killing innocent Muslims.⁴¹

Al-Hilālī's opinion was that one should not claim to remain indifferent to whether an American or a European converted to the Qadyaniyya or remained a Christian, as long as he did not convert fully to Islam. The most important matter was to eradicate the false ideas about Islam which had become lodged in the minds of Europeans.⁴² For this purpose, it did not matter much whether their Islam was correct or incorrect. Al-Hilālī concluded that Muslims should not ignore the Qadyaniyya Movement. On the contrary, they had to follow that group carefully, confirming the truth it might bring and nullifying any falsehood it might advocate. Nevertheless, he was not sure that Muslims could achieve this goal as they were still unable to support *al-Fath* and *al-Manār* and other Islamic journals financially, even though they firmly believed that these publications represented the essence of Islam. In his view, it was nothing less than the weakness of Muslims' faith and their ensuing feebleness which had landed them in this debased predicament.⁴³

On 19 November 1932, Muḥammad Al-Khadīr Ḥusayn (1876-1958), chairman of the Al-Hidāya al-Islamiyya Association and a lecturer in the faculty of *Usūl al-Dīn* at Al-Azhar wrote a reply to Al-Hilālī's article.⁴⁴ He began his riposte by providing a short history of the Aḥmadiyya and pointing out the fact that the community was divided into two groups.⁴⁵ He

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 234.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Al-Khadīr (1932), 17.

⁴⁵ According to Muḥammad Al-Khadīr Ḥusayn, there were two groups within the Qadyāniyya: the 'Qadyan' Branch, whose leader was Maḥmūd Ibn Ghulām Aḥmad, and the 'Lahore' Branch whose leader was Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī, head of the Lahore Aḥmadiyya Movement, who translated the essence of the Qur'ān into English. In the case of the Qadyan Branch, the basis of its faith was the belief that Ghulam Ahmad was a messenger. The other branch did not seem to consider Ghulam Ahmad a prophet, but saw him simply as a religious reformer or re-newer (*mujaddid*). However, in its literature the Lahore Branch confirms a gross heresy

talked about the Lahore Branch and the fact that it denied that Jesus had been born without a physical father. Muḥammad Al-Khadīr Ḥusayn hammered home the fact that the Qadyaniyya ideology must be fought,⁴⁶ and hence did not share Al-Hilālī's more lenient view of it. To refute al-Hilālī's arguments, he said:

Actually, those who are uninformed about the true nature of this religious community think that its preachers really do call people to Islam. They might even praise their efforts and rebuke anyone who writes books to warn Muslims about the falsehood they spread. The danger which this sect presents to Islam would be less if it restricted its proselytism to non-Muslims. We could then endeavour to fight enemies other than this sect, as among them atheists and heretical groups. However, they also hope to target the people who take their guidance from the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*, trying to convince them to believe in the message of Ghulam Ahmad and in all the falsehood to which this will lead. In fact, they have sent their preachers to Syria, Palestine, Jeddah, Iraq and some other Islamic countries. Even though the doctrine of this sect is based on nonsense, it has been accepted by many arrogant young people whose fathers did not educate them properly in Islamic teachings.⁴⁷

Despite the fact he warned Muslims against the blasphemy of this religious community, Muḥammad Al-Khadīr Ḥusayn did not openly consider them unbelievers or apostates.⁴⁸

On the basis of the above-mentioned articles, a request was sent to all the 'Arab scholars in the East and the West' by Abū al-Makārim Muḥammad 'Abd As-Salām Al-Sālim, lecturer in the Arabic Faculty in the city of Karnoul, on 21 December 1932, requesting a legal opinion on the Qadyaniyya religious community. He wanted to know whether or not the Qadyānis were Muslims:⁴⁹

which led it to deny the fact that the Messiah was born without a [physical] father. The leader of this branch, Muhammad 'Ali, openly stated that the father of Jesus was Yūsuf al-Najā. See Al-Khadīr (1932), 18.

⁴⁶ According to Muḥammad Al-Khadīr Ḥusayn, the Qadyaniyya Sect was very active in spreading its faith. Muḥammad Al-Khadīr Ḥussein mentions that he had written his current article to warn the Muslims of Egypt and those of other Islamic countries that they should fight the sedition of the Qadyāniyya Sect in the same way they fought the Bahā'ī Sect. See Al-Khadīr (1932), 18.

⁴⁷ See Al-Khadīr (1932), 17-18.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ As-Sālim (23 Sha'bān 1351/21 December 1932), 369.

Oh, Western and Eastern Arab Scholars! O Scholars of the two Holy Places! O *Shaykh* al-Azhar, the Mufti of Egypt ! O Shakīb Arslān , the great writer of the East ! Oh, Mr Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī ! Do point out to us, may Allāh Grant you His Mercy, the ruling of Islamic Law on the Aḥmadiyya Sect and the Lahori Aḥmadiyya, who believe that Ghulam Aḥmad Al-Qādyāni is a prophet or, according to some of them, a religious reformer. Are or are not the Qadyānis Muslims? What do you think of the publishing houses which print books for them in your countries, and the magazines which make propaganda for them for the sake of a trifling amount of money? What do you think about any assistance the advocates of the faith of Ghulam Aḥmad al-Qadyāni might receive from Muslims in your countries? What do you think about concluding marriage contracts with them, maintaining social relations with them, doing business with them, living in their neighbourhood and greeting them? Do please show us the truth about all these matters, may Allāh reward you, Allāh willing.⁵⁰

For the guidance of scholars in preparing their legal opinions, Abū al-Makārim provided many details about the beliefs of this group. He said that the Indian scholars thought that the belief held by the Aḥmadiyya that Ghulam Aḥmad Al-Qadyāni is a prophet was enough to disqualify them as Muslims.⁵¹ They had even issued a legal opinion declaring a disbeliever was anyone who would hesitate to doubt the blasphemy of Ghulam Aḥmad or would show themselves hypocritical in their consideration of his case. Abū al-Makārim said that Indian scholars had already issued a legal opinion on the nullity of all marriage contracts which inattentive Muslim guardians might have concluded between a Muslim woman and one of the disciples of Ghulām Aḥmad al-Qādyān.⁵² It did not matter whether these guardians believed that Ghulām was really a prophet, or just merely a religious reformer, or they only thought good of him, if they did not openly declare that he was a disbeliever.⁵³

On 2 January 1933, the first reaction came from Shakīb Arsalān in Geneva, who stated that he was not in a position to issue a *fatwa*. However, because Abū al-Makārim insisted on

⁵⁰ Ibid., 372.

⁵¹ As-Sālim (23 Sha‘bān 1351/21 December 1932), 369.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

mentioning his name on the list of the Arab scholars whom he had asked about the Qadyāni Sect, he would answer his enquiry briefly. He based his answer on the information given by Abū Al-Makārim, who had provided texts and evidence against them derived from their own literature. Shakīb Arsalān pointed out that any one argument from among these was enough to declare anyone who adhered to that religious community a disbeliever, despite the fact that it is always extremely difficult to declare a Muslim as unbeliever.⁵⁴ Moreover, Shakīb Arsalān invited the Qadyāniyya scholars to make their position on these beliefs clear. He added that, if the attribution of these beliefs to Ghulam Aḥmad proved to be true, this would harm not only the Qadyāni Sect, but also the Lahori Aḥmadiyya community. Nevertheless, Shakīb Arsalān praised the efforts that the Lahore religious community were making to propagate and defend Islam. He reported that he had twice visited the mosque of the Aḥmadiya in Berlin, where he had been warmly welcomed by *Imam* al-Mawlā Ṣadr al-Dīn (1881-1981)⁵⁵, a trained missionary of the Ahmadiyya Lahore and first editor of the mission journal *Moslemische Revue*, and Imam M.S Abdullah, his successor in Berlin who was behind the conversion to Islam of nearly fifty aristocratic Germans. The latter told him that, in the eyes of the Lahori Aḥmadiya group, Ghulam Aḥmad was merely a religious reformer. Shakīb Arsalān stated that such a belief did not make them disbelievers, and he did not see any harm in it. As far as the Lahori Aḥmadiyya community was concerned, it was making tremendous efforts to propagate Islam. Shakīb Arsalān added that he was fascinated by their writings, as well as by their magazines published in Europe. He wished that all Muslims displayed the same resolution in spreading Islam as the Aḥmadiyya group. In his answer, Shakīb Arslān did not openly declare the Qadyāniyya followers infidels or unbelievers; nonetheless, he adjured them to repent if they truly adhered to the beliefs mentioned by Abū AL-Makārim.⁵⁶

On 7 January 1933, Al-Hilālī wrote his second answer, entitled *Jawāb Musta‘jal ‘an al-Qādyānī* (‘An Urgent Reply about al- Qādyānī’). He commenced his answer with an implicit reference to the question put by Abū Al-Makārim who had drawn his attention to the many heresies of Ghulām Aḥmad. Al-Hilālī stated that he would never have been bold enough to issue a *fatwa* if his name had not been mentioned in the journal, because there were many

⁵⁴ Arslān (1933), 439.

⁵⁵ About him and others see, Jonker, Gerdien. “A Laboratory of Modernity – The Ahmadiyya Mission in Interwar Europe,” *Journal of Muslims in Europe* (2014) and Jonker, Gerdien. “The Dynamics of Adaptive Globalization: Muslim Missionaries in Weimar Berlin,” *Entangled Religions* (2014).

⁵⁶ Arslān (1933), 439.

scholars who were far better qualified than he to answer this question.⁵⁷ Al-Hilālī mentioned that, during his first period in India in 1924, he had come across some books⁵⁸ about Ghulām Aḥmad.⁵⁹ After reading them, he came to the conclusion that this man was one of the great impostors who did not even believe his own blasphemous claims. Al-Hilālī added that Ghulam Aḥmad was hungry for power and aspiring to leadership which was indeed the cornerstone of all evils. Consequently, Al-Hilālī openly declared anyone who adhered to the teachings of Ghulam Aḥmad an unbeliever. However, he sounded a note of caution saying that he had based his *fatwa* principally on the information Abū Al-Makārim had mentioned in his enquiry.⁶⁰

In February 1933, a third answer, entitled *Jawāb al-Istiftā’ ‘an Al-Qādyāniyya al-Muwajjah ilā ‘Ulamā’ al-Islām* (Answer to the Request for a Legal Opinion about the Qadyaniyya Addressed to Scholars of Islam) came from *Shaykh* Muṣṭafā Abū Yūsuf Al-Ḥamāmī (d.1949), an al-Azhar scholar. He openly declared those who adhered to the teachings of Ghulam Aḥmad unbelievers and apostates, even extending this disapprobation to those who might disagree with this legal opinion. His judgement was both should be killed.⁶¹ He thought that the Aḥmadiyya leaders and preachers did not speak explicitly about their beliefs, thereby misleading their disciples who knew no better than to think that this religious community did not deviate from true Islam. Al-Ḥamāmī also based his judgement on the article in *al-Fath* by Abū al-Makārim⁶² and, of course, on the information the latter had gathered. All the same, the author of the third *fatwa* substantiated his opinion which was that

⁵⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Jawāb Musta’jal ani Al-Qādyānī,” 1933, 440.

⁵⁸ Al-Hilālī was referring to the magazine *The Review of Religion*. It was published in English in Qadyān. Al-Hilālī said that this magazine was full of articles related to different branches of science, but the majority were about religion and spoke of the virtues of Islam, the miracles of the Prophet and his sublime merit. The Aḥmadiyya magazine had devoted one column to the issuing legal opinions, such as polygyny, *fatwas* about Jesus according to which this prophet had a physical father, as well as the claim that Ghulam Aḥmad was a prophet. See <http://www.reviewofreligions.org/> accessed 22-01-2014. [Polygamy just means mean marriages. Polygyny means many wives and polyandry means many husbands and there are societies where this is the case].

⁵⁹ Al-Hilālī, “Jawāb Musta’jal ani Al-Qādyānī,” 1933, 440.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Al-Hamāmī (1933), 453.

⁶² As-Sālim (23 Sha‘bān 1351/21 December 1932) , 369-372.

Ghulam Aḥmad was insane by pointing out that he spoke evil of both Islam and Christianity.⁶³

On 15 September 1933, Al-Hilālī wrote another article on the Qadyaniyya, which was also published in *al-Fath*. In this article, he argued that this movement could have only come into existence and thereafter continued to be successful because of the appalling ignorance of Arabic among Indian Muslims. Al-Hilālī averred that people who were well versed in Arabic would realize that neither the *Qur'ān* nor the *ḥadith* validate the Aḥmadi interpretation of Islam.⁶⁴ He could quite understand that those who were ignorant of this had been willing to accept innovations and had joined heretical movements like the Qadyaniyya.⁶⁵ Al-Hilālī mentioned his unbounded amazement that, even though the disciples of this sect had attained a distinguished level in science which no other religious community had ever before acquired, they had been so easily misled by the falsehoods Ghulam Aḥmad al-Qadyānī had fabricated.⁶⁶

Scholars in Egypt, Syria and Iraq had committed themselves to answering the claims of the Aḥmadiyya sect. Interestingly, Al-Hilālī's views on the Aḥmadiyya religious community, published in *al-Fath*, indicate that his ideas about them evolved between 1924 and 1934 from a nuanced image to a violent anti-Aḥmadiyya attacks in the mid-1930s. In the beginning, Al-Hilālī mentioned that, during his first period in India in 1924 he had come across some books and some articles of the Aḥmadiyya papers which enlightened him more about this community. In his article, of 23 October 1932, he praised the Qadyāniyya, members for bringing Islam into focus in the West. Al-Hilālī also noticed that the efforts which this small sect was making to spread its faith were very impressive, even to the extent that the Qadyaniyya had succeeded in achieving what millions of educators had failed to achieve.⁶⁷ He even considered their defence of Islam in the West as "real jihād" that should please every Muslim.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, On 7 January, 1933, in his article entitled *Jawāb Musta'jal 'an al-Qādyānī* (An Urgent Reply about al-Qādyānī) published in *al-Fath* Al-Hilālī openly stated

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Al-Hilālī (1933), 5.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī, "Sabb al-Qadyāniyyūn li-l Islām," 1933, 13-17.

⁶⁷ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Qādyāniyyūn," 1932, 232-234.

⁶⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Fi Tarjamat al-Qur'ān," *al-Fath*, 6/293, April, 6, 1932, 4-7.

that the Qadyāniyya disciples were unbelievers.⁶⁹ In his third article, which was published in *al-Fath*, on 15 September 1933, Al-Hilālī reached the conclusion that the major reason for the Aḥmadiyya unquestioning acceptance was people’s ignorance of Arabic. Al-Hilālī also stated that he had changed his mind about the Qadyāniyya because he believed that the presence of this religious community in many Muslim countries had caused great disruption.⁷⁰

Having spent three years in India, in 1933, Al-Hilālī travelled to Afghanistan. To enter Afghanistan, he had to ask the permission of the French Embassy.⁷¹ However, the nearest French Embassy to Peshawar was in Bombay and the distance between Peshawar and Bombay involved a thirty-five-hour train ride. The expense and the fatigue such a trip would have entailed were enormous. Al-Hilālī said that the last country noted in his French Moroccan passport was Persia (*Fāris*) so he decided to add the word Afghanistan to his passport. He says that he was aware that this was taking an enormous risk, especially in the city of Peshawar which lay on the border of the British colony, a place where the secret and the ordinary police would exert a very strict control on every movement of travellers.⁷² Despite his misgivings, the security agents did not pay any attention to his passport and allowed him to leave India.⁷³

In Afghanistan Al-Hilālī wrote an article which he sent to Riḍā, in which he describes the situation of Islam there.⁷⁴ He wanted to consult him about publishing it in *al-Manār*. *Shaykh* Rashīd Riḍā later said that Al-Hilālī was hesitant about publishing his comments on the situation in which Afghans found themselves in the newspapers. Rashīd Riḍā asked Al-Hilālī to send it to him so that it could be revised before publication. After this, Riḍā wrote the following letter to Al-Hilālī on 1 September 1933:

During the summer holidays our friend Mr Mohammed Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī travelled from India to Afghanistan to monitor the state of Islam and the situation of Muslims in that country. He came back much saddened: he had discovered that the government of Nadir Khan (King of Afghanistan, d. 1933) had neither religion nor faith. On the

⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī, “Jawāb Musta‘jal ‘an Al-Qādyānī,” 1933, 440.

⁷⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Sabb al-Qadiyāniyūn li-l Islām,” 1933, 13-17.

⁷¹ Al-Hilālī had to ask for French permission because Morocco was still a French protectorate.

⁷² Al-Hilālī (2005a), 232.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

contrary, the officials nurtured a strong admiration for Muṣṭafā Kamāl (Atatürk, d.1938), and were not open to any criticism. Furthermore, the local religious scholars were both ignorant and lazy, and the leaders of the Sufi orders were superstitious; Furthermore, this government more than any other thought ill of the Wahhābīyya, whom they openly regarded as disbelievers, and [therefore] considered despising Wahhābīs to be a sign of piety. Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī hesitated about publishing his comments on the situation of the Afghans in the newspapers; so he consulted me about his quandary. I advised him, if he felt he could no longer bear to keep his findings secret, either to be patient or to write a neutral article rather than a sharp criticism and open condemnation. I also asked him to send me his article so that it could be revised before being published.⁷⁵

Al-Hilālī reported that, taking a leaf out of Atatürk’s book, the new king (1892-1960) had forced women to unveil and to wear clothes which do not cover their ‘*awra* (the private parts of the woman’s body which should be covered up). In Al-Hilālī’s opinion, the ‘*awra* of a woman was all her body with the exception of her face and hands. Al-Hilālī reported that the previous king had also forced men, even the Chief Justice of Kabūl who was eighty years old, to wear tight-fitting European cloths, and used to encourage girls to attend concerts scantily clad. When King Nadir Shah overthrew him, women began wearing the veil once again. The king forbade them to go out except when absolutely necessary and then only provided that they cover up completely.⁷⁶ Al-Hilālī was amazed by the fact that the Afghans were intransigent in their adherence to the Ḥanafī school of Jurisprudence, and shocked by the widespread influence of Sufism.⁷⁷ Incidentally, he criticized the fact that they would delay observing the afternoon prayer until the sun had become almost yellow, and the fact that they were not even prepared to accept Muslims might adhere to a non-Ḥanafī School of Jurisprudence. When he was travelling from Peshawar to Kabūl the car stopped at noon. Al-Hilālī alighted to make the partial ablutions. Some of the passengers also made these ablutions and came to pray with him. When they noticed that he raised his hands while still kneeling, they interrupted their prayers and thereafter each performed his prayer alone.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 232.

⁷⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 188.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

In Afghanistan, when the editor of the *Reform Newspaper* (*Ṣahīfat Islāh*) interviewed Al-Hilālī about the condition of Muslims in Morocco, he informed him about all the atrocities which the French slave-masters were committing in Morocco, a catalogue of killing, imprisonment, forcing citizens into exile, torture and stripping people of their property.⁷⁹ Al-Hilālī also reported that as his passport was about to expire, he decided to go back to India before the expiry date because he had no doubt that the French Embassy in Kabūl had read the articles he had published in another magazine whose name he could no longer recall.⁸⁰ Despite this niggling worry, Al-Hilālī actually remained there until his passport expired, and then overwhelmed with dread, headed to the French Embassy. When he handed the secretary his passport, the latter extended its validity. Then he told Al-Hilālī that the price for extending the validity of a passport was 15 Rupees, but that he exempted him from paying on account of his perfect knowledge of Arabic.⁸¹

3.2. The Hijāb

Al-Hilālī noted that he was pleased to see that Afghan women were wearing the *hijab*.⁸² As he was about to leave Kabūl, he wrote a booklet entitled *Al-Isfār ‘an al-ḥaqq fī mas’alat al-sufūr wa-l-hijāb* (Uncovering the Truth about the Issue of the Uncovering and Covering the Hands and the Face).⁸³ The booklet was written in the form of a *fatwa*. It was composed at the request of a certain Mun‘im al-Zawāwī, the brother of one of his students from Oman, who was living in the city of Karachi then still in India. He visited him and his wife, as his host was sitting on a chair in his garden reading the newspaper. Al-Hilālī described Al-Zawāwī's wife as ‘virtually naked’ (*makshūfat al-ṣadr wa al-‘unuq wa al-ra’s wa al-thirā‘ayn wa al-sāqayn*). She became angry when he refused to shake hands with her, telling her that he was a radical Muslim (*mutashaddid*). He informed her that his intolerance would force him to have to wrap his hands in a handkerchief. Al-Hilālī explained his behaviour by saying that in doing so he was adhering to the ethics of Islam, as the whole body of a woman was out of bounds to be touched by any man who could lawfully marry her. After a discussion with Al-Hilālī, Al-

⁷⁹ Ibid, 249.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 195.

⁸³ Al-Hilālī, “Al-‘Isfār,” 1933.

Zawāwī promised that his wife would henceforth adhere to the rulings of Islam and would put on the veil. However, he requested Al-Hilālī issue a *fatwa* on the veil which she could use.⁸⁴

Al-Hilālī left Afghanistan for Iraq where he remained between 1933 and 1936. It was while he was in Zubair in Iraq that Al-Zawāwī reminded him about issuing the *fatwa* on the veil. Al-Hilālī checked with his mentor, Al-Shanqīṭī, about the ruling and the content of the legal opinions on the subject. After this preliminary investigation he wrote a booklet in a fortnight, using different sources in the library of his mentor. When the *fatwa* was ready, Al-Shanqīṭī warned Al-Hilālī that most scholars would not accept his opinion. Undeterred by this warning, Al-Hilālī sent it to Al-Zawāwī, who published it without his permission. It was published in India⁸⁵ for the first time in 1933. Two years later, copies of the *fatwa* reached Basra where it was republished in 1935.⁸⁶

In this *fatwa* Al-Hilālī uses twenty-three arguments from the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadiths* and the pronouncements of the four *Madhhabs* on the ruling of the veil, to support his contention that the complete body of a woman, except her face and hands, was '*awra*'.⁸⁷ Al-Hilālī said that this book aroused enmity against him. He claimed that its publication brought him no benefit, with the exception of his hope of being rewarded by Allāh. Nevertheless, this *fatwa* was the subject of many contemporary Friday sermons in which most '*ulama*' attacked Al-Hilālī, so much so that he wrote an abrasive poem on May 5, 1935 in which he condemned the *imam* of a mosque.⁸⁸ In one of his unpublished manuscripts written in 1974, Al-Hilālī maintains the same position, asserting that a woman need not cover up her face and her hands. A sign that he had not changed his mind on this issue. A special study will be devoted to this subject in Chapter 9.

⁸⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Al-'Isfār," 1933, 1-3.

⁸⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Al-'Isfār," 1933, 1-38.

⁸⁶ Al-Hilālī *al-'Isfār 'an al-ḥaqq fī mas'alat al-sufūr wa-l-ḥijāb* (al-Basra: Maṭba' Times Press, 1935)

⁸⁷ Al-Hilālī (1933), 1-25.

⁸⁸ For more details about the poem see Al-Hilālī, (2010b), 532-533.

4. Germany (1936-1942): Propagating Salafism and Combatting Colonialism from Europe

4.1. Introduction

In his dissertation discussing the role of Al-Hilālī in the evolution of the Salafiyya, Henry Lauzière devotes a separate chapter to the time Al-Hilālī spent in Nazi Germany. He speaks about his personal relations and refers to the dissertation he successfully defended in 1940 under the supervision of Richard Hartmann (1881-1965).¹ He also draws attention to his article about the idea of caste and tribalism in the Arabian Peninsula, published in the German scholarly journal *Die Welt des Islams*.² Lauzière also mentions in passing the addresses of Al-Hilālī broadcast on Radio Berlin in 1939 about the Berber *Dhahīr* (Decree), Arab chivalry and *jihād*.

More recently, Umar Ryad has devoted a chapter to Al-Hilālī's life in Germany entitled 'A *Salafī* student, Orientalist Scholarship and Radio Berlin in Nazi Germany: Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and his Experiences in the West'.³ In this chapter, Ryad speaks about Al-Hilālī's collaboration with Orientalists and the influence some of their ideas exerted on him. This author pays special attention to his contacts with the well-known German Orientalist Paul Kahle (1875-1964), who was his first supervisor. Ryad also discusses Al-Hilālī's approval and his consequent defence of Bernard Moritz' (1859-1939) interpretation of the divine Quranic epithets *Al-Raḥīm* and *Al-Raḥmān* in the *Fatiḥa* (*Qur'ān 1:2*), in which the word *Al-Raḥīm* is translated as 'loving'. He then goes on to discuss Al-Hilālī's opposition to racism and his ideas about Western women. Religion and religious life in Germany are other topics Ryad, who ends his chapter with Al-Hilālī's role in the Nazi propaganda directed towards the Arab world, touches upon. He describes Radio Berlin as an anti-colonial weapon and also speaks about Al-Hilālī's anti-communism. Ryad also sets out the process Al-Hilālī had to undergo before joining the propaganda department. This involved an application to the Ministry of Education of the Third Reich asking that Al-Hilālī be able to take leave of absence from his post at the University of Bonn. Al-Hilālī's monthly salary for this new position in the Wireless Service as a 'translator, language specialist and advisor' was 550

¹ See his thesis, Al-Hilālī (1941).

² Al-Hilālī, *Die Kasten in Arabien*, 1940, 102-110.

³ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 107-141.

Reichsmark (RM) per month. Ryad adds that on May 9, 1939, Al-Hilālī signed a statement accepting the regulations which required a scrupulous performance of his duties and his commitment to obligations. In the summer of 1939, the State Secret Police screened him and reported that nothing negative could be discovered in his political attitudes. After these investigations had been completed, Al-Hilālī received a permit from the Ministry of Education to move to Berlin.⁴ At the end of his study, Ryad refers to the addresses which Al-Hilālī broadcast in 1939 on *Jihād*, the Berber *Dhahīr* and Arab chivalry.⁵

Against the background of these studies, the aim of the present chapter is to provide some additional information about the religious and political ideas Al-Hilālī expressed during this time he spent in Germany, especially those he chose to discuss in his *fatwas* and radio addresses dating from this period. Among his addresses in Arabic for Radio Berlin, I shall focus on his ideas about *jihād* and on those about Judaism and Jews. I shall also touch upon some biographical themes including the reason he travelled to Germany and why he left in 1942.

In 1936, after stirring up some controversy, Al-Hilālī left Iraq and travelled to Europe. In his unpublished paper *Min al-Zubayr ilā lā adri* (From Zubayr to an Unknown Destination) dated 1936, he describes his journey from Iraq to Europe by way of Syria and Egypt.⁶ In Syria, he was the guest of Muhammad Bahjat al-Baiṭār (d.1976), one of Riḍā's associates. At Al-Baiṭār's house he met the Palestinian journalist Iḥsān Sāmī Ḥaqqī, the Assistant Secretary-General of the European Muslim Congress, which had been founded in Geneva in 1935 under the aegis of Arslān.⁷ Iḥsān Sāmī Ḥaqqī wrote him a letter of recommendation to the Swiss ambassador in Damascus, who helped organize his trip to Switzerland.⁸ In the autumn of 1936, Al-Hilālī arrived in Geneva from Alexandria via Italy. In Geneva, he was the guest of Shakīb Arslān (1869-1946),⁹ while he looked for opportunities to continue his graduate studies in Europe.¹⁰

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 136-137.

⁶ Al-Hilālī (1936).

⁷ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 112.

⁸ Al-Hilālī (1936). See also Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 112.

⁹ On Shakīb Arslān, see Cleveland (1985); Kramer (1987): 529-33.

¹⁰ Lauzière (2008), 242.

Al-Hilālī himself says that the reason he travelled to Europe despite the fact he was already forty was to obtain a university degree in the hope of finding a job at an Asian or African university. In his own words,¹¹ only with a degree from the West would he obtain the authority needed in the Islamic world to spread ‘Authetic’ Islam among teachers and students. Umar Ryad says that, having learned English in India, his first choice would have been to travel to England to finish his studies, but the university fees there were too expensive, so Al-Hilālī decided to go to Germany, which was cheaper and an attractive destination for many Arab students.¹²

Shakīb Arslān contacted the German Arabist Curt Prüfer (1881-1959), who was the head of a department at the German Foreign Office and recommended Al-Hilālī to him. Shakīb Arslān, who had close contacts in German official circles and had translated Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* into Arabic,¹³ must have been very much aware that the German Foreign Ministry¹⁴ was looking for well-educated Arabs to spread Arabic-language propaganda in the Arab world.¹⁵ Prüfer passed the letter on to the well-known Orientalist Professor Paul Kahle (1875-1964), who decided that Al-Hilālī would be welcome in Bonn.¹⁶ Therefore, in the autumn of 1936 he moved from Geneva to Bonn, where he began his academic career by obtaining a diploma of proficiency in the German language in 1937. In 1938 was appointed a lecturer in Arabic at the University of Bonn and commenced his academic studies proper.¹⁷ Kahle convinced Al-Hilālī to commence a doctoral thesis on the glossary of gemstones entitled *al-Jamāhir fī ma‘rifat al-jawāhir*, written by the Persian scholar and philosopher Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973-1048).¹⁸ In mid-April 1939 Al-Hilālī acquiesced in his suggestion and joined the company of three other Arab employees, Abdin Bey, Riad and Yūnus Bahri, who were also destined to play a role in spreading propaganda from Nazi Germany to the Arab world.¹⁹

¹¹ Al-Hilālī (2006a), 37.

¹² Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014) , 112.

¹³ On the Arabic translation of *Mein Kampf* during the Nazi era, see Wild(1985):126-73.

¹⁴ In the period 1937-1939, Otto von Hentig was the head of Office VII, which dealt with the Middle East in the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry. See Herf (2009), 38; See also Schechtman (1965), 78.

¹⁵ Herf (2009), 25-26.

¹⁶ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 113; See Also Kahle (1992), 3.

¹⁷ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 113.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014) , 136.

Al-Hilālī himself explained that Aldoner, the managing director of Radio Berlin, had told him that he was going to establish an Arabic Service at Radio Berlin, because the Arabic Service of the BBC, which had been founded in 1938, and the Italian Arabic Radio, founded in 1935, were giving misleading information about Germany. The Arabic Radio Service in Berlin would broadcast for about fifteen minutes each week to inform the Arabs about the true nature of what was happening in Germany and to demonstrate that this country had no colonial ambitions in Arab countries.²⁰ The long and the short of it was that this programme was to be used to combat the ideology which both the French and British had been propagating. Therefore, Aldoner invited Al-Hilālī to act as a *muṣaḥḥih* (proof-reader) and a *marji' lughawī* (a consultant for the Arabic language).²¹ Al-Hilālī also reports that he was selected on the recommendation of the German Orientalist Bernard Moritz (1859-1939), who was also employed by the German Foreign Office.²²

Al-Hilālī's life during the time he spent in Germany proved to be a unique experience since he found himself caught between two different worlds. On the one hand, he was living in a society tightly controlled by National Socialism; on the other hand, he was vigorously engaged in propagating anti-colonial ideas and Salafism, among other topics, through the Salafī journal *al-Fath* published in Egypt by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (1886-1969) and through the Arabic programmes of Radio Berlin.

4.2. *Fatwas from Europe*

4.2.1. *An Islamic ruling from Europe about drinking wine*

On 8 October 1938, Al-Hilālī published one of his *fatwas* in an article in the journal *al-Fath* which, among other subjects, reflects his personal experiences in Europe. He entitled his legal opinion: 'Is wine always forbidden?'²³ A question on this subject had been sent to him by the well-known Indonesian Muslim reformist writer Muḥammad Basyūnī ibn Muḥammad 'Imrān (1885-1953). In his question, Muḥammad 'Imrān mentioned that some of his countrymen drank alcohol in Europe, claiming that their European teachers taught them that it was possible to drink wine, because of the cold weather they encountered there. 'Imrān asked Al-

²⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-'Isti'mār," 1947, 11.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-'Isti'mār," 1947, 10.

²³ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr," 1938, 6.

Hilālī the following questions: Does Islam prohibit useful and non-harmful things? Is the claim accepted by these Indonesians valid? Is drinking wine useful and necessary to people living in Europe?²⁴

In his answer to the first question on the possibility of prohibiting useful things in Islam, Al-Hilālī argued that Islamic Law, which outshines all others in tolerance, justice and clemency, cannot prohibit only harmful things. Al-Hilālī pointed out that forbidden things in Islam fall into two categories: the first represents things which are purely and simply harmful, among them polytheism, killing innocent people and the like. The second category is made up of harmful things which might be useful in some cases or under some circumstances. Wine belongs to the second category. Al-Hilālī maintained that the harm wine can do is greater than the benefits it might convey (*Qur'ān*, 2:219). Therefore Al-Hilālī said that there is no disagreement among people, be they in Europe or in other places, about this fact. Al-Hilālī was aware of the attempt to prohibit alcohol in the United States between 1922-1929. He reported that:

The American leaders were sure that alcohol undoubtedly damages health. They also realized that the harm alcohol does is far greater than the benefit it might bestow. They have done all they can to prohibit alcohol. This prohibition continued for many years. However, Jewish merchants succeeded in spreading dissension among Americans and because of their political system they were obliged to legalize alcohol. All the same, not one of them, even those who were in favour of legalizing alcohol, pretended that it was not harmful to health, or that the harm it might cause was restricted to warm climates. Furthermore, medical men have written a great deal on the injurious effects to health of alcohol; they have provided many irrefutable pieces of evidence to support this fact.²⁵

Al-Hilālī described the claim mentioned in the second question, namely: that drinking alcohol might be lawful because of the extreme cold, as a great falsehood and an utterly ridiculous

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr," 1938, 6. It is worth mentioning that, according to a contemporary historical study, Jewish alcohol entrepreneurs were indeed among those who defended their industry from being banned by the law by exerting influence on the political system and the press (see Davis 2008). But Al-Hilālī's exclusive focus on the Jewish merchants is, of course, tendentious.

excuse. In support of his view, he provided two arguments: First of all, he wondered how a Muslim who believes in Allāh, in the *Qur'ān*, in the Prophet and in all his teachings could pretend that people who live in cold countries have a legitimate excuse to drink alcohol because of the cold weather in their countries? Actually, Al-Hilālī said, to hold such belief was to contest Islamic Law, and challenges both Allāh and His Messenger. Of course, people who live in cold places cannot live without things necessary to protect people from the cold, which is the reason it is inconceivable, according to both *Sharia* and Reason, that Allāh might prohibit something which the majority of the world's population, living in cold places, urgently needed.²⁶ He added that there are in fact many irrefutable religious texts which confirm the fact that the purpose of Islamic Law is that mankind might find happiness in this world and in the Hereafter.²⁷

In his second argument, Al-Hilālī mentions that all the medical doctors in the world have agreed upon the fact that drinking alcohol is not a necessary adjunct to health; on the contrary, people's health would improve, and all the mental and physical diseases such as tuberculosis would significantly decrease, were it not to be used. Al-Hilālī then listed some negative results of drinking alcohol, among them headaches, swollen eyes and insomnia.²⁸ Al-Hilālī answered the third claim which asserted that drinking alcohol is a necessity for Europeans because of the benefits it contains as follows:

O Allāh! Glorified are You! This is a great falsehood. We have never seen a European pretending that drinking alcohol benefits health, and consequently must be drunk. On the contrary, Europeans openly speak about the ill effects of alcohol on health. Likewise, the medical doctors there do not allow people, healthy or un healthy, who are suffering from any physical weakness to drink alcohol. Details on this issue are endless.²⁹

²⁶ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr,"1938, 6.

²⁷ To support his argument, Al-Hilālī referred to (Qur'ān 2:185),(Qur'ān 5:6), (Qur'ān 7:157), (Qur'ān 13:17), (Bukhāri,8/146), (Bukhāri Volume 1, Book 3, Number 69).

²⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr,"1938, 6.

²⁹ Ibid.

Al-Hilālī recalled that he once went to a university hospital to have a check-up because he was suffering from a stomach-ache. The doctor gave him a prescription,³⁰ as well as a list of prohibited food and drink. Alcohol was at the top of the list.³¹ Al-Hilālī also mentioned that his German friends did not drink alcohol, despite the fact that they did not have any religious belief, precisely because they feared its ill effects on their health.³²

In his *fatwa*, Al-Hilālī confirmed that nobody drinks alcohol in Europe thinking that this is necessary; on the contrary, it is used as a means of relaxation. He declared that people in Germany considered drunkenness a sign of insanity; they think that only uneducated people drink alcohol on some great occasions until they were inebriated.³³ Likewise, the belief that those Indonesian students in Europe had copied this habit from their professors was, according to Al-Hilālī, nonsense and a false allegation. He believed that university professors were moderate in their drinking habits.³⁴ At the end of his *fatwa*, Al-Hilālī stated that he had come to Europe in order to ‘expose’ the false reality of westernized Muslims.³⁵

4.2.2. *Living in Europe*

In 1938, during his time in Germany, Al-Hilālī clearly stated that living in Europe was only permitted in Islam *out of necessity*. Actually, a certain Mr ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Abū Samḥ had written the following to him:

I invoke Allāh, may He be exalted, to ensure we meet in Europe as we have already met in Africa and Asia’; Al-Hilālī replied: ‘I am likewise looking forward to meeting you, though I disagree with you about the place. I would rather see you in peace and

³⁰ According to Al-Hilālī, when the same doctor checked an young oriental man, he discovered that his body was very weak; so the doctor forbade him to drink any type of alcohol. The young man did not obey the doctor’s advice; as a consequence, he contracted tuberculosis in less than a year. Al-Hilālī knew another young German who contracted tuberculosis because he used to drink too much alcohol. When one of his lungs was removed, he recovered his health. The doctors had warned him against drinking alcohol. The young man enjoyed good health because he stopped drinking for one year. However, when he resumed his drinking habit, he immediately died of a heart attack. See Al-Hilālī, “Shurb al-Khamr,” 1938, 7.

³¹ Al-Hilālī, “Shurb al-Khamr,” 1938, 7.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Shurb al-Khamr,” 1938, 7-8.

harmony in Egypt; because I prefer that country to Europe. In fact, I do not think that a wise man should choose to reside in Europe, except out of necessity and the time he spends there should not be excessive.³⁶

During his time in Europe, Al-Hilālī, deeply regretted the situation of the Muslim students living there. He explained that he certainly did not deny that knowledge useful to oriental countries might be found in Europe. What he would deny is the belief which states that all the students who come to Europe are true seekers after knowledge and bring back useful things when they return to their countries of origin; or at least what they learn would not harm them. For this reason, the government would have to be more careful about sending students to study abroad.

As he himself had neither the strength nor the power to improve this situation, he remarked: ‘If you ask me what I would do were I to have the strength and power (needed)? I would reply: “If I had more than enough money, which is one aspect of strength, I would not limit myself to such insipid articles when I give advice.”’ He added that he would prefer to react with deeds, not words. As a matter of fact, he would go back to Eastern countries and would have a look at the students. If he saw that a person was reliable, he would summon that person to test his abilities and decide in which field of research he would excel. Then, and only then, he would send him to study, after paying for everything he might need during his stay in Europe.³⁷ When he had completed his postgraduate studies, this person would return to work in either the private or the public sector. As the government would gradually improve the level of expertise needed in each sector, which would mean that the number of students sent to study abroad should tally with the needs of the country, and not with the wishes of the students or their sponsors.³⁸ Al-Hilālī stated that one of the reasons which drove him to reside in Europe was the desire to refute the claims of the secularists and the atheists, and expose their intentions.³⁹

Later, Al-Hilālī advocated a different point of view, when he challenged a person who pretended that it was not permissible to travel to non-Islamic countries to provide relevant

³⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hadiyya ila al-Qurrā,” 30 Shawwāl 1357/ 22 December 1938, 710.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 711.

³⁹ Ibid., 14.

proof, telling the petitioner that, if he had the possibility to obtain a passport, he should go abroad with Allāh's blessings.⁴⁰ This *fatwa* will be discussed in more details in Chapter 9.

⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol. 2, 201.

4.3. Nazi Propaganda

A group of historians have studied the history of Arab-Nazi encounters,⁴¹ among of them Jeffrey Herf who looked extensively into the Nazi propaganda for the Arab world.⁴² He argues for an inherent affinity between Arab nationalism and Pan-Islamism on the one hand, and Nazi racist ideologies and anti-Semitism against the Jews on the other.⁴³ Like Al-Hilālī, many Arab and other Muslim students in interwar Europe joined a great Muslim transnational reformist network which advocated the unity of Islam against the colonial encroachment in the Muslim world.⁴⁴ Al-Hilālī's experience is a telling example of what Peter Wien has called the 'culpability of exile', 'a moral dilemma that affects foreigners who take up residence in a country such as Nazi Germany.'⁴⁵ In his study on the reception of National-Socialist ideologies in the Arab Near East, Stefan Wild briefly mentions the name of Hilālī in a reference to an anticommunist article by Al-Hilālī in the *al-Fath* during his stay in Bonn.⁴⁶

Al-Hilālī's role in the Arabic radio propaganda broadcast from Germany during World War II has not yet been fully documented and examined. Among those who were actively involved in this propaganda, Herf mentions the staff members of the German Foreign Ministry, the radio announcers, writers and editors. He also adds the name of Yūnus Bahri,⁴⁷ a well-known radio announcer, who was Al-Hilālī's friend and colleague. However, Herf only

⁴¹ Herf (2009); Herf (2006); Matthias Kuentzel, *Jihād and Jew-hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11* (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2007); Wild, Stefan. "National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939." *Die Welt des Islams* 25 (1985): 126–173; Peter Wien, "The Culpability of Exile: Arabs in Nazi Germany," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37 (2011): 332–358. Peter Wien, "Coming to Terms with the Past," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010): 311–321.

⁴² Herf (2009); Herf (2006).

⁴³ Herf, "Nazi Germany's Propaganda Aimed at Arabs and Muslims During World War II and the Holocaust: Old Themes, New Archival Findings," *Central European History* 42 (2009): 709–736; See also Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 107.

⁴⁴ Peter Wien, "Coming to Terms with the Past", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010): 311–312. See also Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 9.

⁴⁵ Peter Wien, "The Culpability of Exile: Arabs in Nazi Germany," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37 (2011): 332–358.

⁴⁶ Wild, Stefan. "National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939." *Die Welt des Islams* 25 (1985): 126–173.

⁴⁷ Bahri (1955).

refers to Al-Hilālī and others as anonymous native Arabic-speaking announcers and writers.⁴⁸ Jeffrey Herf has said that the only documents in the German archives which were sources for the Arabic broadcasts were those of Kurt Munzel (1905-1982), who was employed in the Department of Radio Policy of the Foreign Ministry, in which he was responsible for Arabic broadcasts. However, these archives cover only a three-month period which extended from December 1940 to February 1941.⁴⁹ Hampered by the dearth of direct sources, Herf was not aware of Al-Hilālī's work or of his involvement in the Nazi Propaganda.

Actually, on many occasions, even before his move to Radio Berlin, Al-Hilālī had already been defending Nazism, for instance, in April 1937 in the magazine *al-Fath* he published an account of the discussion he had had with a fruit-seller, a seventy-year-old woman. She believed that Hitler was a man sent by God to the German nation after it had completely disintegrated and was on the verge of collapse to bring it back unity and allow it to survive. Al-Hilālī was impressed by her enthusiasm and her nationalism. Meanwhile, he was saddened by the fact that the majority of young Arab people did not have even one-tenth of the nationalist sentiments the woman displayed.⁵⁰

In October 1938, in one of his articles in *al-Fath*⁵¹ Al-Hilālī claimed that the enemies of Germany pretended that Adolf Hitler was ruling his people as an autocrat. Al-Hilālī compared the 'crimes' of the French radical Prime Minister Edouard Daladier (1884-1970) and his British counterpart, Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), with the record of the Nazi regime and Hitler, who, in his view, was neither an absolute tyrant nor as authoritarian as many people might have thought.

In fact, Al-Hilālī was convinced that anti-German propaganda was one huge lie and a downright defamation of Germany. To provide evidence for his claim, he drew a comparison between the rule of Hitler in Germany with that of the French colonizers in North Africa.⁵² First and foremost, Hitler was a pure German, whereas the imperialists in North Africa had no

⁴⁸ Jeffrey (2009), 8-9.

⁴⁹ Examples of these archives are the broadcasts of Kurt Munzel. On December 24, 1940, in his broadcast, he attacked the Balfour Declaration, and described it as the product of Jewish money and in the broadcast of January 8, 1941, in which he drew a parallel between Nazi Germany and the Arabs in their struggle for freedom.. see Jeffrey (2009), 44.

⁵⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Firansa Tasfikū al-Dimā' fī Tūnis," 10Ṣafar 1356/ 22 april 1937, 16-17.

⁵¹ Al-Hilālī, "Nabiyyān Rasūlān," 1938, 7.

⁵² Ibid.

links with the countries there. Secondly, Hitler was a Roman Catholic Christian⁵³ as all Germans were; he was not an imperialist intent on occupying the country of another people in order to give it to the Germans. Al-Hilālī believed that Hitler considered all the Germans equal and there was no room for discrimination in Germany. He added that nobody was above the law in Germany, unlike the regime exercised under the imperialists in North Africa who had given a group of people political and economic privileges, but turned the local citizens into slaves.⁵⁴ Thirdly, Al-Hilālī said that Hitler’s main objective was to serve his nation in a way he thought would lead them to glory and honour.⁵⁵

The article which Al-Hilālī published in *al-Fath* in November 1938 is another instance in which he pays tribute to Nazi Germany. In this article, Al-Hilālī praises the help Hitler had given to Sweden when the Swedish people were saved by the German soldiers from captivity and the torture, which were being inflicted on them by their enemies, Czechoslovakian soldiers.⁵⁶ This reminded Al-Hilālī of the suffering of Muslim prisoners in colonial jails. He regretted that Muslims had *no Hitler, no nation, and, no hope* to rescue them from the colonial oppression as Hitler had done for the people in the Sudetenland.⁵⁷

4.3.1. Source Materials

In all, Al-Hilālī gave approximately thirty-five talks for Radio Berlin in the period from 2 May 1939 up to the end of November 1940. His principal purpose was to expose the crimes of French, British and Jewish colonial powers. Usually, Al-Hilālī’s radio programmes combined anti-colonial rhetoric with a Salafī religious message. The different source materials which I shall be using here are respectively Al-Hilālī’s family archives and the journal *al-Fath*, in which Al-Hilālī later published several of his addresses. I have also tried to look at the French translations of Al-Hilālī Radio Berlin broadcasts, located in the archives of the Moroccan

⁵³ Hitler’s biographers agree that he was probably an atheist. However, in his *Mein Kampf* he made various statements about Christianity. See Hitler (1999), 65, 119, 152, 161, 214, 375, 383, 403, 436, 562, 565, 622, 632-633.

⁵⁴ Al-Hilālī criticized one Arab broadcaster of the French radio station *Paris Mondial*, who compared the role of the French Prime Minister Edouard Daladier and his British counterpart, Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940), with prophets in history. See Further Al-Hilālī, “Nabiyyān Rasūlān,” 1938, 7.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Yā Allah lil ’Asrā,” 1938, 10.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

National Library in Rabat, which were consulted by Lauzière for his doctoral dissertation.⁵⁸ Unfortunately I could not gain access to these translations. The reason of this failure was technical: the curator says that at present it is impossible to trace the documents unless their shelf-numbers are provided. However, when I compared the themes I have discussed with those developed by Lauzière, my conclusion has to be that the contents of the translations in Rabat does not differ from the copies which I received from Al-Hilālī 's family or from the articles published in *al-Fath*. When I contacted Lauzière personally, he told me that he possessed no copies of the French translation of the RadioBerlin broadcasts, as it had not been possible to make copies of them at the time he consulted them in Rabat. All he could take with him were the notes he made when looked into these translations. He also could not provide any reference numbers.

An examination of Al-Hilālī 's personal archive reveals there can be no doubt that the addresses Al-Hilālī broadcast on Thursdays on Radio Berlin fall into four main categories: Arabic Literature, Islamic Jurisprudence, Anti-Colonial Politics and Islamic Theology. Al-Hilālī broadcast three addresses on *Tawḥīd*⁵⁹ (Monotheism), the major theme he discussed in the category of Islamic theology, and this choice might largely be explained by his eagerness to use Radio Berlin as a means to spread Salafism. He also also presented some lectures on *'Ibadāt* (matters of ritual and devotion), namely: three addresses in the month of Ramadan in the year 1940.⁶⁰ However, he also dealt with Arabic literary and cultural topics.⁶¹ For instance, he devoted some of his broadcasts to the Arab poet Al-Mutanabbī (d.965). The five talks on literature developed the themes of Arab chivalry and Al- Mutanabbī's aphorisms. Al-Hilālī also gave three addresses on alms-giving and charity.⁶² In the political field, five of his anti-colonial radio speeches focused primarily on Western imperialism and colonialism. Moreover, he gave some broadcasts which criticized Radio France International (RFI) and the Arab Syrian Bureau, including a defence of Shakīb Arslān against the campaign against him waged by the French radio station *Paris Mondial* in 1939.⁶³ Fifteen addresses were devoted to

⁵⁸ Lauzière (2008), 256-259.

⁵⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Ma'nā Lā Ilaha illa Allah," 1939, 1-3.

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Ḥādīth fī Aḥkām Ṣiyām Ramaḍān wa Ḥukmuh (I, II, III)," oktober 1940, 1-2.

⁶¹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Adab al-Maḡribī," 1939, 1-2.

⁶² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ṣadaqa ," 1939. 1-3.

⁶³ Al-Hilālī, "Radio Parīz Mundyāl al-Isti'mārī ," 19 July 1939.

Islamic jurisprudence, of which ten were on *jihād*. This was the most dominant theme throughout his broadcasts.

It was Al-Hilālī's grandson, 'Abd al-Ghānī Būzakrī, who provided the present author with the entire collection of the addresses he gave while he was broadcasting his weekly programmes on RadioBerlin. The first address took place on May 2 1939, one week after the Nazi regime began broadcasting in Arabic, and the last one was in December 1940. Most of the articles Al-Hilālī published in *al-Fath* were copies of his addresses broadcast by Radio Berlin. Al-Hilālī wrote several addresses under the umbrella title *Prophetic Guidance* and this umbrella title reappears in the articles in *al-Fath*. The Table below gives an overview of the addresses al-Hilālī wrote for Radio Berlin, together with the bibliographical data of those pieces which were published in *al-Fath*.

	Name of the Address for Radio Berlin	Translation of the Titles	Data concerning the documents in the Al-Hilālī Family Archive, followed by the relevant data of <i>Al-Faṭḥ</i>
1	Al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍa'	The True Path	Al-Hilālī archive, 2 May 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
2	Al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍa' Muḥaḍara La Silkiyya min Berlin,	The True Path: a (wireless) lecture from Berlin .	Al-Hilālī, <i>al-Faṭḥ</i> Rabi' al-Awwal, 1358 (May 11, 1939), 14, 653, pp. 20-21.
3	Amthāl al-Mutanabbī	<i>Al-Mutanabbī' s</i> Aphorisms,	Al-Hilālī archive, 11 May 1939, pp. 1-5, manuscript.
4	Dhikrā al-Dhahīr al-Barbarī	The Anniversary of the Berber Decree	Al-Hilālī archive, 16 May 1939, pp.1-5, Typescript.
5	Ḥadīth fī Intiqād al-Maktab al-Qawmī al-'Arabī fī Sūryā	A Discourse Criticizing the National Bureau in Syria.	Al-Hilālī archive, June 1939, pp. 1-6, Typescript .
6	Al-Adab al-Maḡribī: Mālik Ibn al-Muraḥḥil	Moroccan Literature: Mālik Ibn al-Muraḥḥil	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately Jun 1939), pp.1-5, Typescript.
7	Al-Ḥadīth 1 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī	The First Discourse on Prophetic	Al-Hilālī archive, 7 July 1939, pp.1-2

	Faḍl al-Jihād	Guidance related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Typescript.
8	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-ladhī ḍayya‘ahu al-Muslimūn (I)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (I)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , Jumada al-Akhira 1358 (27 July 1939): 14, 664, pp.8-9.
9	Al-Ḥādīth 2 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	The Second Discourse on Prophetic Guidance Related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 14 July 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
10	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-ladhī ḍayya‘ahu al-Muslimūn (II)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (II)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , 24 Jumada al-Akhira 1358 (August 10, 1939), 14,666, pp. 8-10.
11	Al-Ḥādīth 2 min al Al-Aḥādīth al-Adabiyya fī Amthāl al-Mutanabbī,	Second Discourse on the Literary Traditions in Al-Mutanabbī 's Aphorisms.	Al-Hilālī archive, 19 July 1939 , pp. 1-2, Typescript.
12	Al-Ḥādīth 3 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	Third Discourse on Prophetic Guidance Related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 21 July 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
13	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-ladhī ḍayya‘ahu al-Muslimūn (III)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (III)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , 2 Rajab 1358 (18 August 1939), 14, 667, pp. 7-8.
14	Al-Ḥādīth 4 fī Al-	Fourth Discourse on	Al-Hilālī archive, 28 July

	Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	Prophetic Guidance related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
15	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-Ladhī ḍayya ‘ahu al-Muslimūn (IV)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (IV)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , 9 Rajab 1358 (25 August, 1939), 14.667, pp. 8-9.
16	Al-Ḥādīth 3 mina al-Aḥādīth al-Adabiyya fī Amthāl al-Mutanabbī.	Third discourse on the Literary Traditions in Al-Mutanabbī 's Aphorisms.	Al-Hilālī archive, 2 August 1939, pp.1-4, typescript.
17	Al-Ḥādīth 5 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	Fifth Discourse on Prophetic Guidance Related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 4 August 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
18	Al-Futuwwa ‘inda al-‘Arab(II)	Arab Chivalry	Al-Hilālī archive, 10 August 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
19	Al-Futuwwa ‘inda al-‘Arab(III)	Arab Chivalry (III)	Al-Hilālī archive, 17 August 1939, P, 1-2, Typescript.
20	al-Ḥādīth 17 fī Al-Ḥathth ‘Alā al-Ṣadaqa al-Wājiba wa al-Mustaḥabba	Seventeenth Discourse on the Merits of Compulsory and Recommended Alms-giving	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately Sep 1939), pp. 1-2, Typescript.

21	al-Ḥādīth 18 fī Al-Ḥath ‘Alā al-Ṣadaqa al-Wājiba wa al-Mustaḥabba	Eighteenth Discourse on the Merits of Compulsory and Recommended Alms-giving	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately October 1939), pp. 1-2, Typescript.
22	Al-Ḥādīth 6 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād: Ghazwat Badr wa mā fīha min al-‘Ibar	Prophetic Guidance related to Matters concerning Jihād: The Moral Lessons of the Battle of Badr	Al-Hilālī archive, 4 November 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
23	al-Ḥādīth 20 fī Al-Ḥath ‘Alā al-Jihād.	Twentieth Discourse on Incitement to <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 10 November 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
24	al-Ḥādīth 21 fī Al-Ḥathth ‘Alā al-Jihād.	Twenty-first Discourse on Incitement to <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 17 November 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
25	al-Ḥādīth 22 fī Naṣīhat al-Muslimīn	Twenty-second Discourse on advice to Muslims.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately Dec 1939), pp. 1-3. Typescript.
26	Yawm al-Naḥr	‘Aīd al-Aḍḥā	Al-Hilālī archive, 20 Jan. 1940, pp.1-3, Typescript.
27	Al-Di‘āyā al-Yahūdiyya al-Briṭāniyya al-Amrīkiyya fī al-Maḡreb wa Asalībuha :	On the Means Used in Jewish, British and American Propaganda.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately February 1940), pp. 1-2, Manuscript.
28	Ma‘nā Lā Ilaha illa Allāh	The Meaning of There is no God save Allāh.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately March 1940), pp.1-3, Typescript.

29	Dhikrā al-Mawlid al-Nabawī, Iḥyā' Al-Hady al-Nabawī	Anniversary of the Birth of the Prophet, Celebrating Prophetic Guidance.	Al-Hilālī archive, 16 April 1940, pp.1-3, Typescript.
30	Ḥadīth fī Tawḥīd Allāh wa Ittibā' Rasūlih	A Discourse on Monotheism and Compliance with the Teaching of Allāh' s Messenger	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately May 194180), pp. 1-3, Typescript.
31	Radio Parīz Mundyāl al-Isti'mārī yashtumu Shaykh al-Mujāhidīn Nābigat al-'Arab al-Akbar al-Amīr Shakīb Arslān	<i>Radio France Internationale</i> Insults the Leader of the <i>Mujāhidīn</i> , the Great Arab Genius, Prince Shakīb Arslān.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., pproximately July 1940), pp. 1-3, Typescript.
32	Al-Ḥādīth 29 fī Bayyān Aḥkām Ramaḍān:	Twenty-ninth Discourse on the Legal Rulings pertaining to Ramaḍān.	Al-Hilālī archive, Ramadan 1940/ Oktober 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
33	Al-Ḥādīth 31 fī Aḥkām Şiyām Ramaḍān wa Ḥukmih	A Discourse on the Legal Rulings Related to Fasting and Ramaḍān	Al-Hilālī archive, End of Ramadan 1940/ November 1940, pp. 1-2, Typescript.

4.3.2. *Call to Jihād Against Colonialism and Imperialism*

On 25 April, 1939, from the town of Zeesen south of Berlin, the Nazi regime began broadcasting in Arabic. The main objective of Hitler and his assistants was to transmit their ideas to the Middle East and North Africa through, among other means, short-wave radio broadcasts.⁶⁴ As a radio announcer, Al-Hilālī was very well placed to promote trans-national Islam. Al-Hilālī saw the radio programmes as an instrument through which he could promote Salafism, with a special focus on *jihād* and resistance to colonialism. Radio broadcasting offered a means forby which the entire *‘ummah* would be able to achieve power through a *Jihād* against the Jews and imperialism.⁶⁵ Aware of the lack of anti-colonial radio broadcasting in Arabic, Al-Hilālī was prepared to accept and use Nazi propaganda as an instrument to serve the Muslim Arab cause in Palestine.⁶⁶ Lauzière says that the radio station was successful and gained Al-Hilālī a certain degree of international reputation because, within a month of its installation, Al-Hilālī was receiving letters from listeners in Morocco, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, the Yemen and Bahrain.⁶⁷

On the 7 July 1939, in the first of a harshly polemical series of speeches under the title *Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned*, Al-Hilālī dedicated his broadcast for July 1939 to the concept of *jihād*. He called on all Muslims to participate in the *jihād* which was taking place in Palestine. In this broadcast he said:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to give a series of lectures on Prophetic Guidance to which we do not adhere as our predecessors who have bequeathed to us honour and glory did. Unfortunately, we have forfeited all this legacy, and consequently we are now overwhelmed by feelings of sorrow and regret. I would like to begin with the guidance of our Prophet in matters related to the *jihād*. The Islamic nation urgently needs to know much more about the guidance of the Prophet to do with *jihād*, more than it is in need of food and drink. A life without *jihād* would most certainly be a life full of hardship and trouble. Death would be better than this life without fighting a holy war.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Herf (2009), Herf (2006).

⁶⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hady al-Nabawī,” 4 August 1939, 1-5.

⁶⁶ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 134.

⁶⁷ Lauzière (2008), 256.

⁶⁸ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hady al-Nabawī I,” 27 July 1939, *al-Fath*, 8.

On July 21 of the same year, Al-Hilālī spoke about the fact that Allāh had ordered His servants to undertake *jihād*. He believed this weighty task required highly efficient leadership and commitment. He gave a penetrating interpretation of the (*Qur'ān* 9:41), explaining that *jihād* was one of the most virtuous acts to be undertaken for Allāh, although not everyone was able to participate in it with his/her money. However, true *mujāhidīn* fight against the enemies of Islam in the name of the Allāh.⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī said:

In many instances in the (*Qur'ān* 9:91) Allāh has indeed ordered us to fight for His cause with our bodies and our wealth because to undertake *jihād* with a monetary contribution is an easy thing which everyone can do, be he a man or a woman, old or young, healthy or sick. In contrast, *jihād* with one's body [committed to a fight] is limited to a few people.⁷⁰ Allāh has made spending money for His cause a sign for the faithfulness of those who would claim that they fight for the sake of Allāh. Actually, he who pretends to be a Muslim but fails to defend his faith with money is indeed a liar. The Jews who have drawn upon themselves the wrath of Allāh with destitution cast upon them, but nevertheless they could wreak cause destitution among Muslims in a large part of the Holy Land without even waging a war against the Arabs. The only means they used to achieve their goal was money.... In fact, if the Muslims had spent only half of the sum that the Jews devote to their cause, they would have liberated the Palestinian lands, as well as all the occupied territories. This implies that all goodness and honour lies in *jihād* in the name of Allāh and all evil in ignoring it.⁷¹

On the 28 July 1939, in another broadcast, Al-Hilālī called upon all Muslims to take part in the *jihād* which was taking place in Palestine, asking them to contribute financially, saying:

O Believers! Verily, Allāh is the rich, the Worthy of All Praise. He is the All-Provider, Possessor of Power, the Strongest. He asks you to lend Him money so that your credit will be increased many times over in the life of this world and in the Hereafter.

Accordingly, if you truly believe in Allāh and in the Last Day, then you should spend money in the cause of Allāh. It does not matter whether your contribution is big or

⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Hady al-Nabawī," 10 August 1939, 9.

⁷⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Amthāl al-Mutanabbī," 6 August 1939, 1-6.

⁷¹ Ibid.

small. If you support the *Mujahidīn* in Palestine financially, you are taking part in this Holy War. Therefore, Allāh shall save this for you and increase your credit enormously. I implore everyone who listens to this discourse to do his best to send money, albeit just one penny, as soon as possible to the fighters, to their widows and orphans in Palestine. Anyone who sends money now will be registered as Allāh's money-lender. So let us sincerely promise Allāh to fight in His cause, using ourselves and our money as did our Prophet, his Companions and those who followed in the path of the Righteous Predecessors.⁷²

In another broadcast, Al-Hilālī explained the reason for the revelation in the (*Qur'ān* 9:38) which dealt with the people who had not participated in the *jihād* with the Prophet and about the superiority of martyrdom.⁷³

In his 1939 broadcasts, Al-Hilālī maintained that the war between the European countries was God's will. He believed that it was also a test for Muslims, allowing them the opportunity to repent before Allāh and follow His orders and the teachings of the *Sunna* of His Prophet. He said that the war was a great chance for all Muslims and the Arabs to unite and work very hard to liberate their homelands from colonialism.⁷⁴ In another radio programme in the same year, Al-Hilālī wondered why the protection of their own countries by Great Britain and France could be claimed by them as one of their rights whereas, if Muslims wanted to protect their homelands under similar circumstances, it was a crime and considered an act of extremism.⁷⁵ In a comparison of the English and the Germans armies, he said that that the Germans were famous for their honesty and loyalty, whereas the English were known for their perfidy, and for the fact that when they made a covenant they never honoured it.⁷⁶

Al-Hilālī believed that Allāh's anger and His curse had fallen upon the Jews. He produced evidence to support this claim by referring to such passages in the (*Qur'ān* 5:82)

⁷² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥādīth 4 fī Al-Hady," 28 July 1939, 1-2; See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Hady al-Nabawī al-Ladhi dayya'a uhu al-Muslimūn," 23 Jumādā II 1358/ 10 augustus 1939, 8-9.

⁷³ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥādīth 21 fī Al-Ḥath 'Alā al-Jihād," 17 November 1939, 1-3

⁷⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Dhikrā al-Mawlid al-Nabawī, Iḥyā' Al-Hady al-Nabawī," 29 April 1940.1-4, typescript.

⁷⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥath 'Alā al-Jihād," July 1939,1-6. Manuscript.

⁷⁶ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Di'āyā al-Yahūdiyya," Feb 1940, 1-2.

‘You will find those who are most hostile to the believers are Jews and idol worshippers.’⁷⁷ He said:

Those who pretend to be Muslims fight against their Arab and Muslim brothers in Palestine, helping the enemies of mankind and the brothers of the monkeys and swine, the criminal Jews, despite the fact that they are not their allies. In fact, all they are doing is using them to kill their brothers. Usually these are people who sell the lands to the Jews and drive their brothers out of their homes. Were the enemy to take their brothers into captivity, they would never ransom them; on the contrary, they would betray their brothers by capturing them themselves and delivering them to the Jews. If the Jews believe in a part of the Scripture and reject the rest; those people are rejecting all the Scriptures. I would even go as far as to say that some Muslims behave according to the Jewish traditions. Actually, we have yet to see any Jew who would drive his brother-in-faith out of his home or take his property; and the same might be said about the renegades in North Africa. Some of those who support the French and the Jews, the enemies of Allāh and mankind, even pretend to be scholars. Ignorance of Islam has led the populace to believe that these traitors whom the Koran cursed and declared to be unbelievers are in fact good Muslim leaders. Allāh says (*Qur’ān* 02:85): ‘What then is the reward of those who do so among you, except disgrace in the life of this world, and on the Day of Resurrection they shall be consigned to the most grievous torment.’ Now in fact the threat of Allāh has come true, since disgrace has fallen upon them in this world; and He shall undoubtedly punish them in the Hereafter. So, let us repent before Allāh by fighting the enemies of the Islamic Nation and those traitors who support them. In this way, Allāh shall give us back the honour and the glory which our predecessors enjoyed. Allāh, may He be exalted, has informed us that one sign of the fact that a nation has indeed bought the life of this world at the price of the Hereafter is when supporting their enemies and betraying their Muslim brethren prevail. The torment of such a nation is not to be alleviated nor shall it be helped. If you really want Allāh to take His punishment from us, let us clearly differentiate between the sincere Muslim and the hypocrites. Our nation will be divided into two

⁷⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hady al-Nabawī ,4 Augusts 1939, 1-4.

groups: the party of Allāh, the Believers and the *Mujāhidūn*; and the party of Satan: the enemies of the Islamic Nation and the traitors. This is how victory will be yours.⁷⁸

Al-Hilālī was convinced that one of the most important issues in Muslim life at that time was the conflict between Muslims and Jews.⁷⁹ In his eyes, it was a matter of life and death and involved all Muslims around the world. He also considered it a test and a chance sent by Allāh. Al-Hilālī thought that, if Muslims were to take full responsibility and rise in defence of the land stolen from them, they would win the blessing of Allāh and the respect of the countries around them, and vice-versa. He motivated and encouraged Arab youth to win this war against the Jews and strive in the way of Allāh with their money and wealth and make this their main goal. To do this, they had to take the Prophet Mohammed and his Companions as a model for a *jihād* in the name of Allāh against the Jews. If the Muslims lost now they would never get Palestine back.⁸⁰ Al-Hilālī said:

Palestine is the real issue which will determine the future of Arabs and Muslims. If they fight sincerely until Allāh is satisfied with them and they can reclaim their [birth] right, they will succeed reclaiming all their other rights; and consequently all the nations will respect them. If, however, they forsake this issue; they will never win. When some of them pretend to be courageous and chivalrous, the whole world will mock them and not believe them. Verily, Allāh has tried the Arabs and the Muslims (*Qur'ān* 29:01) with the Palestinian problem, so that this can be the source of their relief and their victory if they wholeheartedly assume their responsibilities; otherwise it will be the cause of their defeat and humiliation. ...O sincere Muslims! O Arab knights! Where are you? Make Palestine your ultimate target, and strive hard with your wealth and your lives in the cause of Allāh... By so doing, victory will be yours. However, if the Jews, the last and worst of mankind who have earned the anger of Allāh, defeat you; you will never be strong... Do you not have a good example in Muhammad and his Companions? Verily, they behaved perfectly in accordance with the principles of chivalry; they have shown you the true path to follow, and they have left you a useful legacy... One should know

⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥādīth 4 fī Al-Hady," 28 July 1939, 1-2; See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Hady al-Nabawī al-Ladhi dayya'a uhu al-Muslimūn," 23 Jumādā II 1358/ 10 augustus 1939, 8-9.

⁷⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Mutanabī," 6 Augusts 1939.

⁸⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Futuwwa 'inda al-'Arab," 17 August 1939, 1-2.

that there is no Islam without a Holy War, especially at times in which the enemy has unjustly occupied our Holy Places... Let those who see themselves as knights tell us where their chivalry was when the Palestinian women were screaming, shouting to seek help and relief and urging Muslims to wage a Holy War in order to avoid bringing a shame on Muslims which would endure for eternity.⁸¹

Speaking out against imperialism, in another broadcast Al-Hilālī stated that when Morocco celebrated the anniversary of the 1930 Berber *Dhahīr*,⁸² the covert goal of France in Morocco was to convert the Berber people away from Islam. Al-Hilālī 's purpose was to show that the Berber *Dhahīr* was not just simply a Moroccan issue, it was also a significant event in the history of Islam. He was convinced that Allāh had ordered His servants to perform *jihād* in such situations.⁸³

Al-Hilālī reported that the French radio stations and the French newspaper *Le Temps* had begun attacking him, accusing him of being a *jasūs* (spy) for Hitler and Goebbels, the German Minister of Propaganda. Al-Hilālī denied this allegation, saying that he had never been in the pay of the Ministry, although he had accepted the job for a salary of 12,000 Marks a year.⁸⁴ He said that he was expected to give his radio addresses translated into German and had to pay the translator and make several copies at his own expense. These copies had to be submitted to the Director of the Radio in advance.⁸⁵ Al-Hilālī, stated that France had grown annoyed with him because of the programmes he was transmitting from the Berlin radio station. Consequently, French channels in Paris began to insult him. *Le Temps*, the Parisian newspaper, and many other papers in Algeria, Morocco and Egypt, had commenced publishing caricatures of Al-Hilālī, heaping grievous insults on him. Speaking of these developments after the war, Al-Hilālī remarked:

France claimed that I was an agent who was working for the Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. Yet, Allāh knows as also the Grand Mufti Ḥaj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī knows, that I had spent the 12,000 Marks of my personal salary on the Arabic Service

⁸¹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Futuwwa 'inda al-'Arab," 17 August 1939, 1-2.

⁸² Al-Hilālī, "Dhikra," 16 May 1939.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-'Isti'mār," 1947, 10.

⁸⁵ Ibid., see also Al-Hilālī (2005a), 101-102.

of Radio Berlin. Furthermore, I was never paid for the programmes I had broadcast on that station in Berlin; on quite the contrary, I had used my personal money because I was responsible for the translation of every article into German before its transmission. After this, using a typewriter, I had to make four copies of every single article which I had to provide to four different districts. If the latter gave their approval, I would take the Metro at the dead of night, sometimes as the war was raging, risking my life in air raids. Then I would openly broadcast these articles in order to criticize the enemies of Allāh and the enemies of Islam.⁸⁶

After Germany had occupied France in 1941, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to allow Al-Hilālī to speak out against France or against the High Commissioner in Morocco. Al-Hilālī said, in his own words in the year 1947:

I told the employee who officially informed me about this censorship: ‘You yourself transmitted in French on your station in Frankfurt before the occupation of France: Verily, the High Commissioner, Nougiss is a Jew, and you have attributed all the vices to him. Whereas, in my article, I have produced strong evidence that ‘Nougiss’ is indeed a Freemason. Truly, the fact I have established this serves both your interests and our own. Actually, I have mentioned Britain as an illustration of what France does. Meanwhile, you should be aware that we have nationalist sympathies as those you feel or even stronger; you have a Government which supports you both financially and psychologically, whereas we are fighting this holy war alone without any support. For the moment, I shall not broadcast any material which will criticize either Britain or another country.’⁸⁷

Then the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs employee told Al-Hilālī that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had decided that it was completely forbidden to criticize France openly on Radio Berlin. However, the employee informed Al-Hilālī that he could say whatever he wanted when speaking out against Britain. Al-Hilālī claimed that a while later the same employee called him and asked him to write an article on some issues related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Al-Hilālī replied that he would only write such articles for the

⁸⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-’Isti‘mār,” 1947, 12-13.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

sake of Muslims and that of the Arab nations.⁸⁸ Apparently, this was the end of Al-Hilālī's collaboration with Radio Berlin.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

5. Spanish Morocco (1942-1947): First Confrontations with Moroccan scholars and the Issue of Shaving the Beard

5.1. Back to Morocco to accomplish a mission

In March 1942, Al-Hilālī returned to Morocco at the request of Hajj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī (1893-1974). The latter asked him to accomplish a mission for him in Morocco and to deliver an ‘oral message’ (*risāla shafawiyya*)¹ to ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Ṭurrays (d.1970), the leader of *Ḥizb al-Islāḥ al-Waṭanī* (the Party for National Reform). Al-Hilālī himself does not mention what kind of mission he had to fulfil in Morocco, except for the fact that it concerned the Islamic *Umma* and the Muslims. In his doctoral dissertation, Lauzière states that Al-Hilālī was secretive about his departure from Germany.² In fact, Al-Hilālī left Germany in order to contact Moroccan nationalists, to enlist their help in an effort to assist the Axis impede the Allies as much as they could. On the basis of a German political document, Umar Ryad has suggested that this ‘message’ had something to do with Al-Ḥusaynī’s plan to establish a centre for Arab Legions by setting up a German-Arab *Lehrabteilung* in North Africa after any successful German advance into the region.³

Moreover, in *The Arab War Effort* the American Christian Palestine Committee reported that Al-Ḥusaynī’s contacts with the pro-Axis leaders of the Muslims in North Africa were very strong. He had even submitted a plan to the German Military Command for the recruitment of 500,000 Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian soldiers. While he had been in Germany, Al-Ḥusaynī had opened a special North African Bureau (*Maktab al-Maghrib*) which was supported financially by *Das Arabische Buro des Grossmufti in Berlin*⁴ and Hajj

¹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 37.

² Lauzière, Henry (2008), 265.

³ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 138.

⁴ The *Büro des Grossmufti* was a special Office of Haj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, initially established in Berlin and later in Oybin, with branches in other parts of Germany and Italy. Its activities included: (1) radio propaganda; (2) espionage, sabotage and parachute expeditions; (3) the organization of Muslims into military units in Axis-occupied countries and in North Africa; (4) establishment of the Arab legions and the Arab Brigade. See The American Christian Palestine Committee (1947), 19. See also Schechtman (1965), 127.

Amīn had broadcast to North Africa on numerous occasions, urging Muslims to help the Axis do everything in their power to thwart the Allies.⁵

Jeffrey Herf claims that by 1941 a ‘complete harmony of interests’ had developed between the Nazi leaders and pro-Nazi Arab nationalists.⁶ This is confirmed by ‘Abd al-Majīd Benjelloun, who maintains that, after France had been defeated, the Moroccan nationalists strengthened their links with Nazi agents to such an extent they actually believed that their collaboration would result in the liberation of their country.⁷ In early 1941, Al-Ṭurrays took the opportunity to forge links with the Germans and he even travelled to meet Goering and Himmler, in the greatest secrecy, to try to convince the Germans to help Morocco achieve its independence. On his return to Morocco, on 8 February 1941, Al-Ṭurrays told his comrades, especially the Spaniards, that, as well as seeing Goebbels and Himmler, he had also met Hitler.⁸ According to Umar Ryad, who bases himself on a letter of 14 November 1941, Al-Ṭurrays guaranteed Al-Ḥusaynī that his National Reform Party and all the other nationalist organizations would be placed under Al-Ḥusaynī’s command and that they were ‘ready to make any sacrifice’.⁹

Al-Ṭurrays and his comrades in the National Reform Party believed that Germany could really help Morocco to become independent of Spain, or at least to convince the latter to grant internal autonomy to some regions. This co-operation took different forms: financial support, the provision of weapons and the spreading of propaganda in support of the Moroccans. On the 8 November 1942, Al-Hilālī acted as an interpreter for ‘Abd al-Khāliq Al-Ṭurrays (d.1970), the leader of the Party of National Reform, who had everything in readiness to receive and distribute money and weapons from the Germans to his party.¹⁰ On 1 July 1977, Al-Hilālī gave the following testimony:

In the 8 November 1942, a German came to see Al-Ṭurrays with whom I was sitting. I was the one who interpreted their conversation. I could see the man handing Al-Ṭorris

⁵ The American Christian Palestine Committee (1947), 42. See also Schechtman (1965), 131.

⁶ Herf (2009), 45.

⁷ Benjelloun (1988), 220-224.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 138.

¹⁰ Benjelloun (1988), 224.

7,000 Marks and offering him weapons, but Al-Ṭurrays refused [his offer], telling him that what he wanted was impossible, because the Americans would occupy Morocco.¹¹

Al-Ṭurrays and his comrades in the PRN believed the best expedient was to rely on Germany to liberate Morocco or at least to oblige Spain to grant Morocco the autonomy of its internal zones.¹²

Most likely, the second reason Al-Hilālī left Germany was, as outlined above, the fact that when Germany had defeated France and taken control of it, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs forbade Al-Hilālī to write anything hostile to French colonialism in Morocco or to criticize any high-ranking French representative in Morocco. Despite this restriction, Al-Hilālī adds, that the managing-director of Radio Belin allowed him to say anything he liked about Britain. According to his own statement, Al-Hilālī replied that he would never again write another new article for Radio Berlin and immediately resigned.¹³ Al-Hilālī claims that after his resignation, he never received the 12,000 Marks which Radio Berlin was supposed to pay him as his annual salary.¹⁴

When Al-Hilālī arrived in the city of Tetouan in the north of Morocco in March 1942, the Spaniards were annoyed by his arrival, because they believed that Germany had sent him specifically to collaborate with the Moroccan nationalists in building up opposition to Spain. They made sure he would be prevented from returning to Germany by confiscating his passport and putting him under surveillance. Al-Hilālī denied all the Spanish accusations.¹⁵ The Spaniards demanded Al-Hilālī prove that he was not a Nazi collaborator by writing an article condemning Germany in which he was to declare that the Germans did not have any right to colonize Morocco. Instead in his own words, Al-Hilālī wrote an article declaring that Morocco belonged to the Moroccan people and that neither the Germans, the French nor the Spaniards had any right to colonize it.¹⁶ After the publication of this article, the Spanish authorities relented a little and allowed him to write on religious matters, but warned

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Al-Hilālī, “al-Islām yukāfiḥu al-’Isti‘mār,” 1947, 12-13.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 71.

¹⁶ I was not able to trace this article. However, in his book Muḥammad al-Majdhūb mentions that it was published in Majallat al-Ḥurriya in 1942. See Al-Majdhūb (1977), 203.

him to steer clear of politics, under pain of transferring him to the French Zone.¹⁷

Immediately after his return to Morocco, Al-Hilālī remained unemployed for the period of one year, but he was able to survive thanks to Hajj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī who sent him money on many occasions and offered him a position as his salaried personal secretary.¹⁸

One year after publishing the above-mentioned article, the Spanish Governor-General assigned him, according to in Al-Hilālī's own words, to an honourable position which was only open to such senior scholars as Mudīr Khizānat Ma'had al-Bāḥithīn (the Director of the Library of the Institute of Researchers), and gave him a monthly salary of 300 Pesetas.¹⁹ Supplementing this, Al-Hilālī also received a salary of 500 Pesetas from the Ministry of *Awqāf*. One wonders why Al-Hilālī accepted a salary from the official religious authorities as he had become a fierce, open opponent of the Mālikī School. Indeed, at that time Aḥmad al-Raysūnī (1917-1980), asked the Minister of *Awqāf*, Muḥammad ibn Mūsa (d. 1965), the following question:

Oh Minister! How could you give 500 Pesetas from the Muslim *awqāf* to Al-Hilālī, who opposes the Malīkī School, criticizes the saints and denies the dignity of the Ash'arī Doctrine?

Al-Hilālī said that the minister replied to him saying: 'Do not pay any heed to popular rumours. There is no harm in attending his lectures in the Great Mosque of Tetouan, perhaps you will change your mind.'²⁰

Al-Hilālī had himself answered the afore-mentioned question by saying that he had been preaching in the Great Mosque in Tetouan at the request of a large number of people, adding that he did ask to be paid for his sermons. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ṭurrays was one of those who had arranged for him to preach by convincing Mawlāy al-Ḥasan ibn al-Mahdī (1912-1984), the incumbent Khalīfa in North Morocco, of his qualities.²¹

In that period, Al-Hilālī urged people to follow the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* and turn away from 'innovations'. Many had welcomed his call. Al-Hilālī also published a

¹⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 71.

¹⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 132.

¹⁹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 71-72.

²⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 60.

²¹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 73.

commentary on Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's treatise *Kashf al-Shubuhāt*, entitled 'Footnotes on [the Book Entitled] "Revealing Specious Arguments"', which he attributed to "Imām Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Dar'ī".²² At the same time, he also released a commentary on Ibn Taymiyya's book about visiting shrines, *Ziyārat al-qubūr wa-l-istinjād bi-l-maqbūr*, (Visiting Graves and the Supplication of the Entombed), in which he used the same arguments, from the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīth*, as he had used in his booklet *al-Qāḍī al-'adl fī ḥukm al-binā' 'ala al-qubūr*²³ (The Righteous Judge on the Ruling on Building on Tombs), which he had written in 1927 and has been discussed in Chapter 2. In order to attract a wider readership for this book, Al-Hilālī attributed it to 'Imam Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Ḥarrānī' and did not mention the name Ibn Taymiyya at all. Al-Hilālī asserted that both books angered the Sufi *shaykhs*, and this topic became the subject of many Friday sermons, which also annoyed the prime minister, Aḥmad al-Ghanīma. However, some nationalists, among them Muḥammad al-Ṭangī (d.1991) and 'Abd Allāh Guennūn (d.1989), welcomed the publication of these books, copies of which were sent to Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (d.1969), the Chief Judge of Saudi Arabia, who praised the strategy to which Al-Hilālī had resorted to circulate the books more widely. In his book *Al-Da'wa*, Al-Hilālī claimed that he managed to sell 1,000 copies of each book.²⁴

Al-Hilālī used both books as major references in his lessons, especially the commentary on Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's treatise *Kashf al-Shubuhāt*, entitled 'Footnotes on [the Book Entitled] "Revealing Specious Arguments"'. He also used *Fatḥ al-Majīd* on *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, a famous commentary by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb during his lessons. In this period, Al-Hilālī also published some other books, among them *Kitāb al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm fī Ṣifāt Ṣalāt al-Nabī al-Karīm*, devoted to the proper way of praying without admitting any 'innovations'. To spread his message, Al-Hilālī took to preaching in many towns and villages in northern Morocco. This was not very successful as, on many occasions, local 'ulama' insulted him and accused him of being a Wahhābī, sowing *fitna* (dissension) and opposing the Maliki School.²⁵

²² Al-Hilālī (2005a), 55-57 ; Al-Hilālī, "Ḥāshiya 'Alā Kashf al-Shubuhāt," 1949, 27.

²³ Al-Hilālī (2009). Unfortunately, the present author has not been able to lay his hands on a copy of this publication. See on this subject see further Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya," 1976, Vol1, 145.

²⁴ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 56-57.

²⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 61-62, 69-70, 85.

It was also at this time, at the request of his Salafī students who wanted to learn about ‘True Islam’, Al-Hilālī wrote one of his most important Salafī books in the northern Moroccan city of Shafshāwan. He entitled his book *Mukhtaṣar hady al-khalīl fi-l-‘aqā’id wa ‘ibādat al-jalīl*.²⁶ (Summary of the Guidance of an Intimate Friend to the Creeds and the Worship of the Magnificent). This book confirms that by this time Al-Hilālī had become a purist Salafist in many religious matters. He strictly formulated the concepts of *Tawḥīd* and faith to protect them against innovations, undermining everything that, he thought, contradicted ‘Authentic’ Islam. One way of making sure he achieved his goal was by founding a Salafī journal called *Lisān al-Dīn* (The Mouthpiece of Religion) in the city of Tetouan in 1946. This journal proved an efficient vehicle for the propagation of ‘True’ Islam and for answering the questions of its followers. In the meantime, although he used to issue different *fatwas* on various topics ranging from *‘Ibādāt* (matters of ritual) to innovations, his central topic remained *Tawḥīd*.²⁷

After five years Al-Hilālī subverted the covenant he had made with the Spanish authorities. On one of his audio files which are in the possession of his family, Al-Hilālī states that he was then actually running the risk of life imprisonment for a number of reasons. First of all, he was in regular contact and co-operated with the nationalists and Moroccan political leaders. Secondly, he gave lessons in mosques without the permission of the Spanish authorities. Thirdly, he used to publish political articles in his journal, *Lisān al-Dīn* and, last but not least, he was co-operating with Ḥasan al-Bannā (1906–1949), who had asked Al-Hilālī to become the Moroccan correspondent for the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁸ Adding fuel to the fire, Al-Hilālī wrote many articles criticizing the British and the French colonial policies in the region. His criticisms led the British Embassy and the French Consul to lodge a complaint about Al-Hilālī’s articles in the North Moroccan newspaper *Al-Ḥurriyya*. Heeding these protests the Spaniards took their revenge on the journal by closing it down.²⁹

Taking notice of these offences, the Spanish colonial authorities were quite prepared to punish Al-Hilālī for his misdemeanours. Al-Hilālī claims they used a religious pretext to

²⁶ Al-Hilāl (1977).

²⁷ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 69.

²⁸ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 101.

²⁹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 101. Aḥmad Al-Raysūnī’s son, ‘Ali al-Raysūnī, confirmed this to the present author during a personal conversation with him, 9 August 2011, in his house in the Moroccan city of Chefchaouen, Morocco, on 9-8-2011.

achieve their purpose. They solicited the co-operation of the emir of the city of Shafshāwn who asked the Minister of *Awqāf* for help. In January 1947, the Spaniards prepared a *fatwa* declaring that reciting the *Qur'ān* aloud was permissible, knowing full well that Al-Hilālī had admonished congregations in the mosque not to read the *Qur'ān* aloud. On the 17 January 1947, during the Friday prayer, the emir of Chefchaouen ordered worshippers to abide by 'Imam Mālik's' *fatwa*. Annoyed, Al-Hilālī reiterated the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad. To no avail, the emir ordered him to keep silent. When Al-Hilālī retaliated with a verbal abuse, he was arrested and put in prison for a month.³⁰

5.2. First Confrontations with Moroccan Scholars

During these years, Al-Hilālī was embroiled in many religious controversies with the religious scholars in North Morocco especially those from the family of Ibn al-Ṣiddīq al-Ghumārī. The chief thorn in his side was Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1902-1962), who was a leader of the Ṣiddīqiyya Sufi Order, a branch of the larger Al-Shādhilī Order, but he was also in hot water with 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1920–1997),³¹ 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1910-1993),³² 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1985-1917)³³ and Muḥammad al-Zamzamī Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1910-1988). As had their father Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (d.1935), the Ibn al-Ṣiddīq brothers adhered to Sufism. They were among the leading Moroccan scholars who were critical of and rejected Salafism. Moreover, in North Morocco they enjoyed the reputation of being the most productive contributors to Sufi Islam. The debate between Salafism and Sufism intensified and it was not long before it erupted into friction and open hostility between Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq and Al-Hilālī. The latter maintained that the former entertained a completely mistaken opinion about what was 'genuine' Islam.³⁴ Al-Hilālī strongly condemned Sufism and Sufi festivals (*mawāsīm*) and he was obdurate that anyone who believed in pantheism was an

³⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 102-104.

³¹ 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Ṣiddīq was among the scholars who rejected the extremist Wahhabi doctrine, see Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, 'Abd al-'Azīz (1985).

³² He studied at the University of al-Qarawiyyīn in Fes. Towards the end of 1930 he travelled to Egypt and attended Al-Azhar. He is the author of over a hundred books.

³³ One of his important *fatwas* is *Ḥukm al-Laḥm al-Mustawrad min Urubbā al-Naṣrāniyya* (The Status of Meat Imported from Christian Europe), in which the author argues against the point of view of the Malīkī *Madhhab* as represented by al-Qaḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī. See Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, 'Abd al-Ḥayy (1994).

³⁴ Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, Aḥmad (2002), 37.

infidel and anyone asking help from anyone other than Allāh was an infidel as well. Anyone who did not comply with the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*, and who imitated others in following a deviant path was, in his eyes, dangerously misguided.³⁵

Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq did not hesitate to answer Al-Hilālī in the same aggressive, harsh language which had tended to characterize Salafist rhetoric most of the time.³⁶ Besides criticizing the symbols adopted by Salafism, he censured its leaders, describing Ibn Taymiyya as a man ‘obsessed with debate, with a passion to prove that his opinion was right, using false arguments to defeat his opponents by any means; this has led him to become resentful and go astray.’³⁷ Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq describes the icons of Salafism as ‘Ulama’ al-Zāhir [scholars concerned with the outer shell of religion], ‘who believed that they are the ones who had inherited the true knowledge, because of their ignorance, egotism, falsehood and untruthfulness.’³⁸

Al-Hilālī disparaged Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, saying he took pride in the fact that he had so many followers, even though he knew full well that Al-Hilālī was weak because he was a stranger in the area without many supporters. Al-Hilālī claimed that the authorities supported Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq while they opposed him because he was relentless in his criticism of Sufism.³⁹ When Al-Hilālī began calling on people to follow the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*, Shaykh Aḥmad began to contest his knowledge. Al-Hilālī reports that Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq said: ‘This man who wears European dress, which is the garb of infidels, has come from Europe. How did he obtain his knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*? Did he, by any chance, acquire this knowledge in Berlin or Bonn?’⁴⁰

³⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 41.

³⁶ Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, Aḥmad (2002), 37.

³⁷ Abū Lūz, “New Salafist,” 2009, 60-61.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 41.

⁴⁰ During his time in Germany, Al-Hilālī did shave his beard relying on *ḥadith* which says that shaving the beard is optional. According to his own statement, the things which one does by nature, like leaving beard unshaven, plucking one’s armpits and clipping the nails, are optional. He regarded shaving the beard as a minor sin according to the view of the majority of *imams*. See Al-Hilālī (2005a), 46.

Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq is also reported to have said: ‘Someone among those preachers is claiming to combat the heresies which have arrived in Tangier. How can he pretend to be implementing the *Sunna* while when he believes that shaving the beard is not compulsory?’⁴¹ Despite this war of words, Al-Hilālī was successful in convincing one of the Ibn al-Ṣiddīq brothers, namely Muḥammad al-Zamzamī, to convert to Salafism. The Moroccan scholar Zeghal says that this demonstrates the extent of the influence of Al-Hilālī on Salafism in Morocco.⁴² Al-Hilālī stated in one of his *fatwas*: ‘We are very gladdened by the conversion of Shaykh Zamzamī⁴³ from the state of polytheism and his acceptance of monotheism by declaring his opposition to his former group. We need to help him and we should not be counted among his adversaries.’⁴⁴

5.3. The Issue of Shaving the Beard

During the time he spent in Tetouan, Al-Hilālī discussed the legal opinions about the issue of shaving the beard in mosques on many occasions.⁴⁵ For instance, in 1945, during his residence in the northern Moroccan city of Shafshāwan, where he remained for two years, Aḥmad al-Raysūnī⁴⁶ asked Al-Hilālī about the ruling of Islām about shaving the beard.⁴⁷ Al-Hilālī stated that a good Muslim should first look to the fundamental doctrine of Islam, which is monotheism in all its forms: the oneness in Worship, the oneness in Lordship and the oneness in Allāh's Names and Attributes. Whoever disagrees with the truth of this, is either a infidel or trespasses against essential matters of the Islamic creed. Al-Hilālī averred that the worship of Allāh is considered the most important exigency, for which He has created the

⁴¹ Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, Aḥmad (2002), 37.

⁴² Regarding Al-Hilālī's impact and influence on Muḥammad al-Zamzamī, Zeghal (2005),287-289.

⁴³ Shaykh Zamzamī converted to Salafism in April 1967. See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1,139-140, 232.

⁴⁴ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 12.

⁴⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 46.

⁴⁶ As mentioned earlier, Aḥmad al-Raysūnī asked the minister of *Awqāf*, , how can you give 500 Pesetas from the Muslim *awqāf* to Al-Hilālī, who is opposing the Malīkī School and criticizes the saints and denies the dignity of the Ash‘arī doctrine. After this contrtemps, Al-Hilālī relied on the hospitality of Aḥmad al-Raysūnī for six months. Al-Raysūnī also helped Al-Hilālī to marry a woman from Shafshāwn.

⁴⁷ Al-Raysūnī's son confiremd this to me during my my personal conversation with him, 9 August 2011, in his house in the Moroccan city of Shafshāwn , on 9-8-2011.

world.⁴⁸ Therefore, whoever does not worship Allāh in conformity with the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad, is like somebody who performs his prayers letting his hands hang down, or like somebody who mumbles away, pretending that this is worship. From Al-Hilālī's perspective, such Muslims had gone astray because they had betrayed Allāh, and because they had not worshiped Him in accordance with the religion He loves and has ordained for us. Al-Hilālī thought that the next most important exigencies were ethics, good manners and giving Muslims sound advice.⁴⁹

On the same subject, on the 7 January 1966, a petitioner (*mustaftī*) named Abū Maṣṣūr eagerly requested Al-Hilālī for clarification on the allegations made by some erring Muslims. Al-Hilālī explained that Shaykh Maḥmūd Shaltūt (d.1963), the Shaykh of Al-Azhar and one of the most eminent Muslim scholars of his time, shared his point of view. At that time, Shaltūt had issued a legal opinion on the matter of the shaving the beard.⁵⁰ One of the pieces of evidence he adduced was the following:

If we go ahead with prohibiting things on the grounds of their similarity to the customs of non-Muslims, then we would have even prohibited growing the beard, because this is a habit of all the priests in all the non-Islamic faiths. He went on to say: in fact, people related this issue to traditions and customs which have no links to religion or to belief and disbelief. Shaltūt declared that the truth of the matter was that asking people to comply with a specific aspect of outward appearance, such as growing the beard, should fall into the category of the traditions which take into account of the approbation of the social code. Actually, people should comply with the habits to which their society is accustomed. Not complying with things to which people are accustomed is a deviation from the social milieu.⁵¹

In Al-Hilālī's view, one should not argue that the imperative mode used in the Arabic language implies necessity, especially when it is remembered that the command is confirmed in some traditions which call upon Muslims to distinguish their disparateness clearly from

⁴⁸ (Qur'ān 51:56).

⁴⁹ My personal conversation with him, 9 August 2011 in his house in the Moroccan city of Shafshāwn , on 9-8-2011.

⁵⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 163,; See also Shaltūt (1988), 229.

⁵¹ Ibid., 163.

polytheists. Al-Hilālī refers, for instance, to the saying of the Prophet: ‘Verily, the Jews and the Christians are not inclined to apply hair dye, so expose your disparateness from them.’ Al-Hilālī said the same statement had been made about dyeing white hair, as the wording of that *ḥadith* was of equal value to the former *ḥadith* about growing the beard. Therefore, he who believes that the first report implies an obligation, must attribute the same force to the second report; otherwise his statement would be both arbitrary and contradictory. However, no scholar had ever thought that hair dyeing was an obligation.⁵²

Al-Hilālī thought that a beard could never bestow pre-emption on anyone who expressed disbelief or polytheism, or committed sins as did the worshippers at shrines and the Sufī orders who danced and exclaimed. Al-Hilālī added that a beard will not turn disbelief into Islam, nor sin into obedience.⁵³ He reasoned that the same thing might be said about a Muslim who shaves his beard, but speaks the truth, confesses monotheism, follows the Prophet in declaring lawful those things that Allāh has permitted, while declaring unlawful things which Allāh has prohibited; shaving the beard will not turn falsehood into truth, nor truth into falsehood.⁵⁴ Al-Hilālī explained to Abū Manṣūr that shaving their hair did not give the Prophet cause to worry about his nation, because it did not change them. However, he was rather afraid of the shaving of the faith, because that was the greatest disease.⁵⁵

On the 6 April 1967, a certain ‘Alī al-Ṣadiq al-Khayyāfī, requested Al-Hilālī for an explanation of the claim made by the followers of Al-Zamzamī Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, that the prayer of someone who shaves his beard is unacceptable.⁵⁶ Al-Hilālī argued that Al-Zamzamī’s answer was totally in contradiction to the ruling of Islam. He argued that commands and prohibitions related to embellishment and the customs of nature should be understood in terms of recommendation and not in term of commands. Al-Hilālī’s reply was based on lengthy quotations of *ḥadith*.⁵⁷ Al-Hilālī pointed out that the prayer of the murderer, the man who disobeys his parents, the usurper, the oppressor and the defamer is not nullified;

⁵² Ibid., 163. See also Al-Hilālī (2005a), 46

⁵³ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 164; See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 369.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 164; *ibid.*, 12-13.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 164.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 15; See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 237.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 12-15.

so how can prayer be nullified by shaving the beard?⁵⁸ In fact, a Muslim performs his prayers with his heart and not with his beard.⁵⁹ In order to elucidate his point of view, Al-Hilālī spoke about seven levels in religion: first, monotheism, in all its three forms; without acceptance of monotheism nothing is taken into consideration. The second: belief in the Messenger of Allāh, believing in everything he has said with approbation, submission, satisfaction and surrender. Then comes the belief in all the Prophets and the revealed books. The third: the worship of Allāh . The fourth: Muslims' innate rights including love, loyalty, support, co-operation and ensuring no harm befall them. The fifth: allowing things which Allāh has permitted and forbidding things which He has forbidden and not transgressing the limits He has imposed. The sixth: piety, abandoning superstition and making sure that what one eats is lawful. The seventh: embellishment by respecting the customs of nature, and complying with Muḥammad's moral principles which are the best and the most perfect principles.⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī asserted that whoever confused these levels, putting what Allāh made last in the first place and putting in the last position what Allāh made first, was either an ignorant of the fundamentals of Islamic law, or a victim of his own whim.⁶¹

On the 12 April 1969, at his home in al-Madīna in Saudi Arabia, Al Hilālī made the following remark in a note to his *fatwa* of the 7 January 1966:

The aim of all the comments I have made on the issue of the beard was to fight the polytheists and repress them [the Sufī people]; yet my opinion is unsound. The true opinion is to follow the *Sunna* of the Prophet and to comply with his commands, be they in the articles of faith, the obligations, the morals or in the customs related to the innate state. Accordingly, I repudiate the comments I made a long time ago. I believe truth must be accepted: a Muslim must let his beard grow, trim his moustache and demonstrate his disparateness from disbelievers.⁶²

We shall come back to this remarkable change of view in Chapter 9.

⁵⁸ See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 264.

⁵⁹ (Qur’ān 6: 144).

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 15

⁶¹ Ibid.. See also *ibid.*, 163.

⁶² Ibid., 166. See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 442.

6. Iraq (1947-1959): The Glory of the Muslim Civilization in Spain

6.1. Introduction

In 1947 Al-Hilālī decided to leave Morocco and settle in Iraq, where he lived for a decade from 1947 to 1957. On his way back to Iraq, he visited Spain because he had to seek the permission to enter Egypt from the British Embassy in Madrid.¹ However, the British Ambassador, in Al-Hilālī's own words, 'a Greek Jew', declined his request because of the programmes he had broadcast from Radio Berlin, in which he had vehemently attacked Britain. Al-Hilālī acknowledged his broadcasts of anti-British programmes but, in his defence he told the Deputy–Ambassador that he was not to be blamed for what he had done since he was merely defending his homeland. Al-Hilālī also refuted the allegation of the British ambassador, who had accused him of receiving money in return for his anti-colonial campaign, stating that he had even had to use his own money for the translations into German he had been obliged to have made before he could broadcast his talks in Arabic.²

In Iraq, he was appointed lecturer in Arabic literature and the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīth* at the Queen 'Alia University in Baghdad. However, the incumbent prime minister, Ṣāliḥ Jābir (1860–1949) obstructed his work in that position, accusing him of having returned to Iraq with a foreign passport. As a consequence of this interference, he found himself jobless and chose to work as *imam* in a mosque called Al-Dahhān, where he gave sermons opposing those who adhered to a specific school of law, undermining Sufism and denouncing the Shi'ite creed. He tried to convince people to convert to the Salafīyya.³ Al-Hilālī claims that when his 'enemies', the followers of the Ḥanafī School including the incumbent *mufti* of Baghdad, saw the success of this mosque, they went to the director of Religious Affairs to ask him to appoint another *imam* as the *khaṭīb* at Al-Dahhān mosque, urging him to dismiss Al-Hilālī, who was openly propagating the Wahhabi sect in the mosque and did not pray for the king in his Friday sermons. Al-Hilālī asserted that the latter accusation was not correct, although from a Salafī point of view to pray for the king was a kind of innovation,⁴ a view which he did not deny. He allowed this aberration he explained because, if he did not pray for the king, he

¹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 126.

² Ibid.

³ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 138.

⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Al-fatawā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 81.

could not be an *imam* at Fridāy prayers, nor a teacher nor preacher in the mosque.⁵ Four years later, after he had obtained Iraqi nationality, he was promoted to the position of assistant professor. Later, he was again promoted to be a full professor, after which he transferred to the Faculty of Education of Queen ‘Alia University in Baghdad, where he remained a professor till 1959. In 1954, Al-Hilālī was invited to be a guest lecturer at the University of Bonn.⁶

During his time in Iraq, Al-Hilālī wrote his final article for the journal *Lisān al-Dīn*. In this article, which was about women’s rights, he stated that there are only two sources for Islamic jurisprudence: the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*. According to the second source, women were created to manage their households and serve their husbands. Therefore, to prevent a woman from marrying so that she could run for public office was, Al-Hilālī was convinced, a form of disobedience to God. To confirm his statement he quoted the following *hadith*: ‘People whose leader is a woman shall never prosper.’⁷

In 1949 and 1950, in a series of articles published on the topic of learning languages, he claimed that learning languages was an Islamic ruling (*ḥukm*). He said it was a *farḍ kifāya*, a religious duty which is not obligatory for every individual as long as a sufficient number of Muslims carry it out on behalf of the community.⁸ By learning English himself, Al-Hilālī developed skills which provided him with new prospects of becoming a global *mufti*. As a forerunner in the field of Muslim Minority *Fiqh*, Al-Hilālī argued that learning European languages was necessary to Muslims for three reasons: first, it was a means for the *umma* to serve God better in the modern age;⁹ second, it would allow Muslims to read the labels on their Western-imported medicine, or to know the real content of imported food;¹⁰ third, it would enable them to defend Islam more effectively.¹¹

⁵ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 142. Another example of innovation which Al-Hilālī used was to accept the invitation of the Iraqi government to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet. See Al-Hilālī (1976), Vol.1,167-170.

⁶ Al-Hilālī, *Man yurāfiqunī min al-Ribāṭ ilā Barlīn*, 9 August 1963, 5

⁷ Al-Hilālī (1952),7-10.

⁸ Al-Hilālī, “Ta’allum al-lughāt: hukmuḥu wa fa’idatuhu”, October 1949, *Lisan al-Din*,3,10:7.

⁹ See also Al-Hilālī (1976), Vol.1, 172.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8-9, Here, it seems Al-Hilālī, as a Mufti, is concerned about Muslims eating food that is which was not *ḥalāl*.

¹¹ Al-Hilālī (1947),7-9; see also Lauzière (2008), 218.

6.2. The Glory of the Muslim Civilization in Spain

Using his English skills and also in his mission to defend the religion, during his time in Iraq Al-Hilālī translated and commented on a booklet written for the masses by Joseph McCabe (1867 - 1955), entitled *The Moorish Civilization in Spain*. In its first edition, published in Baghdad in the year 1949, Al-Hilālī's Arabic translation was entitled *Madaniyyat al- 'Arab fī al- 'Andalus*.¹² In his view it could be used by Muslims everywhere as a tool wield against those who were in the habit of denigrating Islam and Morocco. The title Al-Hilālī chose was a tendentious one, as it would have been understood by his Arabic-speaking readers as: 'The Civilization of the Arabs in Muslim Spain', whereas McCabe was speaking of the civilization of the Moors (Muslims of mixed Berber and Arab descent) in Spain, namely: not only in Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus), but in Spain in general, and therefore also in Christian Spain. Apparently, the tendentious nature of the title was a reflection of the spirit of Arab nationalism prevailing at the time. Besides this title, Al-Hilālī used two more titles, namely: *Al-Madaniyya al-Maghribiyya fī Isbāniyā* (The Moroccan Civilization in Spain) in one of his notes in the introduction,¹³ and *Madaniyyat al-Maghāriba fī al-Andalus* (The Civilization of the Moroccans in Andalusia), at the end of the booklet when he remarks: 'This is the end of "The Civilization of the Moroccans in Andalusia", apparently identifying McCabe's 'Moors' this time with Moroccans!¹⁴

The Arabic pamphlet was originally meant to be in the nature of a *fatwa* for Moroccan students at the University of Granada whom Al-Hilālī had met in Spain on his way back to Iraq. They used to visit him daily in his hotel to complain about the defamation of the Moroccan people and Islam by their university teachers. They requested Al-Hilālī to provide them with a proof they could use to refute the slanders of their Christian professors. Al-Hilālī provided them with arguments they could utilize in their polemical debates with Christians in Spain.¹⁵ Al-Hilālī states he had always been aware that he would have to assume this responsibility, because he had had personal experience of these sorts of defamations of Arabs and Islam elsewhere in Europe, and now also in Spain. He noticed that these students and many other people were unable to delve into the great books of history themselves.

¹² Al-Hilālī provided his translation with an introduction, a short biography of McCabe, and footnotes.

¹³ Al-Hilālī (1985), 11.

¹⁴ Al-Hilālī (1985), 111.

¹⁵ Al-Hilālī (1985), 10.

Dangerously, some students were so fascinated by the malicious falsehoods spread by the professors that they believed in them.¹⁶ So they were in urgent need of a useful compendium of the history of Muslims in Spain. One which, at the same time, would put in their hands a strong argument which they might use against those who falsified history.¹⁷ When he republished the book in Rabat in 1985, he changed the title to *Madaniyyat al-Muslimīn fī Isbāniyā* (The Civilization of the Muslims in Spain).¹⁸ According to his own words, this re-edition had been published at the request of some Moroccans in order to show that Muslims would never recover their full honour and glory until they returned to ‘Authentic’ Islam. Since the time they had strayed from Islam, Muslims had been living in backwardness and moral turpitude.¹⁹ Once again the title and preface tended to reflect the spirit of Islamism which had replaced the earlier nationalist discourse.

Al-Hilālī argued that he did not know of any contemporary Spanish writer who was impartial in their views of the Arabs and who recognized their great contributions as the American writer Joseph McCabe (1867 - 1955) had done.²⁰ He went on to defend his choice as follows:

I would like to remind any Christians who might happen to read this book that I do not intend to harm them. The evidence for this lies in the fact that the author of the book is one of them and the book was printed in America. Its author, Joseph McCabe, is from a nation whose king is the Supreme Governor of the Protestant Church.²¹ This man not only treats Christianity acrimoniously, but he also speaks evil of Islam in this book and in many other books. In fact, I have not changed a word of what he has written; I have merely translated his words, making footnotes to comment on the denigrations he makes against Islam, leaving the Christians the chance to defend their faith. Indeed,

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Al-Hilālī (1985), 11.

¹⁹ Al-Hilālī (1985), 4.

²⁰ On him see Issac (1936), 1-43.

http://infidels.org/library/historical/issac_goldberg/fighter_for_freethought.html#4, Accessed 20-06-2014.

See also Cooke B (2001) A rebel to his last breath: Joseph McCabe and rationalism. Prometheus, Amherst.

²¹ A reference to Mc Cabe’s Irish origins, and to the king of Great Britain as the supreme governor of the Anglican Church.

there are great Christian authors who can answer the allegations made in this book against the [Roman] Catholics. Allāh speaks the truth and guides [our steps] to the Straight Path.²²

Joseph McCabe (1867–1955) was born in England in 1867 into a family of Irish immigrants of modest means. As the second-born he was earmarked for the Church and at sixteen began to study for the priesthood. In 1896, aged twenty-nine, he left the Church. It was his understanding of Darwinian evolution which led him away from theism and out of the church.²³ McCabe had achieved local celebrity status in 1897 following the publication of *Twelve Years in a Monastery*,²⁴ an autobiographical account of his passage from Roman Catholicism. Nevertheless, the book which truly launched his career was his translation of Ernst Haeckel's (1834–1919), *The Riddle of the Universe*. About thirty-one years after translating *The Riddle of the Universe*, McCabe declared that, 'no book in my lifetime has had a wider influence in liberating the modern mind from superstition.'²⁵ McCabe was one of the most prolific and gifted polymaths of the twentieth century. He made a living as a populariser of science and a critic of philosophical and religious obscurantism.²⁶

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, McCabe wrote countless cheap, widely distributed books and pamphlets for those whose thirst for knowledge exceeded either the money or time they could devote to the pursuit of knowledge.²⁷ His publications include about 100 substantial books, 100 less-than-substantial books, 125 pamphlets (mostly 64 pages in small font) and thirty translations.²⁸ Most of his pamphlets were published in Haldeman-Julius's 'Little Blue Books' series. There were a thousand or more of these educational blue

²² Al-Hilālī (1985), 13.

²³ Coke (2010), 462.

²⁴ McCabe J (1897) *Twelve Years in a Monastery*. Watts & Co, London.

²⁵ McCabe J (1931a) *One Hundred Men Who Moved the World*, Vol17. Haldeman-Julius, Girard, Kansas, 34.

²⁶ Coke (2010), 462.

²⁷ LITTLE BLUE BOOKS, By Joseph McCabe, 1926-1934, wrappers. Nos. 109-1248, 10c, 64 pp.; 1450-1733, 5c, 32pp. Girard, Kansas. Haldeman-Julius Publications. See Isaac (1936),1-43.

http://infidels.org/library/historical/issac_goldberg/fighter_for_freethought.html#4 , Accessed 19-10-2014.

²⁸ Coke (2010), 461.

booklets which sold for 10–25 cents in the 1920s–1940s.²⁹ This was an early widespread effort to promote adult and working-people's education.³⁰

McCabe's principal source was *The History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*³¹ by the American attorney Samuel Parsons Scott (1846 – 1929),³² published in 1904.³³ Apparently, Al-Hilālī was barely acquainted with McCabe's main sources. For instance, he maintained that the 'Scott'³⁴ to whom McCabe was referring, was the medieval mathematician and scholar, Michael Scott (1170-1232)³⁵ As McCabe himself said: ' I do not have the space here to tell the history of the Moors. S.P. Scott's *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* (1904) tells that with authority and elegance; but it is a large three volume work, and a book of convenient size and full appreciation of the historical significance (...), Stanley-Pool's *Moors in Spain* (1895, in the 'Story of the Nations' series), is an authoritative work.'³⁶ This was his second major source.

McCabe himself had, of course, no precise idea of the history and the civilization of the Muslims in Spain. He had to rely on his sources uncritically. From Lane-Poole's book *The Moors in Spain*, he quoted, pretty uncritically:

Students flocked from France and Germany and England to drink from the fountain of learning which flowed only in the cities of the Moors. The surgeons and doctors of Andalusia were in the van of science: women were encouraged to devote themselves

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ About the Little Blue Books, and the Theory of Popular Culture, see <http://www.autodidactproject.org/other/hj1.html> , accessed 19-10-2014.

³¹ Samuel Parsons Scott, "History of the Moorish Empire in Europe" (1904), available at See <https://archive.org/stream/historyofmoorish01scotuoft#page/n7/mode/2up>. Reprinted in 1977 by the AMS Press and in 2010 (Vol.1) by General Books. Accessed 01-12-2014.

³² On him See "The Enigma of Samuel Parsons Scott," available on <http://romanlegaltradition.org/contents/2014/RLT10-KEARLEY.PDF> , accessed 01-12-2014.

³³ McCabe (1929), 21, Scott (1904), Vol.1, 679; McCabe (1929), 22, Scott (1904), Vol.1, 683; McCabe (1929), 26 , Scott (1904), Vol.1, 381; McCabe (1929), 42, Scott (1904), Vol.1, 495; McCabe (1929), 43, Scott (1904), Vol.3, 467; McCabe (1929), 55, Scott (1904), Vol.2, 165; McCabe (1929), 58, Scott (1904), Vol.3, 149.

³⁴ Al-Hilālī (1985), 32.

³⁵ On him see J. Wood Brown in *Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1897), <https://archive.org/stream/enquiryintolifel00browuoft#page/44/mode/2up> accessed 20-06-2014.

³⁶ McCabe (1929), 14.

to serious study, and the lady doctor was not unknown among the people of Cordova. (...) We have endeavoured to present the most salient points in the eight centuries of Mohammedan rule without prejudice or extenuation.³⁷

McCabe was convinced that the Moorish civilization in Spain should be included in a study of religion, because it imparted a very important lesson. Namely: that the real causes behind the restoration of civilization in Europe had no connection with the Christian religion and were largely antagonistic to it.³⁸ He averred that the real civilizing forces came from Arabia in the early years of the seventh century; Muḥammad brought them light with his new religion. This religion was not a civilizing force -- no religion is or ever has been -- but it imbued the Arabs with an extraordinary energy, and they set out to conquer and convert the world. The Arabs became fully civilized within a century.³⁹ Their religion did not inspire civilization, but the neglect of its principles permitted human nature to civilize itself. As they became more sophisticated, their belief in Islam rapidly declined. This also applied to the Moors who moved into Europe.⁴⁰

In his notes to the translation, Al-Hilālī maintains that this was one of the mistakes which the author made, one of many other mistakes in this book, because of his ignorance of the Arabic language. A second reason for his errors, enumerated by Al-Hilālī, was his reliance on other authors instead of going back to the original sources from which he reports second-hand. A third reason for the mistakes Al-Hilālī traced to the author's intolerance towards Muslims and his excessive devotion to atheism. A fourth reason was McCabe's conviction that Islam was a religion of monasticism and asceticism like Christianity, assuming that enjoyment of life was in contradiction to both Islam and Christianity. Actually, in some other places, he claimed that their process of civilization had turned them into a faithless people; and occasionally he asserts that they practised a shallow faith.⁴¹

Joseph McCabe states that the level of education in the Moorish civilization was even higher than that in the Roman Empire. Hospitals and orphanages were founded by the *caliphs*

³⁷ McCabe (1929), 9; Stanley Lane-Poole (1886), 7-8; see also http://www.khilafahbooks.com/wp-content/ebooks/english/history2/moors_in_spain_khilafahbooks_com.pdf. Accessed 19-10-2014.

³⁸ McCabe (1929), 7; Al-Hilālī (1985), 31.

³⁹ McCabe (1929), 10.

⁴⁰ McCabe (1929), 10-11; Al-Hilālī (1985), 36.

⁴¹ Al-Hilālī (1985), 35.

themselves, as they had been founded by the Stoic emperors (and had since almost disappeared from Europe), and the nobles and merchants were not slow to follow the royal example in applying the teachings of the *Qur'ān*. The *caliphs* personally visited the sick and looked for means of comfort to soften their pain.⁴² To support his point of view, Joseph McCabe used the statements made by Charlotte Mary Yonge [1823 – 1901] in her book *The Story of the Christians and Moors of Spain*⁴³ published in 1878. McCabe states that she had the courage to tell the truth about the Moors and Christians. She had made, among other points the statement that: Islam reached its highest inspiration in the Moorish civilization, and was then exhausted; but Christianity had 'infinite possibilities in the future'. McCabe's comment was that this was a double error. The Moorish civilization had not been inspired by Islam, and it did not die; and the progressive civilization of modern times is not Christian.⁴⁴

Al-Hilālī maintained that Islam explicitly offers guidance to aspects of civilization. The evidence which clearly shows that Islam is a civilized religion is the fact that Muslims displayed proof of their efficient political and economic management when they controlled the former Persian and Roman Empires, even though the only thing they knew was Islam. Speaking in terms which bordered on social Darwinism, he asserted that it is impossible to accept that one nation controls another one without assuming that the former is more civilized than the latter.⁴⁵ To support his point of view, Joseph McCabe refers the reader to Scott's work for the evidence that the Moors had actually introduced their high culture in disobedience to the *Qur'ān*.⁴⁶ Al-Hilālī mentions that this is a clear contradiction on the part of the author, because, Joseph McCabe himself argued that the Moors' compassion was directly guided by the *Qur'ān*.⁴⁷

Joseph McCabe believed that women, reduced to subjection elsewhere in Europe on account of the absurd biblical story of Eve and the misogyny of the early Church Fathers, were free and honoured amongst the Moors. The liberality, if not licence, which had soon replaced the early fanaticism at Damascus, was adopted in Spain to a sufficient degree to secure a good position for women. The harsh 'Mohammedan' attitude towards them now

⁴² McCabe (1929), 22; Al-Hilālī (1985), 53.

⁴³ <https://archive.org/details/storychristians01yonggoog> Accessed 22-10-2014.

⁴⁴ McCabe (1929), 25-26; Al-Hilālī (1985), 56.

⁴⁵ Al-Hilālī (1985), 56.

⁴⁶ Scott (1904), Vol.1, 381. McCabe (1929), 26 ; Al-Hilālī (1985), 56.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

familiar had not been adopted until a later date. Women at the Cordoba court helped to shape the counsels of the *caliphs*, were the friends of scholars and literary men, or were, if of a different temperament, easily able to pursue their amours with the artists and minstrels at the court. Education was freely extended to them, and many took a keen interest in the astronomy, philosophy and medical science of the time.⁴⁸

Al-Hilālī shared McCabe’s view about the status of women, namely: that women had been encouraged to devote themselves to serious study and that they had shared in all of the intellectual, scientific and literary movements of the day. Although he admitted that it was true that there were women poets, he disagreed with the view that they were easily able to pursue their amours with the artists and musicians, or that women in Moorish Spain enjoyed a full, complete level of freedom.⁴⁹

Joseph McCabe also states that the Moors’ toleration of Jews and Christians again was, ‘some may be surprised to know’, based upon the *Qur’ān*.⁵⁰ Jews and Christians paid a special small tax, and were granted the full protection of the law. So numerous were they that the profit from the tax was high, and the *caliphs* discouraged proselytism which might have reduced its amount. The Christians of Cordoba were permitted to keep their cathedral, which was eventually bought from them at a very high price, and they were then permitted to build a number of churches.⁵¹ They also maintained a friendly interaction with their neighbours until priests fanned their religious hatred. The Jews, who then enjoyed their real golden age, rose to high distinction in science and state service under the Moors.⁵²

Al-Hilālī states that the miracles in the *Qur’ān* were recognized, even by the enemies of Islam.⁵³ Joseph McCabe points out that Andalusia had miles of vineyards, although the *Qur’ān* strictly forbade wine, and carved images and paintings were found in their palaces. Damascus, from which their culture had originally derived, seethed with atheism and blasphemy within a 150 years of the death of Mohammed. This lack of respect for religion was, Scott says, offensive to ‘the polished society’ of the Moors, but ‘education and

⁴⁸ McCabe (1929), 23.

⁴⁹ Al-Hilālī (1985), 53.

⁵⁰ McCabe (1929), 24; Al-Hilālī (1985), 54.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Al-Hilālī (1985), 54. See Also Al-Hilālī (2006b), 167-169.

skepticism were almost equally spread throughout the peninsula,' and the Moors had no misconceptions of the divine origin of the *Qur'ān*.⁵⁴

Al-Hilālī claims that this is how the author, his Professor [Scott], and many other authors came to believe that there could be no Islam in a country where vineyards and statutes might be seen.⁵⁵ He adds that this shows how great McCabe's ignorance of Islam was; because wine had never disappeared from Muslim countries even during the time of the Prophet, peace be upon him, and his successors. Islam has never demanded that wine should be eliminated aware that non-Muslims were allowed to drink it.⁵⁶

Joseph McCabe reported that, there were plenty of 'pietists', for Cordoba had the greatest 'Mohammedan' colleges and scholars in the world, and one sincere caliph passed an act establishing that a mosque should be constructed for every twelve houses which were built.⁵⁷ Al-Hilālī says that a comparison of this with the author's earlier claim that the Arabs and people of the Levant were not Muslims clearly reveals his contradictions.⁵⁸ Joseph McCabe added that a light and healthy scepticism was the prevailing general attitude. Most men complied with the ritual requirements of the religion of the state, but not with its strictest teachings and spirit. Neither Damascus nor Baghdad, not even Antioch in its heyday, was such a centre of joy as was Cordoba at the time when all the rest of Europe was mired in stupid superstition.⁵⁹

Al-Hilālī took this to be another piece of evidence that the inhabitants of Andalusia were really religious people. McCabe's claim that atheism was very common in Andalusia is contradicted by his statement: 'Most people complied literally to religious texts.'⁶⁰ Referring to Scott as his authority, McCabe maintains, 'that the universities and provincial colleges were essentially infidel. Jews and Christians were as welcome in them as 'Muḥammedans'.' A Moorish proverb ran: 'The world is divided into two classes of people -- one with wit and

⁵⁴ Scott (1904), Vol.1, 381, McCabe (1929), 26 ; Al-Hilālī (1985), 57.

⁵⁵ See also McCabe (1929), 35, 39.

⁵⁶ Al-Hilālī (1985), 57.

⁵⁷ McCabe (1929), 37; Al-Hilālī (1985), 80.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī (1985), 80.

no religion, the other with religion and no wit.’⁶¹ Al-Hilālī again stresses that this as another example of when the author clearly contradicts himself.⁶²

McCabe was convinced that never before in the world had there been a happier and more generally beautiful and luxurious life than that of Andalusia in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶³ Al-Hilālī maintains that the last time Spain (and the Muslims) knew prosperity was during the period when the Arabs and Muslims were ruling Spain. He added that Muslims would never recover their full glory and honour until they returned to ‘Authentic’ Islam. Since that time, Muslims had been doomed to live in backwardness and wallow in moral turpitude. Al-Hilālī asserted that history had shown this to be a fact.⁶⁴ If one looked carefully into the history of Spain, one would note that the period of Islam was one of enlightenment situated between two periods of ignorance. Five and a half centuries had passed and the Spanish people were still longing for the happiness the Arabs had brought to Spain. But, up to that moment their yearning had remained unrequited. Al-Hilālī believed that it was the task of historians to answer the allegations of those liars [the Christian professors in Spain] with facts which would vitiate their falsehoods.⁶⁵

In his book Al-Hilālī mentions that both Arab and Moroccan students at the University of Granada and other universities used to complain dolefully about the fact that the lecturers would falsify history and accuse both Arabs and Muslims of every major vice. According to his own words, he used to fling the truth against the falsehood of those deceivers, revealing their lack of probity.⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī wrote : ‘I likewise intended to guide the students to the appropriate books which showed the truth as truth and falsehood as falsehood.’ In his introduction Al-Hilālī refers to the expertise in the history of Andalusia of his friend Shakīb Arslān (1869-1946)⁶⁷.⁶⁸ Evidently, Al-Hilālī was aware of the well-known work by Shakīb Arslān *Al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya fī al-Akhhbār al-Andalusiyya: Wa Hiya ma ‘lamatun Tuḥīṭu bi kullī majā’a ‘an dhalika al-Firdaws al-Mafqūd* (The Silk Suit about the History of Andalusia:

⁶¹ McCabe (1929), 43; Al-Hilālī (1985), 84.

⁶² Al-Hilālī (1985), 85.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Al-Hilālī (1985), 10.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī (1985), 10.

⁶⁷ On Shakīb Arslān, see Cleveland (1985); Kramer (1987), 529-533.

⁶⁸ Al-Hilālī (1985), 9.

An encyclopaedia encompassing everything transmitted about this lost paradise), published in the year 1936, which apparently served him as a source of inspiration. In Shakīb Arslān's own words, the least he could do to serve the *Umma* before passing way was to devote himself to a precious piece of history and write a book which summarized the studies of Arab scholars and the work of Orientalists, who were considered authorities on the civilization of the Muslims in Spain. Shakīb Arslān quoted from different authorities, among them the historian and Orientalist Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy [1820 – 1883]: *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* and *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*. He also cites from Anne-Marie-Joseph-Albert de Circourt (1809-1895) *Histoire des Mores mudéjares et des Morisques: ou des Arabes d'Espagne sous la domination des chrétiens*. Arslān also relied upon the works of Spanish Orientalists like Francisco Javier Simonet's (1829 -1897) *Historia de los mozárabes de España* and of the Spanish Orientalist and historian of the Al-Andalus period, José Antonio Conde (1766–1820) who wrote the three-volume *Historia de la Dominación de los Árabes en España* (History Of The Dominion Of The Arabs In Spain). Beyond these authorities, there are numerous Arabic historians to whom Shakīb Arslān refers in his work.⁶⁹ All this, in contrast to Al-Hilālī who simply accepted the fantasies and exaggerations put forward by McCabe without making any critical reference to the available works of serious scholars of the history of Muslim Spain. Furthermore, when Al-Hilālī selected McCabe's book for translation, he did so without making any investigation into its scholarly qualities in its narration of the subject of the Moorish civilization, although these qualities are very dubious.

For a further critical evaluation of Al-Hilālī's translation of McCabe-cum-notes, we can refer to another work by Shakīb Arslān, viz. namely: his Arabic version of the book entitled *The New Islamic World* published by Lothrop Stoddard in 1921. In 1925 this book was translated into Arabic by the Lebanese historian 'Ujāj Nuwīhiḍ (1897 - 1982). Shakīb Arslān says that the printed book spread across all the Arab world like wildfire and in less than five years its stock was exhausted. At the request of various institutes of education which required 1,000 copies, Shakīb Arslan decided to reprint the main text of the first edition just as it was, and review the footnotes with comments relating to new facts which had emerged during a period of seven years between the first and the second edition. This second edition,

⁶⁹ Arslān (1936), 16.

published in 1933, consisted of four parts,⁷⁰ in which he devoted no fewer than sixty pages only to the civilization of the Muslims in Al-Andalus. This essay contained, he claimed, information which was new and had never been recorded in any book.⁷¹ In comparison with such an undertaking, the value of Al-Hilālī's work is very limited. Its ideological nature transpires, once again, at the end of the booklet, where Al-Hilālī remarks:

This is the end of “the Civilization of the Moroccans in Andalusia”... I hope that Muslims throughout the whole world will learn something from this booklet. I likewise hope that it will encourage them to revive the heritage of their predecessors and recover the glory they have lost because they turned their back to the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*. Allāh shall definitely grant them victory over the enemies of Islam as He supported them in the past against the Europeans; the French and the the Spaniards. After this victory, Muslims spread knowledge and led the Europeans out of Darkness into Light. Allāh guides whom He wills to a Straight Way.⁷²

⁷⁰ Arslān and Nwīhid (1933), 1-2.

⁷¹ Arslān and Nwīhid (1925), Vol.2, 1-60.

⁷² Al-Hilālī (1985), 110.

7. Post-Independence Morocco (1960-1968): Polemics against the Bahā'īs

7.1. Al-Hilālī's Experience in Post Independence Morocco

In 1957, a year after Morocco obtained its independence, Al-Hilālī paid a short visit to his native country. For the first time in thirty-five years he was able to return to the former French Zone. Al-Hilālī took advantage of his trip to Rabat to write a couple of articles for *Da'wat al-Haqq*, the new official Islamic journal of the kingdom. In his first article, he offered a very religious reading of the independence movement.¹ He suggests that Islam had been the sole driving force behind the Moroccan triumph over colonialism. God granted victory to Muḥammad V (d.1961) and his *mujāhidīn* because they believed in Him, obeyed Him and were good Muslims. His second article resulted from the twenty-minute audience the King granted him in the royal palace in 1957. Their conversation was, according to al-Hilālī, informal; it was mostly concerned with Al-Hilālī's travels outside Morocco. Soon after this short meeting, Al-Hilālī wrote a eulogy to Muḥammad V in which he praised him for his religious qualities and anti-colonial achievements.²

In 1959, Al-Hilālī returned to Morocco. Thanks to a reference from his friend 'Abd Allāh Guennūn, in that year Al-Hilālī was offered an appointment at the Muḥammad V University in Rabat, as professor of Arabic and Arabic literature.³ Besides this position, he served as a state-appointed preacher and was officially appointed a contributor to the official Moroccan Islamic magazine, *Da'wat al-Haqq* between 1960 and 1968.⁴

Al-Hilālī settled in Fes, in the house of his former professor, Muḥammad ibn-al-'Arabī al-'Alawī, who had converted him to the Salafīyya in 1921, see Chapter 1. When Al-Hilālī, sought the advice of his professor about continuing to call Moroccans to 'Authentic' Islam, the then eighty year-old Salafī who, Al-Hilālī stated was utterly pessimistic, gave him the following answer:

Leave those benighted people alone, because I am tired of calling them to "Authentic" Islam. Abū Shu'aib al-Dukkālī [the most cited Moroccan *Shaykh* to have deeply

¹ Lauzière (2008), 299. See also Al-Hilālī (1957), 19-20.

² Ibid., See also, Al-Hilālī (1979), 4-7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Al-Hilālī (2006), 257.

influenced the Salafi movement in Morocco in the early twentieth century] was equally tired of preaching . We have not achieved any significant results in spite of a protracted effort .⁵

Despite the gloom exuded by his teacher, Al-Hilālī replied that he was confident of succeeding, as he had been able to achieve great things in calling people to Allāh in different countries.⁶ Al-Hilālī claimed that his sermons used to attract a big audience, and did indeed prove to bear fruit. He asserted that his lessons had been able to attract an impressively large number of people in less than a week.⁷ In fact, the proof of the pudding was in the eating and the success of his sermons resulted in his official appointment as a preacher in the Ministry of Endowments, after the minister, Al-Makkī Baddū, had attended one of his sermons in the mosque in the city of Fez. The latter praised his work and offered him the position of a state-appointed preacher (*wā'iz*) for 200 *Dirhams* a month, which was about twice a normal salary.⁸ The minister's decision to appoint Al-Hilālī was plausible and justified. At the time, Morocco could not count on many religious scholars with such outstanding qualifications and experience in preaching.⁹

As a consequence of his appointment, Al-Hilālī moved to Meknes since this city was closer to Rabat, and providentially its weather was better suited to his health. Despite these obvious advantages, the sermons he used to give in the Great Mosque in Meknes caused him a great deal of trouble and discomfort. Al-Hilālī says his tribulations were occasioned by some Malīkī jurists and some leaders of the Sufi orders who began to conspire against him, on the grounds that his sermons did not comply with their well-established principles. Al-Hilālī reports that 500 people, among them the Prince of Meknes who was a cousin of King Muḥammad V, signed a petition against him, asking the religious authorities to ban him from preaching. One of the reasons for which Al-Hilālī the petition noted had to be stopped from preaching was his denial of the Sufi thaumaturgical rituals and his virulent attacks on the Malīkī School of Jurisprudence.¹⁰

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Al-Hilālī (2006), 258.

⁹ Lauzière (2008), 310.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Fortunately, other influential people supported Al-Hilālī's *da'wa*, including Muḥammad al-Ṭanjī (1902-1991), at that time director of *Al-Wa'z wa-l-Irshād* (the Government Office for Preaching and Religious Assistance) and Aḥmad Bargash, Minister of *Habous* (inalienable property) and Islamic affairs between 1963 and 1972.¹¹ In Al-Hilālī's own words, they were members of a commission to be led by Al-Hilālī's best friend, 'Abd Allāh Guennūn,¹² which would look into the evidence both Al-Hilālī and his opponents would provide to counter and support the charges which were being laid against him. Al-Hilālī said that his opponents failed to produce any proof of their accusations, so he continued to preach for nine years, during which time he steadfastly withstood all the attacks aimed at undermining his preaching.¹³

The second 'plot' against him, as he reports himself, was hatched in a new mosque which had been built near his house. Al-Hilālī ordered his followers to delay the Dawn Prayer because he thought that the people in Meknes did not pray at the legally prescribed time. The upshot was that Al-Hilālī was accused of instigating 'sedition' after five young students had performed the Dawn Prayer in a separate congregation.¹⁴ Al-Hilālī alleged that many people, encouraged and led on by 'corrupt Sufī *imams*', had told the Governor:

Verily, Al-Hilālī's group has instigated sedition in the mosques, so much so that people are praying in two different congregations at the same time. Therefore, disputes and quarrels are disrupting every mosque, the blame for which should be laid at the door of these Wahhabis whose doctrine does not conform to the Sunni Schools.¹⁵

In turn, the Governor summoned the Minister of *Habous* and Islamic affairs, Aḥmad Bargash, who requested Al-Hilālī to come to Rabat, and who charged his representative, a modernist Salafī named 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dukkālī (d.1976), to discuss this matter with Al-Hilālī. Al-Hilālī recalled his words as follows:

¹¹ Al-Hilālī (2006), 259.

¹² On Al-Hilālī's complaint to 'Abd Allāh Guennūn, about his discomfort and frustrations on account of the problems caused by the Moroccan authorities. See Al-Hilālī (1976), Vol.1, 236.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Al-Hilālī (2006), 259.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dukkālī told me: ‘When I was in India, every time I visited a university or a scientific forum, I met people who praised you. Many people told me that they had been your students. I was very happy to hear that. When I came back I informed His Majesty King Hassan II about this and I likewise informed the Minister, so we are very proud of you. I would add to this the fact that my father, the great scholar Abū Shu‘aib al-Dukkālī, was the first to introduce Salafism into Morocco. Therefore, I am also a supporter of your mission. Nevertheless, one has to be moderate and avoid the intransigence which leads to disturbance as a matter of course.’¹⁶

It goes without saying that Al-Hilālī claimed that what his opponents had said was untrue. He made it clear to Al-Dukkālī that what the group of young people had done was a big mistake and he strongly condemned it. He roundly criticized those five students in one of his sermons, because, in his eyes, they had contested the legitimacy of the officially appointed *imam*, which, in his eyes, was an act of disobedience to the King.¹⁷ Al-Hilālī recalled that he also survived this second ‘plot’, thanks to the intervention of Aḥmad Bargash, the Minister of Endowments.¹⁸

As mentioned in the introduction, after independence the Moroccan monarch chose to implement an official Islamic doctrine which was heavily influenced by Salafism. In that period for many years the Ministry of Islamic Affairs was dominated by members of the Istiqlal Party. The Salafī scholar Muḥammad Ibrahim Al-Kattānī, a member of the Istiqlāl Party, actually went as far as to recall a Salafist king, Muḥammad V. Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī endorsed this view by praising both King Muhammad V [1909-1961] and King Ḥasan II (1929-1999) for their Salafism and their support for the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna*.¹⁹ However, this praise was incidental as Al-Hilālī was not involved in politics, nor did he interact with the Istiqlal Party or the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* (UNFP). This was a time in which Morocco was preoccupied with formulating of an official Moroccan Islamic discourse, which Al-Hilālī did not consider sufficiently Salafī.²⁰

¹⁶ Al-Hilālī (2006), 262.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Al-Hilālī (1979), 4-7.

²⁰ Lauzière (2008), 292.

In 1964, the Minister of *Habous* and Islamic affairs, Aḥmad Bargash, appointed Al-Hilālī professor of Qur’anic Exegesis and *Hadith*, at the newly founded *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥasaniyya* in Rabat. He dedicated his course to the *Muwattaʿa*’ of Imam Malik. Al-Hilālī hoped that *Dār al-Ḥadīth* to be a second Qarawiyyīn or even better. His words were:

May *Dār al-Ḥadīth* please the Muslims and anger the enemies of Islam, not only in Morocco, but throughout the world.²¹

Despite his high hopes, after only three months and in the wake of controversies with some Sufī students, Al-Hilālī decided to resign.²²

In 1963, Al-Hilālī issued one of his important *fatwas*, *Ḥukm al-murtadd fī al-Islām* (The Ruling on the Apostate in Islam), a study of which reveals that the official Islam in the sixties in Morocco and the ideas of Al-Hilālī were close to each other. This *fatwa* will be discussed later in the present chapter.

During the period 1960-1968, Al-Hilālī published several books, among them are the following: (1) *Al-Daʿwa ʿila Allāh* (The Call to Allāh). This is Al-Hilālī’s autobiography, in which he describes his studies, his journeys worldwide and his religious views. This book sheds light on the stages in Al-Hilālī’s *daʿwa* efforts. Al-Hilālī does not record his life in the various countries he had visited in a chronological order. Instead it jumps from one geographical area to another. With the exception of the last three pages, there is little information about this his time in Saudi Arabia and his return to Morocco. (2) *Al-Ṣubḥ al-Safīr fī Ḥukm Ṣalāt al-Musāfir* (The Bright Morning for the Prayer of the Traveller), in which Al-Hilālī argues that whoever, including the traveller, deliberately omits a prayer within its prescribed time, is a disbeliever, because it is an obligation related to specific hours which should not be delayed.²³ (3) *Sharḥ Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (The Explanation of Saḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī),²⁴

²¹ Al-Hilālī (1964), 4.

²² Al-Hilālī (2006), 266.

²³ This book was criticized by the Wahhābi Scholar, Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, who asserted that Al-Hilālī presented too radical a point of view to support his argument: ‘Nobody gains anything from your knowledge, the Moroccans complain about your harshness; maybe you should be more indulgent.’ His criticism angered Al-Hilālī who told him: ‘Things were made easy for me only by harshness.’ See further Al-Anṣārī (2006), Vol.2,617-618.

(4) *Taqwīm al-Lisānayn* (Correction of Some Written and Spoken Errors),²⁵ (5) *Al-Fawā'id al-Sāmiyya fī Tārīkh al-lūghāt al-Sāmiyya* (Useful Remarks on Semitic Languages) and (6) *Al-Fajr al-Ṣādiq* (The True Dawn),²⁶ in which he claims that the Moroccan people perform the dawn prayer about thirty minutes before its legal time. He suggests that the true worshiper should delay performing the prayer until he is sure that day has dawned. In this same period he also began to compile his unpublished *fatwas*, entitled *Al-'Uyūn al-Ẓilāliyya fī Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliya* (The Albuminous Water Sources of the *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyyā*, which have remained unpublished and are in two volumes. These *fatwas* will be discussed in Chapter 9.

In this period, in the official Moroccan journal *Da'wat al-Haqq*, Al-Hilālī also published *Al-Ḥusām al-Māḥiq li-kulli Mushrik wa Munāfiq* (The Sword Which Eradicates the Heathens and Hypocrites).²⁷ In this book, he adduces evidence from the *Qur'ān*, the *Sunna* and the consensus of the Muslim scholars, claiming that such arguments indisputably show that abiding by the teachings of one school of jurisprudence is a heresy. He states that he who perseveres in embracing heretical acts after reading this book must be either an ignoramus or a hypocrite.²⁸ Al-Hilālī also published *Dawā' al-Shakīn wa Qami' al-Mushakikīn* (The Healer of the Sick and the Oppressor of the Sceptics),²⁹ which contains a series of sixteen articles in response to a 1964 paper written by the Lebanese Christian philosopher René Ḥabashī (d.2003). In these articles, Al-Hilālī accuses him of heresy and disbelief (*kufr*),³⁰ and calls for *jihād* against the enemies of Islam who invite Muslims to renounce their religion. He also suggests that Ḥabashī deserved to be executed.³¹

²⁴ In one of his letters addressed to his Salafī student Maḥmmūd Maḥdī al-Istanbūlī, Al-Hilālī says: 'I have already begun interpreting Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī in a way which will enlighten both the preacher and the student. I myself am benefiting from it, because the existing interpretations cannot be taught in the mosques, as they are full of things which might hinder the lessons in predication, and might disturb the listeners.' See Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," (1976), Family archive, The letter is dated 26-1-1388 AH/ 24 April 1968 .

²⁵ It was published in many parts in the Moroccan Journal *Da'wat al-Haqq* in 1968.

²⁶ Al-Hilālī (1964b), 1-17.

²⁷ Al-Hilālī (1982).

²⁸ Al-Hilālī (1982), 55.

²⁹ It was published in several parts in the *Da'wat al-Haqq* in 1964, and afterwards in one volume. See further Al-Hilālī (2007).

³⁰ Al-Hilālī (2007), 160.

³¹ *Ibid.*

7.2. The Bahā'ī Case

The spread of the Bahā'ī [Faith]³² commenced, Al-Hilālī states, in 1962 when two men arrived from Persia. One of them settled in Tetouan in North Morocco and the second man settled in the city of Meknes and both established a centre for the purpose of inviting people to join the Bahai [Faith].³³ Both managed to convert local youths. As a result, fourteen people (thirteen Moroccan citizens and one Syrian) were arrested.³⁴ Al-Hilālī stated that, although he had not looked into the verdict or at the evidence levelled against the accused men, and instead produced different arguments, on the matter, the first based on the requirements imposed on Muslims in the Islamic *Sharī'a*, which contain the sentence every Muslim judge should pronounce, and another set of arguments for non-Muslims based on the rule of international law which, according to Al-Hilālī, is a matter of consensus, and is used everywhere.³⁵ A study of this *fatwa* is important because it touches on a key, event in the contemporary history of Morocco, which in fact can be seen as a test case for Morocco as a modern state.

As just stated, the case of the Bahā'īs in Morocco began in April 1962 with the arrest of fourteen people, thirteen Moroccan citizens and one Syrian. The specific charges in the indictment were: **1.** That the accused 'have studied books about the Bahai faith and its philosophy and that they have believed in it.' **2.** That the accused 'believe that God can be imagined in the state of a person and can be situated in time; and that Muḥammad, may salvation and the blessing of God be upon him, is not the last of the prophets, and that they do not believe in the Hereafter in the form of Heaven, Hell and Resurrection.' **3** That the Bahā'ī doctrine stipulates 'that the direction of prayer is not Mecca but rather "the door",³⁶ and that it

³² According to the the Bahā'ī Information Center, the first Bahā'ī entered Morocco around 1946. The majority came from Egypt and a few from the United States, including Manouchehr Hezari [1922-2010], who helped bring the Bahā'ī faith to Morocco in the 1950s. Hezari left his native Iran in 1953 and moved his family to Tangier, Morocco, to spread his faith. See The Bahā'ī International Community (1963) , 4. See also <http://www.statesman.com/news/local/austinite-helped-introduce-bahai-faith-to-morocco-770167.html> , accessed 27-02-2012.

³³ Al-Hilālī, "Ḥukm al-murtadd," 1963, 29.

³⁴ Lauzière (2008), 323.

³⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Ḥukm al-murtadd," 1963, 30.

³⁶ Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad Shīrāzī (1819–50), known as the Bāb, "The Door", the founder of Bābism. He claimed to be the promised Mahdi, the Hidden Imam. Bahā'īs direct their prayers towards Shīrāzī's burial-place,

varies according to wherever the door is located.’ 4. That Bahā’īs do not conform to the Islamic practices of praying and fasting, and that ‘the pilgrimage to the holy places is illicit and that it is necessary to destroy the holy places of Islam as soon as a courageous man is in a position to do so.’ 5. That the Bahais advocate ‘the overthrow of all governments and the establishment of one government on a worldwide scale in their place.’ 6. That the accused, ‘by embracing the Bahai Faith have aroused anxiety in the minds of fellow citizens and that they have conspired to upset the Islamic faith of people, and that signs of revolt are threatening to manifest themselves in the country.’ 7. That ‘by embracing the Bahai Faith and applying its precepts the purpose of the accused is to undermine the State and to substitute for it a state conceived on a worldwide scale and that, by this deed, they are deliberately attempting to disrupt public order.’ 8. That the accused have formed an illegal association to propagate the Bahai Faith and that they are attacking religious beliefs.³⁷ After the verdict was made known and widely publicized, it attracted the attention of many influential people both inside and outside Morocco.³⁸

Nine of the fourteen Bahā’īs were found guilty.³⁹ On 14 December 1962, the Regional Court of Nador pronounced death sentences on three of them, five were condemned to penal servitude for between one to ten years. The five other defendants were acquitted.⁴⁰ Two days

He earned the “Bab” title because his followers saw him as the “Gate of God”. See Smith, Peter (1987): *The Bābī and Bahā’ī Religions: From Messianic Shi’ism to a World Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. El2, Bāb, A. Bausani. See also Pink (2003), vol:10 iss:3: 409 -434. See also <http://www.islamreligion.com/articles/309/viewall/> accessed 06-10-2014.

³⁷ See the Text of the Indictment. Royaume du Maroc, Cour d’Appel de Tanger, Chambre des Mises en Accusation, Arret de Renvoi, No. 36, rendu en date de 31/10/62, Dossier No. 809, in *The Baha’i International Community* (1963), 968-975. See also Regional Court of al-Nadūr (9 May 1963) : “Ma Hiya al-Bāhā’iyya wa ma huwa mawqifu al-Qānūn minhā? ”, Text of the Indictment, “ *al-Mithāq*, 2, 31:45-46.

³⁸ On 26 December 1962, the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahā’īs of the United States telegraphed John F. Kennedy, President of the United States. The Baha’i International Community reached the conclusion that the Nador case was an act of genocide as defined in Article II, Clauses (a), (b), and (c), of the United Nations Convention on Genocide, which has been signed and ratified by Morocco. Upon receiving news of the sentencing, the International League for the Rights of Man sent a letter to the king of Morocco urgently appealing to him to exercise royal prerogative of clemency on behalf of the prisoners. See *The Baha’i International Community* (1963), 13-16.

³⁹ See also Regional Court of al-Nadūr (9 May 1963) : “Ma Hiya al-Bāhā’iyya wa ma huwa mawqifu al-Qānūn minhā? ”, Text of the Indictment, “ *al-Mithāq*, 2, 31:45-46.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

before the verdict, during a press conference on 12 December 1962, the late King Hassan II gave his interpretation when he said that the free exercise of religion does not mean freedom to embrace any religion. He declared that, ‘the Jewish and Christian religions can be practised freely because they are religions which are recognized by Islam, but this acceptance does not mean that Morocco will allow them to challenge public order. Nor does it say that it will accept the sect of the Bahā’īs or any others which are true heresies.’⁴¹

The Regional Court of Nador published an article which contained a report about the Bahā’ī case, in *Al-Mithāq*.⁴² This explained that the Bahā’ī sect did not conform to the Islamic observances of praying and fasting, that they considered the pilgrimage to the holy places was illicit and that it was necessary to destroy the holy places of Islam. The article went on to say that the Bahā’īs advocated the overthrow of all governments and the establishment of a government on a world scale in their place.⁴³

In contrast to the Moroccan claim, in a report published in 1963 entitled ‘Freedom of Religion on Trial in Morocco’, the Bahā’ī International Community argues that the Bahā’īs had been sentenced to death on the grounds of their religious affiliation.⁴⁴ On the basis of this report, it launched a worldwide campaign to publicize the plight of the Bahā’ī prisoners, claiming that the Nador case was another battle for the fundamental rights of man. Its argument was that it was the religion which was on trial and all other charges had been brought only to give the prosecution a semblance of legality.⁴⁵

In his book *Chronique Sociale et Culturelle Maroc*, André Adam argues that, with the Nador case against the Bahā’īs, for the first time since independence, religious affairs had become very important in politics, elevating this court case to a pawn in a political game.⁴⁶ This view is confirmed by John Waterbury in his book *Kingdom-Building and the Control of the Opposition in Morocco: The Monarchical Uses of Justice*, in which he suggests that the

⁴¹ El Atouabi (2005), 34 -35. Where Majdouline El Atouabi , in her article entitled “ Une communauté très secrète” (A very private community), gives the historical background to the Bahā’ī case and the Bahā’ī presence in Morocco.

⁴² Report of the Regional Court of Nador (9 May 1963), issue 31, 60-65.

⁴³ .Ibid., see also the Baha’i International Community (1963), 10.

⁴⁴ The Baha’i International Community, a non-governmental organization , accredited to the United Nations and representing 55 National Baha’i Assemblies

⁴⁵ The Baha’i International Community(1963), 12.

⁴⁶ Adam (1963), 212-213.

Bahā'īs were caught up in the power-play between the Islamic clergy and the monarchy, because in that period the Istiqlal Party was doing its best to seek an alliance with the monarchy on the basis of religion, and its eventual aim was to establish a conservative Islamic doctrine as the basis for Moroccan state and society.⁴⁷

Victims of circumstance, as John Waterbury argues the Bahā'īs were, were unwittingly caught in a power-play between the Islamic clergy and the monarchy.⁴⁸ A contest between the King Hassan II and the Istiqlāl Party with the Bahā'ī case as the bone of contention is remarked upon. While the ministers of religious affairs and justice, then in the hands of Istiqlal Party, were pushing to punish these converts by condemning them to death, the king, under the pressure of public opinion throughout the world and from Moroccan liberals, sought to exercise his right of clemency and the release of the Bahā'ī prisoners.

In his book *Monarchie et Islam Politique Au Maroc*, Muḥammad Tozi states that in the case of the Baha'īs known as 'the Nador Trial,' for the first and the last time two very different conceptions of freedom of conscience in Morocco confronted each other.⁴⁹ Whereas the Istiqlal Party, led by 'Allāl al-Fāsī, defended their condemnation of the 'heretics' of Nador, a 'fundamentalist' conception of justice, the UNFP (National Union of Popular Forces) maintained a guilty silence.⁵⁰ The liberal monarchists seemed to be the most secular in their outlook. Aḥmad Riḍā Guedira, Minister of the Interior and Agriculture, did not hesitate to take a bold position. In the number of *Les Phares* of 21 December 1962, he wondered, 'Where is there in Morocco a written law which hands down the death penalty for the offences against religion, prompting the King to issue a general amnesty on their behalf?'⁵¹ He went on to say:

Apparently, it would seem that the accused were to be punished and with what penalty—without any specific 'cases or procedures' having been expressly specified in law. Where is there in Morocco a 'written law which prescribes the death penalty for offences against religion?'

⁴⁷ Waterbury (1969), 54–60.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Tozi (2008), 131.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Les Phares*, as cited in *Le Monde*, December 26, 1962. In: The Baha'ī International Community (1963), 15. See also Tozi (2008), 131.

He then, cited Article 10 of the new Moroccan constitution.⁵²

Evidently the pressure of public opinion throughout the world, and from within Morocco itself, favourable to the Bahā'īs, exerted on the Moroccan authorities gave them pause to think and review the situation. The Nador trial was dismissed by the Criminal Branch of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, one year later, April 3 1963, during a luncheon hosted by the Overseas Pen Club in the United States, the late king retracted his previous stance and said he would use his right of pardon if the death sentence of the Bahā'īs were to be upheld by the Court of Appeal.⁵³ In 1963, 'Allal al-Fāsī resigned from the government and publicly raised the possibility of overthrowing of the Moroccan monarchy.⁵⁴

A more recent publication on the same subject, published in 1978, is a booklet, entitled *Al-Bahā'īyya Rabībatu Isrā'īl*⁵⁵ by a certain 'Abdessalām Muḥammad al-Kwirat⁵⁶ [1920-1991]. The reason for this publication was that sixteen Bahā'ī men and women had been detained and sentenced to imprisonment because the Moroccan government stated that their belief was heretical. However, the Human Rights Watch reminded the government that freedom of belief overruled this and the Bahā'īs were released a year later.⁵⁷ In his book, *Al-Bahā'īyya Rabībatu Isrā'īl*, referring to the Bahā'ī Temple on Mount Carmel in Haifa, the main shrine of the Bahā'īs throughout the world, the author claims that the Bahā'īs had made a common cause with Zionism.⁵⁸

⁵² Article 10 of Morocco's new Moroccan Constitution stated: 'No one can be arrested except in cases and under procedures specified by law.'

⁵³ El Atouabi (2005), 34-35. <http://www.maroc-hebdo.press.ma/index.php/archives>, accessed 03-03-2014.

⁵⁴ Zeghal (2005), 57.

⁵⁵ Kawīra (1978).

⁵⁶ In 1963, the same author had published a book about the Bahā'īs entitled *al-Bahā'īyya wa 'ushshāquhā fi al-Mizān*, in which he describes the Bahā'ī faith as being in conflict with Islam.

⁵⁷ Sater (2010), 32.

⁵⁸ Kawīra (1978).

7.3. The Ruling on the Apostate in Islam: The fatwa “*Ḥukm al-murtadd fī al-Islām*”

The fatwa *Ḥukm al-murtadd fī al-Islām* (The Ruling on the Apostate in Islam), which was one of the most important fatwas issued by Al-Hilālī, was published in the official Moroccan journal *Da‘wat al-Haqq* in 1963.⁵⁹ As far as is known, it has not been studied by scholars of Moroccan religious history. At the beginning, Al-Hilālī states that one of his (Iraqi) students, who had studied in Great Britain, Mr ‘Iṣām al-Alousī, had reported to him that the British newspapers⁶⁰ had recently written about some members of the Bahā’ī sect in Morocco,⁶¹ referring to the fact that ‘the Islamic courts’ had sentenced some of them to death. Beyond this bald statement, the papers did not mention all the reasons behind this trial, and this had led students in Britain, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, to raise many questions related to the issue. He therefore requested his teacher to write something for them on this matter from the perspective of public law and from the Islamic point of view, seizing the opportunity to reveal the attitude of Islam to such sects.⁶² Al-Alousī requested Al-Hilālī’s permission to translate the answer into English and publish it in the journal, *International Muslim News*, in the United Kingdom, but the present researcher was not able to find any translation of this fatwa or any information indicating that the fatwa has been published in the *International Muslim News*. The importance of this fatwa is that shows Al-Hilālī’s interaction with his students all over the world and illustrates many of his reflections on religious issues.

Ḥukm al-murtadd fī al-Islām was originally published in the official Moroccan journal *Da‘wat al-Haqq* in 1963.⁶³ The same ruling on the apostate in Islam had been mentioned in

⁵⁹ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 29.

⁶⁰ The *Guardian* on December 27 1963 reported that in Great Britain, 163 Baha’i groups had appealed to the Queen and Parliament to intercede in behalf of justice and humanity. *The Manchester Guardian* [now alas defunct although the Guardian still exists] published an extensive and accurate article entitled “Persecution and Martyrdom of Baha’i Followers. Islam Recognizes a Challenge”. The concluding paragraph reads: ‘The anger of Islam against the Bahé’i Faith has been likened to the reaction of the Jews to Christ and His followers. It is suggested by the faithful that Islam sees it a challenge to those in positions Pharisees and the Saducees knew that Christ was challenging the position they had gained for themselves.’ In: *The Baha’i International Community* (1963), 13.

⁶¹ For studies on Bahā’ī faith see: Smith (1987), William and Douglas (2002). Momen (1981).

⁶² Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 29.

⁶³ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 29-33.

Al-Hilālī's earlier-mentioned book, *Diwa' al-Shākkīn*, which had originally been published in a series of sixteen articles in *Da'wat al-Haqq* in 1964.

7.3.1. *Arguments for Muslims*

As a point of departure, Al-Hilālī stressed that it is forbidden to kill a Muslim, unless the latter commits one of the following three crimes: if he commits adultery after marriage; if he wilfully murders another person; and if he leaves Islam and separates himself from the Islamic community of the faithful. To support his point of view, he states that the evidence for this ruling comes from the *Qur'ān*, *Surāt al-An'ām* Verse 151 and the *Surāt al-Isrā'* Verse 33, as well as from the providing detailed references to relevant sources. Moreover, Al-Hilālī claims that there also was a complete consensus among the scholars and the Community that the apostate should be killed. Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Ali, Mu'ādh, Abu Mūsa, Ibn 'Abbās, Khālīd and many others are reported to have given the same verdict. Nobody had rejected this ruling, which is therefore considered a legal consensus. According to an established view, shared by European scholars and Muslim legal authorities, the Islamic rule on apostasy has its origins in the first century of Muslim history.⁶⁴

Al-Hilālī's major argument was that a man who leaves Islam and fights Allāh and His Prophet must be put to death by crucifixion, face amputation or otherwise banished from the face of the Earth.⁶⁵ Al-Hilālī's second argument is that Islam makes no separation between religion and the state. The Prophet, also in his role as a political leader, considered the person who leaves Islam a traitor and somebody who has broken his pledge, fighting against his nation and his people. Therefore he deserved to be killed. Nevertheless, sounding a note of caution, Al-Hilālī said scholars did not agree on the different kinds of punishment mentioned in the verse.⁶⁶ Their opinions varied from deserving to be killed according to the majority, to being imprisoned according to others. The reason for this difference in point of view was that

⁶⁴ Hallaq (2003), 119.

⁶⁵ Al-Hilālī was referring to (Qur'ān 5:33): '*The recompense of those who wage war against Allāh and His Messenger and do mischief in the land is only that they shall be killed or crucified or their hands and their feet be cut off from opposite sides, or be exiled from the land. That is their disgrace in this world, and a great torment in theirs in the Hereafter.*'

⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī, (1963), 33. Al-Hilālī reported the point of view of Ibn Qudāma, stated in his book *al-Mughnī*: 'the apostate is he who turns away from his Faith towards infidelity'. See Ibn Qudāma (1985), Vol.8, 123. For the same ruling. See also Ibn Ḥazm, "Al-Muḥalla," nd, Vol.11, 188.

a minority of scholars⁶⁷ claimed that the judgement awaiting apostates, death, is not mentioned anywhere in the *Qur'ān*. They believe, that it is Almighty Allāh, not mankind, who accepts or refuses repentance and therefore has to do with the judgement of the Hereafter. The majority use the *Qur'ān* as their reference point.⁶⁸

Al-Hilālī posed the question: If many scholars believe that he who entices Muslims to heresies should be executed, what then should be the fate of people who believe that the Message of Muhammad has been abrogated and been invalidated by the Bahā'ī faith? What should be the fate of he who repudiates all the pillars of Islam, denies the coming of the Hour mentioned in the *Qur'ān* in many places, pretending that the coming of the Hour refers instead to the coming of Bahā' al-Dīn, the founder of the Bahā'ī faith, and similar matters which are obviously an anathema to every Muslim? Al-Hilālī drew an analogy between the spreading of innovations [heresies] and abandoning the Faith, arguing that turning away from religion and abandoning the community of the Faithful is equivalent to apostasy.⁶⁹ If people become apostates after having embraced Islam, they must be killed.⁷⁰

Furthermore, Al-Hilālī asserted that he had been informed by a reliable scholar that the tribunal which passed sentence on those Moroccans was not an Islamic court; it was instead a court judging according to the positive law.⁷¹ The charge brought against them was the fact that their preaching was a threat to public security. He argued that, unfortunately Islamic courts in the countries of Islam could not sentence any criminal to death since this was beyond the jurisdiction of their legal competence. Had the Islamic courts been able to

⁶⁷ See for instance , Al-Madaghri (2011), 147-178.

⁶⁸ Regarding punishing apostates (*Qur'ān* 4:89, 3:85, 90-91) are the main verses, but many other verses such as 16:106-107, 2:217, 9:73-74, 5:54, and 9:66 are considered supporting verses.

⁶⁹For Muslim literature on the development of the law of apostasy Shaltūt (1988), 280f.; Nu'mān al-Sāmarrā'ī (1968); Abū Shuhba(1974), Abū Zahra, Muḥammad (1984),192–208; Jādallāh (1984),135–151; Waqfī (1979), 267–78.

⁷⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 33.

⁷¹ This scholar is probably ‘Abdelallah Guennūn , because of his close relationship with Al-Hilālī, and because Guennūn , as we have mentioned at the beginning , stated that the death sentences against the Bahā'īs were pronounced by the Nador Court which based its verdict on positive law and the constitution, which does not refer to Islam as a legislative source. See Guennūn (25 April 1963), 21-24.

maintain their rights in these countries, colonization and slavery would never have acquired such power and such pride of place.⁷²

7.3.2. *Argument about non-Muslims*

Al-Hilālī argument about non-Muslims was rather different. He was aware that non-Muslims make a distinction between Church and State on the basis of the following statement in the Gospel: ‘Render unto Caesar to the things that are Caesar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s’ Matthew 22:21. However, he did wonder: What they might say about somebody who fled their ranks to join those of their enemies? On the basis of his experiences in Europe, Al-Hilālī expected that they would say, ‘Religion is for God, the country is for everyone.’ So he who leaves the ranks of his country and his people to join the ranks of their enemies would be accused of high treason and deserve the death sentence. Yet, he who turns his back on religion and chooses another faith or even atheism was not culpable and would not incur the death sentence.⁷³

To support his argument Al-Hilālī provided the story of a British man, named George, who used to work with him at Radio Berlin, where he broadcast the news in English, After the war ended, he was sentenced to death by a British tribunal because of his work for the German radio during the war, which was considered an act of treason against his people. Al-Hilālī asked for what reason did the British man deserve the death sentence? He also asked why was the French leader Laval⁷⁴ sentenced to death by the government of General De Gaulle which had killed a large number of its citizens who collaborated with the German occupying government?⁷⁵

Al-Hilālī wanted to ask: If man was free in his religious faith and might leave one faith for another, why should he not have the right to turn his back on a political ideology and substitute another for it? What sin had Laval, and those who were executed with him, committed if they believed in Nazism, that is to say, national socialism, advocated by the

⁷² Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 33.

⁷³ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 32.

⁷⁴ Pierre Laval (d.1945), the former vice-premier of Vichy France

⁷⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 32.

political party of Hitler? Al-Hilālī conceded that answering these embarrassing questions was not an easy task for someone whose aim was to comply with logical thought and justice.⁷⁶

Finally, Al-Hilālī formulated a question which he reasoned would probably be asked by non-Muslims: Does Islam sentence every disbeliever to death? He stated that possibly there was a misapprehension that if Islam sentences to death he who disbelieves after being a Muslim, it delivers the same verdict on everyone who does not believe in it.⁷⁷ In order to refute such a fallacy, he stated that non-Muslims fall into two categories: the category of those who have a covenant or a pact with the Muslims, who are people who have signed a peace treaty with Muslims and are entitled to safety, and the category of those who are at war with Muslims. Islam prohibits the killing or the looting of the property of anyone belonging to the first group. However, every Muslim should do his best to fight those who are at war with Muslims; but, again, these hostilities should be conducted according to specific, well-known rules.⁷⁸

Al-Hilālī was not the first Salafī scholar who dealt with the Bahā'īs. This community had also attracted the attention of the eminent Salafī scholar Rashīd Ridā, who attacked the Bahā'ī faith several times in *Al-Manār*.⁷⁹ The first Egyptian *fatwas* on the Bahā'īs date from this time stated that the Bahā'ī faith constitutes unbelief (*kufīr*), so that Muslims who embrace it become apostate and should be killed.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī, enumerated one of these admonished not to kill women, children, old people or priests who devote themselves to worship if they do not take part in the fighting. Another illustration of these rules is the prohibition on attacking a wounded person; on the contrary, the latter should be honourably received and his injuries treated in the same way as King Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [1138 –1193) treated King Richard I, known as the Lionheart [1157 –1199], during the Crusades.

⁷⁹ Juan Ricardo Cole, “Rashid Rida on the Bahā'ī Faith: A Utilitarian Theory of the Spread of Religions”, in *Arab Studies Quarterly* 5 (1983), 276-91 (280).

⁸⁰ Riḍā (Rabī' al-'Awwal 1932/ 28 Januari 1914): “Dūāt al-Bahā'iyya wa Majallat al-Bayān al-Misrī”, *al-Manār*, 17, 178-180.

7.3.3. *The Moroccan Scholars and the Bahā'ī Case*

Besides Al-Hilālī's *fatwa*, a certain 'Abdessalām Muḥammad al-Kwirat⁸¹ [1920-1991] included three other Moroccan *fatwas* on this case in his book, published in 1963. These *fatwas* had first appeared in 1963 in the journal *Al-Mithāq*,⁸² the official Moroccan journal of the Alliance of Moroccan 'Ulama' founded in February 1962 by 'Abd Allāh Guennūn,⁸³ who led it until his death in 1989. It is noteworthy that Al-Hilālī's *fatwa* was the first to be published, namely: in February 1963; the other articles were published two months later.

'AbdAllāh Guennūn [1908 -1989], then leader of the League of 'Ulama' of Morocco, wrote a series of three articles, entitled *Liman taduqqu hādhihi al-jirās?* (For Whom Toll These Bells?), in response to two articles. The first one written by the Moroccan philosopher, 'Abd As-salām Ḥajjī (d.1983), who was associated with Bahā'īs and in April 1963 published an article in *Majallat al-'Atlas*. In it Ḥajjī violently attacked the Alliance of Moroccan 'Ulama, namely: Guennūn and 'Allāl al-Fasī. Ḥajjī describes the Bahā'ī faith as a religion which encourages its followers to seek mutual understanding and friendship with members of all religions and declares the purpose of religion to be the promotion of amity and the perpetuation of the general peace of mankind.⁸⁴ The second article was written by a certain Ibn al-Ṭāhir, in response to an article written in *Al-Mithāq*, '*Al-Bahā'iyya talqa h atfahā fī al-Maghreb al-Muslim*'.⁸⁵ He devoted a long article to a factual exposition of the Bahā'ī faith and the true reasons behind the Nador case.⁸⁶ In his article, Guennūn states that, in order to serve their own purposes, his opponents had accused him of ignorance and heresy, but without adducing any relevant evidence. He wondered why both authors levelled their accusations at the Alliance of 'Ulama of Morocco and not the Regional Court of Nador, which had pronounced the death sentences on the Bahā'īs and which had based its verdict on positive law and on the Constitution, which does not refer to Islam as a legislative source.⁸⁷

⁸¹ In 1963, the same author had published a book about the Bahā'īs entitled *Al-Bahā'iyya wa 'ushshāquhā fī al-Mizān*, in which he describes the Bahā'ī faith as being in conflict with Islam.

⁸² <http://www.almithaq.ma/content.aspx?C=2634> accessed 03-03-2014.

⁸³ For Studies about 'Abd Allāh Guennūn see: Chaybi (1991).Al-Hbābī al-Jam'ī(1991) ; Landau (1952); Tozy, (1987),13-16.

⁸⁴ Guennūn (25 April 1963), 21.

⁸⁵ *Al-Mitāq*, 2-Januari-1963, issue 23.

⁸⁶ *Al-Mitāq*, 2-Januari-1963, issue 23, the article has been in Maroc-Informatians ,Casablanca , n.d .

⁸⁷ Guennūn (25 April 1963), 21-24.

The second article, also published in *Al-Mithāq*, was written by a certain Raḥḥālī al-Farūq, Dean of the *Sharī'a* Faculty in Marrakesh. In it he suggests that the Bahā'īs deserved to be executed. He declared that the Jewish and Christian religions could be practised freely in Morocco because they were religions recognized by Islam, but this did not apply to the Baha'is faith which represented a true heresy.⁸⁸

The third article was written by Shaykh al-Azhar Muḥammad al-khadīr Hussein [1876-1967] and it first appeared in *Al-Mithāq* in 1963. He also argues that the Muslims who embraced the Bahā'ī faith became apostates.⁸⁹

In his book *Al-Bahā'īyyūn Kuffār Yuhāribūn al-Islām wa Muslimīn*,⁹⁰ Al-Hilālī's student, the Moroccan Salafī scholar Muḥammad Al-Zamzamī [1910-1988] adopted an attitude which is similar to that of Al-Hilālī. In his book *Al-Islām wa al-Tafarnuj*,⁹¹ he states that freedom of religious expression and protecting the legal rights of the citizens did not include abandoning Islam. Those who did so relinquished their right to convert others to their faith. He accuses those who felt that the trial violated the liberties of Moroccan citizens of heresy, and violently attacks not only the Baha'ī Faith but all those who dared to come to its defence.⁹²

The above-mentioned scholars shared Al-Hilālī's point of view and their *fatwas* were unanimous in their condemnation of the Bahā'ī faith, stating that it constituted unbelief (*kufir*), therefore Muslims who embraced it became apostates and that the Bahā'īs deserved to be executed.

⁸⁸ Raḥḥālī (April 1963), 45-46.

⁸⁹ Al-khadīr (June 1963), 36-44.

⁹⁰ Al-Zamzamī (1967).

⁹¹ Al-Zamzamī (1967), 31.

⁹² Ibid.

7.3.4. *Al-Hilālī vs ‘Allāl al-Fāsī’s Point of View (The Official Islam in Morocco)*

To understand the implications of the debates aroused by the Bahā’ī case, it is useful to present the point of view of the prominent Moroccan Salafī scholar ‘Allāl al-Fāsī [1910-1967],⁹³ then Minister of State for Islamic Affairs, who was the main instigator of the trial in Nador. In his book *Difā’un ‘ani al-sharī’a* (Defending the *Sharia*), ‘Allāl al-Fāsī states that Islam does not accept the theory, adopted in some countries, of the separation between Church and State, going so far as to argue that, were this to happen, the state should be removed and Islam should be kept.⁹⁴ In other words, the state should be at the service of Islam.⁹⁵

In his main argument Al-Hilālī affirms that he found it impossible to differentiate between religion and politics, because the Qur’ān and the *Sunna* are filled with politically relevant passages.⁹⁶

In contrast, ‘Allāl al-Fāsī, then responsible for official Islam and seen as the main instigator of the trial in Nador, represents, in the eyes of the international Bahā’ī Community, a conservative and orthodox⁹⁷ point of view. In his report to the king, he states that Baha’ism is a religion whose goal is to undermine the precepts of Islam and the commandments which Mohammed (may salvation and the blessing of God be upon him) has conveyed. It is equally

⁹³ Born in 1910, only two years before the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, ‘Allāl al-Fāsī followed in the footsteps of his father, ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz al-Fāsī Mufti of Fes, by studying at Al-Qarawiyyīn. His idea of Salafism was formed by his masters Abū Shu‘ayb al-Dukkālī and Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī, who were the first to introduce the Salafīyya in Morocco. See Zeghal (2005), 332 .

⁹⁴ Al-Fāsī (1999), 58-59.

⁹⁵ Looking at the position of Islam in the Moroccan political system and at the implications of the debates aroused by the concept of separation of religion and politics, the Moroccan scholars Mohamed Tozy and Mohamed Darif have argued that the main feature of the Moroccan politico-religious system lies in the *Imarāt Al-Mu’minūn* (The Commanding of the Faithful). According to Mohamed Darif, on the level of *Imarāt Al-Mu’minūn*, there is no separation between politics and religion, but this does not mean that there is no awareness of the need to circumscribe their borders, as both should serve the state as part of the unity of the nation. *Imarāt Al-Mu’minūn* was used to oppose religious movements whose aspirations were to penetrate into the political field on the basis of a selective interpretation of Islam which opposes religious orientations of general power. See Darif (2010), 14; Darif (1999), 23.

⁹⁶ Al-Hilālī (2006), 31-32, Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 31.

⁹⁷ ‘Allāl al-Fāsī had previously conceded the right of a Muslim to convert to Judaism. See Mohamed Tozy, : *Champ et contre-champ politico-religieux au Maroc* (PhD dissertation, Université Aix-Marseille, 1984), 90.

clear that the precepts of the practice of this new religion nullify those of Islam. Baha'is recommend its followers not to go on pilgrimages and urges every adherent to destroy holy places and not to hesitate to do so.⁹⁸

It is worthy of note that both Al-Hilālī and 'Allāl al-Fāsī agreed on the death sentence for the Bahā'īs, but their reasons for supporting it were different. 'Allāl al-Fāsī declared that 'the trial of Nador was imbued with an aspect of public policy and not an aspect of religion'. The purpose of the trial was to judge criminals and not the followers of a religion.⁹⁹ This confirms the claim of Al-Hilālī that the tribunal which handed down the sentence against those Moroccans was not an Islamic court; instead it was a court judging according to positive law. The charge brought against them was that their preaching was a threat to public security.

Quite clearly, Al-Hilālī had a quite a different attitude, which is reflected, in his *fatwā*, which declares that a man who leaves Islam and fights against Allāh and His Prophet must be put to death. On the other hand, the far more politically oriented 'Allāl al-Fāsī claimed that, 'Baha'is maintain relations with Israel, precisely for the task of destroying the foundations of the Moroccan state.'¹⁰⁰ What 'Allāl al-Fāsī was really doing here is projecting an image of the Bahā'īs posing a danger to the Islamic community. His major argument was that the charge to be levelled against 'the Bahā'ī is an attack on the Islamic religious faith. In fact, in his book *Difā'un 'ani al-sharī'a* 'Allāl al-Fāsī is referring to the *Sharī'a*. In his opinion, in view of the dangers which threaten the children of Morocco and the Islamic community, one had no choice but to defend them against the activities of the missionaries who come to Morocco bringing with them destructive and disruptive ideas.¹⁰¹

Unlike 'Allāl al-Fāsī and many other analysts in Morocco, Al-Hilālī did not judge the Bahā'ī case as a specifically Moroccan issue, as far as he was concerned apostasy was a major sin. Al-Hilālī's argument was that Muslims cannot let sympathy obstruct God's criminal justice as shown in scriptural evidence, valid for all places at all times.

Aware of the fact that scriptural arguments might not convince the West, Al-Hilālī provided non-Muslims with a different kind of argument. He expatiated on the fact that Islam does not

⁹⁸ Text of the Indictment. Royaume du Maroc, Cour d'Appel de Tanger, Chambre des Mises en Accusation, Arrêt de Renvoi, N0. 36, rendu en date de 31/10/62, Dossier No. 809. See also The Bahā'ī International Community (1963), 8.

⁹⁹ The daily *Le Monde*, "Inquisition in Morocco," August 10, 1962.

¹⁰⁰ Morocco information, December 19 1962, IN: The Baha'ī International Community (1963) , 44.

¹⁰¹ Al-Fāsī (1999), 18.

make any difference between religion and state and therefore has the right to execute anyone who leaves Islam on the same grounds that states in the West are entitled to execute traitors.¹⁰²

Those who expected that Moroccan scholars or its government should give an answer to the questions raised by the international community which argued that, ‘The fact that people are sentenced to death for their religious beliefs and practices is unthinkable’, would have expected these answers to have come from Minister of Islamic Affairs, in this case ‘Allāl al-Fāsī’. Nevertheless, rather than taking a stance, at the Istiqlal Party Conference Allāl al-Fāsī declared that the Nador affair was a simple criminal case and had nothing to do with freedom of conscience.¹⁰³

Al-Hilālī criticized the Moroccan government and all those Moroccans who demanded the execution of the Bahā’ī for reasons of public policy. He stated that, since only positive law could decide on the lawfulness or the unlawfulness of things, and compulsory matters should be governed only by the civil law code which, indeed, which had been made by fallible people who might have erred and strayed and follow their own wishes in the promulgation of the laws. If this was indeed the case, it should be said that Islam views such a claim in the light of it being a grave corruption. He wondered what kind of faith would remain in the midst of this corrupt and contradictory creed? What would remain of the sacred matters and the articles of faith for which a Muslim lives or dies?¹⁰⁴

Broadly speaking, it can be said that the point of view of ‘Allal al-Fāsī, who represented the official Islam in Morocco in the sixties, and the ideas of Al-Hilālī approximated each other. However, Al-Hilālī’s allegiance related more to purist Islam rather than the modernist Salafiyya.

This is in contrast to the recent Moroccan government view, represented by Al-‘Alawī al-Madaghūrī, Minister of State for Islamic Affairs from 1983 till 2002, who devoted 30 pages of his Book *Al-Ḥukūma al-Multaḥiya*, (The Government with a Beard) to the subject of *irtidād*/apostasy. In it he claims that the judgement of apostates is not mentioned anywhere in the Qur’ān and that it is Almighty Allāh, not mankind, who accepts or refuses repentance, and in Whose Hands falls the ruling in the Hereafter.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Lauzière (2008), 323.

¹⁰³ As cited in *Le Monde* (Paris), 18 December 1962, In: The Baha’i International Community (1963), 4.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 32.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Madaghūrī (2011), 147-178.

Finally, Al-Hilālī recognized the fact that most of Muslims ignore Islamic Law and have strayed far away from it. He said that their speech and claims are one matter, whereas their behaviour is quite another. Therefore, a righteous person should make a distinction between Islam and the behaviour of those who claim to be Muslim, and should not take their behaviour as evidence against Islam, thereby turning this issue upside down.¹⁰⁶

We can conclude that the fact that Al-Hilālī took up the discussion of the Bahā'ī affair in *Da'wat al-Haqq* at the request of Muslims in Europe indicates that he did not judge the Bahā'ī to be a Moroccan issue, but decided to take a transnational point of view, is what made his *fatwa* original.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Ḥukm al-murtadd,” 1963, 33.

7.4. Al-Hilālī's Discomfort in Morocco and the Invitation of Saudi Arabia

Before going to Medina to lecture at the Islamic University there, Al-Hilālī had to contend with another conspiracy. When he was interpreting the verse of the (*Qur'ān* 26:91), he stressed the meaning of: *And none has brought us into error except the Mujrimun (murders, polytheist, oppressors).*¹⁰⁷ Al-Hilālī stated that he who calls people to worship the graves and to glorify them by building domes, slaughtering animals, making vows there, circumambulating around them, not to mention invoking the dead to fulfil their needs and relieve their distress as well as he who organizes religious ceremonies and feasts by the graves is surely one of those wrong-doers whom Allāh has mentioned. Al-Hilālī vehemently criticized the Sufis, describing them as the wrong-doers to whom the afore-mentioned verses refer. Al-Hilālī reported that one man stood up and told him that, 'if the Sufis were a good illustration of those verses, then even His Majesty the King was an wrong-doer.'¹⁰⁸ According to Al-Hilālī, some 700 people in the audience wanted to beat him.¹⁰⁹ Luckily, Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abbūd, Al-Hilālī' student, was able to persuade the crowd to leave the man in peace because, by doing so, they might give him a greater chance to incite sedition. If he were allowed to do this, it would be claimed that the lectures on monotheism led to violence and fighting. And that is how, Al-Hilālī says the third plot masterminded against him ended.¹¹⁰

This period in his life was marked by discomforts and frustrations arising from the problems he sometimes caused the authorities. In the sixties, Al-Hilālī continued to oppose the authorities of the Malīkī *Madhhab*, even though this school of law was part of the religious identity and heritage of Morocco. He did not let up on challenging Sufism, denouncing the Ash'ari creed, converting people to the Salafīyya, by teaching *ḥadīth* and giving *fatwas* to instruct them in proper worship, fasting, the strict doctrine of the oneness of God (Tawḥīd) and so forth.¹¹¹ He claimed that, from his return to Morocco until the day he left for Saudi Arabia, he had never stopped teaching the *fath al-majīd sharḥ kitāb al-Tawḥīd*

¹⁰⁷ Al-Hilālī (2006), 263.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ According to Al-Hilālī, that trouble-maker was faced with an enormous dilemma. Although he wanted to leave the mosque, he was afraid that once outside someone would beat him. However, he also could not remain among the congregation because all its members were rebuking him in the strongest terms. The only refuge he could find was to climb the lighthouse. See further, Al-Hilālī (2006), 264.

¹¹⁰ Al-Hilālī (2006), 263.

¹¹¹ Al-Hilālī (2006), 258-268.

of Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb.¹¹² In fact, the Moroccan people could not fail to notice the relationship between Al-Hilālī’s sermons and Wahhabism. In 1968, ‘Abī al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz, the Vice-President of the Islamic University in Medina, invited Al-Hilālī to take up an appointment at the university. A formal offer came through the Saudi embassy in Rabat, and the Moroccan Ministry of Education approved the transfer of Al-Hilālī.¹¹³

¹¹² Al-Hilālī (2006), 264.

¹¹³ Lauzière (2008), 334.

8. Saudi Arabia (1968-1974): Once Again Against Christian Theology

8.1. The Hijab Revisited

The year 1968 marks the starting point of a new period in Al-Hilālī's life, as it witnessed his move to Saudi Arabia to take up the invitation from Ibn Bāz (d.1999), the incumbent Grand *Mufti* of Saudi Arabia. From 1968 to 1974, Al-Hilālī served as professor of the Islamic Faith at the Faculty of *Da'wa* and Theology of the Islamic University in Medina.¹

As mentioned in Chapter 3, as early as the year 1933, Al-Hilālī had written a booklet in which he expressed his legal opinion on the issue of the veil. In this booklet, *Al-Isfār 'an al-ḥaqq fī mas'alat al-Sufūr wa-l-ḥijāb* (Uncovering the Truth about the Issue of the Uncovering and Covering the Hands and the Face), he had provided no fewer than twenty-three arguments from the Qur'ān and the *Sunna* and the opinions of the four Sunni schools to substantiate the view which says that a Muslim woman can disclose her hands and her face. The booklet was severely criticized by Ṣafīyy al-Rāḥmān al-Mubarfūrī in his book *'Ibrāz al-Ḥaqq wa al-Ṣawāb fī mas'alat al-sufūr wa-l-ḥijāb'* (The Truth Revealed about the Issue of the Uncovering and Covering the Hands and the Face), published in Riyadh in 1991, in which he criticized Al-Hilālī's views on the veil, especially objecting to his claim that the Quranic verse about the *niqāb* [33:53] applied only to the wives of the Prophet.² Al-Mubarfūrī was sure that wearing the *niqāb* was a religious prescription and women should cover everything that they are forbidden to expose, especially their face as it presents a source of temptation and desire.³

Al-Hilālī had repeated his view on the veil in an article entitled *Ta'līm al-Banāt wa Tarbiyatuhunna* (The Teaching of Girls and Their Education) published for the first time, Al-Hilālī says, in *Majallat al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* in Syria in 1953.⁴ He republished this article in the Islamic University Journal in Medina.⁵ The article aroused the anger of Muḥammad Abū Al-Faṭḥ al-Bayānūnī [1940-], lecturer of the Islamic Faith at the Faculty of *Sharia* in Riyadh. In a counter-article, entitled *Hal al-tamassuk bi-al-ḥijāb ghuluw wa-inḥirāf* (Is the Veil a Sign of Extremism?), the latter, among other criticisms, accuses Al-Hilālī of encouraging the

¹ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 269.

² Al-Mubarfūrī (1991), 11.

³ Al-Mubarfūrī (1991), 15-16.

⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Radd 'alā maqāl al-Tamassuk bi al-Ḥijāb Ghuluw wa-Inḥirāf," n.d., approximately 1972, 24.

⁵ Al-Hilālī, (jun 1970): "Ta'līm al-Banāt wa Tarbiyatuhunnā", the *Islamic University Journal*, 4,2: 17-30.

Westernization of Islam, a very serious accusation in the context of the Islamic University of Medina.⁶

Al-Hilālī wrote a rebuttal to the article of Abû al-Faṭḥ, of which the author of the present study found as a manuscript among his papers in the family archive in Morocco. I shall return to the question of whether this article has been published or has remained unpublished below. In it, he, made, among other pronouncements, the following statements:

In fact, all the arguments I used to show that Muslim women are allowed to disclose their faces in the presence of people whom they might marry, provided that the former are neither alone nor in a suspicious situation with the latter, concern those countries in which the Islamic Law is not applied, and where nudity has become an undisguised social phenomenon. So, if women abandon complete nakedness and comply with the principles of the Islamic Law by covering all their body except their hands and faces, this would be a return to the Truth. However, I have no intention of making things easier in this pleasant country (Saudi Arabia) which has been blessed by a Caliph and a Guardian of the *Sharia*, who has appointed great scholars to issue *fatwas*, who consider the opinion which states that the whole body must be covered preferable. There are in fact two reasons for which I do not want to disagree with this opinion. Firstly, the ruling of the Caliph ends the divergence of opinions within Islamic jurisprudence. Secondly, I think that this opinion is true and good.⁷ Indeed, I have asked my family to behave in accordance with this opinion, both inside and outside this blessed kingdom.⁸

Al-Hilālī regretted that he had not been circumspect enough when he had published his article in Saudi Arabia.

⁶ Al-Bayānūnī, Abū Al-Faṭḥ(1971): “*Hal al-tamassuk bi-al-ḥijāb ghuluw wa-inḥirāf*”, *The Islamic University Journal*, 13, 5: 231-239. See Also <http://shamela.ws/browse.php/book-4473#page-2227>, accessed 09-11-2014.

⁷ Al-Hilālī, *Radd ‘alā maqāl al-Tamassuk bi al-Ḥijāb Ghuluw wa-Inḥirāf*, unpublished, n.d., approximately 1972, 30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

I had to change some phrases and expressions when I decided to publish that article in the Islamic University Journal, because it is the context which defines the nature of discourse which one has to make.

Apparently, he claims, religious rules in Saudi Arabia could differ from those applying in a country in which the courtesies of Islam were not respected. All the arguments he had previously used in his *fatwa* on the veil had to be limited to women living in countries which do not abide by the Islamic Law.⁹

Al-Bayānūnī pointed out that , in his article Al-Hilālī was condemning the *niqāb* by claiming that wearing it is a custom which has nothing to do with the Islamic faith.¹⁰ To refute the allegation levelled against him, Al-Hilālī wrote:

‘... Praise and thanks be to Allāh, I recommend (the members of my family) to cover their faces even in countries in which women uncover their bodies. In recent years, I have usually asked my wives and daughters to drop a veil over their faces, not only during the *haj* but generally speaking, even though I do feel guilty about this....’¹¹

This feeling of guilt can be explained on the one hand by Al-Hilālī’s order to his family to wear the *niqāb* (integral veil) both inside and outside Saudi Arabia, and on the other hand, his point of view, which had remained unchanged, namely: that wearing the *niqāb* was left to the free choice of Muslim women themselves and that there was no shame in exposing their faces.¹² Muslim women would not, Al-Hilālī believed, violate Islamic Law if they were to wear the headscarf provided they did not expose their ‘charms’ (*al-zīna*).¹³ To support his point of view, in his rebuttal entitled *Radd ‘alā maqāl Hal al-Tamassuk bi al-Ḥijāb Ġuluw wa ‘inḥirāf?* (Refutation of the Article :*Is the Veil a Sign of Extremism?*), he adduces twenty-two arguments from the Qur’ān and the *hadith* and the sayings of the four *madhhabs* on the ruling

⁹ Ibid., 32.

¹⁰ Al-Bayānūnī , Abū Al-Faḥ(1971): “*Hal al-tamassuk bi-al-Ḥijāb ghuluw wa-inḥirāf?*”, *the Islamic University Journal*, 13, 5: p.233. See also Al-Hilālī, *Radd ‘alā maqāl al-Tamassuk bi al-Ḥijāb ghuluw wa-Inḥirāf*, unpublished, n.d., approximately 1972, 24.

¹¹ Ibid., 32.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 29.

of the veil in which he maintains that the complete body of a woman, with the exception of her face and hands are 'awra,¹⁴ implying that the duty of a woman was to wear a veil and not a *niqāb*.¹⁵

‘Ali Ibn Aḥmad Al-Raysūnī (b.1943), one of Al-Hilālī’s students, confirmed in a personal interview¹⁶ that Al-Hilālī did not change his point of view about the *niqāb* and that he never agreed with the covering women's faces when he was a professor in Saudi Arabia. Al-Raysūnī said that the article written by Al-Hilālī was torn out, meaning that the pages about the veil were cut out of the edition of the journal which was printed in Medina. Al-Raysūnī states unequivocally that Ibn Bāz, the leading religious scholar of Saudi Arabia at the time, who believed that wearing the *niqāb* was compulsory, had ordered all the pages of the article to be excised with scissors when he found out that Al-Hilālī had written that covering the woman’s face was not compulsory. Thereupon, Al-Hilālī went to the Chancellor, ‘Abd al-Azīz Ibn Bāz, asking him about what had happened as the article had been removed from that international Islamic University magazine from Al-Medina (*Majallat al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya*).¹⁷ Most likely, the article to which Al-Raysūnī is referring is the above-mentioned article, *Radd ‘alā maqāl: Hal al-Tamassuk bi al-Ḥijāb Ġuluw wa Inḥirāf?*, although this is not mentioned in the online database of *the Islamic University Journal*, which contains all the articles published from its foundation up to now, including several other articles published by Al-Hilālī at that time. As said earlier, I only traced it as a manuscript in the family archive in Morocco.

Al-Hilālī’s Wahhābī colleagues recognized his particular expertise in the field of linguistics, especially his knowledge of English. The Saudi authorities were attempting to propagate their religious doctrines and reach Muslim communities in the West whose members certainly had only a shaky grasp of the Arabic language. Therefore, during his term of office at the Islamic University in Medina, Al-Hilālī was assigned the task of translating the Qur’ān into English,¹⁸ in collaboration with Muḥsin Khān (1927 -), the Pakistani director of the University hospital.¹⁹ When he accepted this challenge, Al-Hilālī generated one of the

¹⁴Ibid.,1-32. See also Al-Hilālī (2006b),10-12.

¹⁵ Ibid., 31.

¹⁶ Personal conversation with Mr ‘Alī al-Rayṣūnī , in his house in the city of Chefchaouen, on 9 August 2011.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Lauzière (2008), 356.

¹⁹ Al-Hilālī and Khān (1997), 2-3.

most important tools for the Saudi-sponsored *da'wa* across both geo-political and linguistic boundaries. The *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an* was so widely distributed over the years that Al-Hilālī achieved fame in the West, especially in America and Britain.²⁰

The *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran* was first published in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1974 and later in Ryad²¹. It has been criticized for being a 'Wahhabi translation of the Qur'an'. Khālid Abū El Fadl criticizes, for instance, the way in which Al-Hilālī and Khān emphasize the obligation for Muslim women to cover their entire face, save the eyes, on the basis of their translation of (Qur'an24:31) and (Qur'an 33:59).²² This inconsistency seems to reveal that apparently Al-Hilālī was not able and did not insist on giving his own view on this matter, as he was living in Saudi Arabia and his translation was prepared under the sponsorship of the Saudi authorities. Moreover, it was in support of a broader campaign of Saudi proselytism.²³ Printed copies included a certificate of authentication signed by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bāz, confirming that Al-Hilālī and Khān had worked together on the project while they were employed at the Islamic University in Medina.²⁴

In 1974 Al-Hilālī decided to return to Morocco where he was to spend the last thirteen years of his life. Al-Hilālī's grandson, 'Abd al-Ghanī Būzakrī, says that Al-Hilālī became completely blind in 1975, and therefore was in need of clerks and scholars to help him write his essays and other publications.²⁵ Some students from India were also charged with this task of writing.²⁶ In this period Al-Hilālī wrote *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* (The Evangelical Proofs

²⁰ Lauzière (2008), 356.

²¹ Al-Hilālī, T. and Khan, M. 1994. *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an in the English Language: A Summarized Version of At-Tabari, Al-Qurtubi and Ibn Katheer with Comments from Sahih Al-Bukhari Summarized in One Volume*, 4th edition, Riyadh: Maktaba Dar-us-Salam.

²² Lauzière (2008), 356; Abū Al-Fadl (2006), 194.

²³ Lauzière (2008), 356.

²⁴ Al-Hilālī and Khān (1974), 3.

²⁵ Based on Personal conversation with Al-Hilālī's grandson 'Abd al-Ghanī Muḥammad Būzakrī, in the city of Meknes, 11 August 2010.

²⁶ According to Al-Hilālī's grandson, 'Abd al-Ghanī Būzakrī, among the scribes were a certain Ran al-Wāsi Allah 'Abbās, a lecturer at the University of Umm al-Qura at that time; Dr 'Abd al-Qadūs, an employee at the Ministry of Justice in Riyadh; a Moroccan scribe to write down his articles and the publications, Dr 'Abd al-'Alim Al Būṣṭawī; and Dr Muḥammad Al- Māni' who used to teach at the Islamic University and who supervised the writing of the two first volumes of *Sabīl al- Rashād* and the last part of its third volume. He likewise supervised

that Jesus is a Human Being and Has No Share in Divinity). This polemical piece will be discussed in more detail below.

the writing of both *Al Hadiya al Hādiya ilā al- Ṭā'ifa Al-Tijāniyya* (The Guiding Gift for the Tijani Sect) and *Al Da'wah ilā Allah fī Bilād Mukhtalifa* (The Call to Allah in Different Countries).

8.2. An Anti-Christian Pamphlet: ‘The Evangelical Proofs that Jesus is a Human Being and Has no Share in the Divinity’²⁷

Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya represents one of the Al-Hilālī’s most successful *fatwas*,²⁸ as in its formulation, he again put his wit and his knowledge of Western languages, especially English, at the service of the Salafī-Wahhābī *Da’wa*. The full name of the original petitioner was Ismā‘īl Mundhir al-Drūbī al-Baghdādī, a gentleman who had resided in America and after his return to Iraq had worked at Baghdād University, where he was head of the Engineering Department. He passed away in 2007.²⁹

The *fatwa* is not dated, but in all probability Ismā‘īl Mundhir al-Drūbī al-Baghdādī contacted Al-Hilālī in 1969. Al-Hilālī wrote a letter³⁰ to a Shaykh Zuhair al-Shāwush (1925-2013) dated 28-3-1391/24-05-1971 in which he says that the Saudi Shaykh Ibn Bāz (d.1999) had read his *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* and had praised it. He had placed an immediate order for 150 stencilled copies. So it seems that the *fatwa* was first issued approximately at the end of the 1960s.³¹ (There is another question addressed to Al-Hilālī by the same Ismā‘īl Mundhir al-Drūbī al-Baghdādī, which is dated 15 January 1964).³²

Ibn Bāz later ordered the publication of 20,000 copies of Al-Hilālī’s *Al-Barāhīn* in Saudi Arabia.³³ They were published in Mecca in 1973 by *Dār al-Thaqāfa*. *Al-Barāhīn al-*

²⁷ During my research into this *fatwa* and after I had finished translating it, I discovered that Al-Hilālī’s had had part of this *fatwa* translated into English and published, under a new title namely *Jesus and Muhammad in: the Bible and the Qur’ān, Biblical Evidence of Jesus Being a Servant of God and Having No Share in Divinity*, in: Appendix 2, in: Al-Hilālī and Khān (1974), 950.

²⁸ Al-Hilālī (2010a).

²⁹ I received this information via email from the College of Engineering [bceic@yahoo.com], Baghdad University date 06-02-2011.

³⁰ Al-Hilālī (2006), Vol.1, 101.

³¹ Al-Hilālī stated in his introduction to the *fatwa*, ‘My student, Mr Ismā‘īl Mundhir al-D.rūbī al-Baghdādī, who had been studying architecture in one of the American universities for approximately four years, has sent me a letter’. See Al-Hilālī (2010a), 14.

³² Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya”, 1976, Vol.1, 26.

³³ Al-Hilālī (Dhū al-Qi’dah, 1404/ July 1984), Manqba li al-Malik Fayṣal Qaddasa Allah Rūḥahu” in: Majallat al-Buḥūt al- Islāmiyya, Vol.11. Casablanca, 313. softcopy, available at

<http://www.alifta.com/Search/ResultDetails.aspx?lang=ar&view=result&fatwaNum=&FatwaNumID=&ID=1650&searchScope=2&SearchScopeLevels1=&SearchScopeLevels2=&highLight=1&SearchType=exact&SearchMoesar=false&bookID=&LeftVal=0&RightVal=0&simple=&SearchCriteria=allwor>

Injīliyya was also published in the Moroccan magazine *Al-Ihyā' al-maghribiyya*, in 1981.³⁴ And again in *Majallat al-Jāmi'a al-Salafiyya al-Hindiyya* (Salafi University Journal) in India, in 1985.³⁵ A more recent edition of *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* was published in Cairo in 2010³⁶ by Muḥamad Jamīl Hamāmī, a member of the Islamic Supreme Council in Al-Quds, Palestine, and a soft copy was published on his website.³⁷ In his introduction, Muḥammad Jamīl Hammāmī says:

I copied *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* with the help of a dear brother from a copy printed in Mecca in 1393 [AH], after it had almost been forgotten'.

Al-Hilālī included an English translation of the *Barāhīn* at the end of his translation of the Qur'ān, the first edition of which appeared in 1974.

Al-Hilālī's idea of adducing proof against Christianity, using the Christian scriptures to support a proper Islamic perception, goes back as far as the year 1930. In his *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya*, he mentions some events which happened during his time in India in the period 1930-1933, when he was a teacher at the *Dār al-'Ulūm of Nadwat-al 'Ulamā* in Lucknow.³⁸ Al-Hilālī asserts that this event showed the arbitrariness of the Christians, their abusiveness and the skewed vision they have of Islam. Al-Hilālī goes on to say what is amazing about the Christians when they look into the *Qur'ān* is the fact that they never do so in order to seek the truth. Instead they read it to search for what they see as errors.³⁹

Al-Hilālī grew conscious of the fact he had to learn a foreign language because, he admits, complete knowledge would remain, out of the question without mastering a foreign language. He set out to learn English words by heart from vocabulary books. Within two years, he was able to translate whole articles, but could not yet speak the language. He

[ds&PagePath=&siteSection=1&searchkeyword=216167217132217135217132216167217132217138#firstKeywordFound](http://www.hmmami.com/2011/01/06/23-2/), accessed 15- july-2011

³⁴ Published in Journal *Ihyā' al-Maghribiyya* in Morocco, Volume 2, Part 1 in Rajab 1401 ,pp.9-25.

³⁵ Vol 17. number 2,3, Luknow India, 1985.

³⁶ Al-Hilālī (2010a).

³⁷ <http://hmmami.wordpress.com/2011/01/06/23-2/> edited 10-02-2011.

³⁸ Al-Hilālī (2010a),24-30.

³⁹ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 11.

developed his oral skill later, when he travelled to Europe.⁴⁰ Interestingly, he went to an American pastor and asked him for some English lessons for a fee. The middle-aged pastor would not accept financial compensation, but agreed to give three free lessons a week if, in exchange, Al-Hilālī agreed to attend Christian sermons delivered in English. At Christmas 1930, Al-Hilālī engaged in a debate with a young American missionary whose name was Fred William Smith,⁴¹ about whom we have no further information, except that he happened to have some knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and strongly criticized it from a biblical perspective. When they began their debate on the nature of the Bible and the *Qurān*, Al-Hilālī made it clear that he had never read the Gospels, and was now learning English so as to read it in its English version. Smith ordered an English copy of the Bible from London, which he sent to Al-Hilālī with a brief note: ‘Asking God to bestow on you many blessings through this book.’

A month later, Al-Hilālī noted the places which appeared to him to provide evidence which favoured the Muslim point of view against the Christians, writing down polemical commentaries to equip himself to respond to Smith and like-minded Christians.⁴² In one of his letters, Al-Hilālī informs Riḍā that he had written Arabic notes in the margins of the Gospel of Matthew in the copy sent to him by Smith. Both Riḍā and Prince Shakīb Arsalān (1869–1946) were interested in reading Al-Hilālī’s comments.⁴³ Al-Hilālī had entitled his notes, which were apparently published in a booklet, *Ḥawāshī Shattā ‘alā Injīl Mattā* (Various Notes on the Gospel of Matthew).⁴⁴ Later, they were (apparently: re-)published in Basra in *Majallat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn*⁴⁵ (*Young Muslims’ Magazine*), by Hajj Ṭāhā Al-Fayyād (1899-1967).

⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Jawab ‘an muqtaraḥ wa su’āl faḍilat Abi al-Samḥ”, *Lisān al-Dīn*, 1-6, (December 1946):29-32.

⁴¹ I found the full name: Fred William Smith in a letter from Al-Hilālī addressed to Riḍā dated 24/05/1352 circa 1934. See Ryad (2008), 270.

⁴² Al-Hilālī (2010a), 27.

⁴³ Letter, Al-Hilālī to Riḍā, Lucknow, 28 Jumāda al-Thāniya 1352/ 18 October 1933, See Ryad (2008), 270.

These notes apparently had been published as a booklet, but in spite of a long enquiry, the present author has not been able to lay hands on a copy of this booklet, nor has he found any information about the year of its publication.

⁴⁴ Al-Hilālī (2006b), 311.

⁴⁵ The magazine *Al-Shubbān al-Muslimūn* was established by the Iraqi writer and lawyer Haj Ṭaha Al-Fayyād [1899-1967] and founded in 1928, Haj Ṭaha Al-Fayyād was also the owner of the *Sahīfat Al-Sijil* which was a newspaper with Islamic views and religious tendencies. It was founded in 1937.

46. <http://www.basratuna.net/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=11967> edited 10-02-2011

Forty years later, Al-Hilālī probably reworked his *Hawāshī* in his work *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya*.⁴⁶ After assiduously studying the pamphlet, the petitioner (whom we have referred to before) invited some Christians to have a debate.⁴⁷ During the disputation, he later told Al-Hilālī, his opponents were utterly defeated. Al-Hilālī argued that a Muslim does not need arguments which testify to the truthfulness of his faith, and to the falsehood of his enemies' religions; what he does lack are true and faithful brothers who support the victory of Allāh and His Prophet.⁴⁸

In his pamphlet, Al-Hilālī does not cite any specific sources apart from the Bible, nor does he mention whether he used an existing Arabic translation of the Bible. However, evidently when he was preparing his *Al-Barāhīn*, Al-Hilālī was aware of the famous polemical work *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*⁴⁹ (The Truth Revealed) by Raḥmatullāh Ibn Khalīl al-Raḥmān Al-Kīrānwī (1818-1891), which he had written at the request of the Ottoman Sultan ‘Abdulaziz I (1861-1876). As will become clear, this work served to him both as a model and a source of inspiration. Both *Izhār al-Ḥaqq* and *Al-Barāhīn* are based on a face-to-face debate⁵⁰ between a Muslim theologian and a Christian missionary. As had *Al-Barāhīn*, *Izhār al-Ḥaqq* also demonstrates a broader and a deeper use of Christian scripture to support its anti-Christian polemic. As does *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*, in his *Al-Barāhīn*, Al-Hilālī discusses the subjects of Revelation, alterations to the biblical text, the divinity of Jesus, the Trinity and the mission of Muḥammad in more detail. *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*, which represents one of the most authoritative studies of the Bible among Muslims, was written by the distinguished nineteenth-century Indian scholar, Raḥmat Allāh Al-Kīrānwī and appeared in 1864. Obviously, Al-Hilālī availed himself of a copy, when he first entered into debates with Christians during his time in India, even before writing the *Hawāshī shattā*.⁵¹ The primary purpose of *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* was to serve as a repository of ‘irrefutable’ arguments to be

⁴⁶ Ryad (2008), 51.

⁴⁷ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 10.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Al-Kīrānwī (1989). The first edition was published in [Constantinople] Istanbul in 1280/1867.

⁵⁰ *Izhār al-Ḥaqq* represents a response to the Christian offensive against Islam during the British rule in India, specifically to a book in Urdu entitled *Mīzān al-Ḥaqq* attributed to a certain C. C. P. Fonder. Shaykh See first paragraph next page] Raḥmatu Allah asserted that he would convert to Christianity if he failed to answer the questions of the missionary who had made the commitment to accept Islam if he was defeated, see Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 17.

⁵¹ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), Vol.1, 17.

used when debating with Christians.⁵² It examines many passages from the Gospels - especially the Gospel of Matthew. At this juncture, it would be useful to point out a few striking parallels between *Al-Barāhīn* and *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*.

Jesus was a human being. Al-Hilālī made clear in his very first point that the Gospel states that Jesus is the servant of God,⁵³ whereas God is the Master and Lord, according to Matthew 4:7: ‘It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God.’⁵⁴ Al-Hilālī asserts that Jesus never called himself Son of God but used to call himself the Son of Man.⁵⁵ In his book *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*, Shaykh Raḥmatu Allāh Al-Kīrānwī mentioned that Christ usually referred to himself with the words ‘the Son of Man’, to which the Gospel of Matthew. Bears witness⁵⁶ He says that there are many similar places to be found in other books. In total there were sixty verses in the Gospels in which Christ is referred to as the Son of Man.⁵⁷ Al-Hilālī argued that Jesus was just *a worshiper*. To support his argument, Al-Hilālī asked rhetorically if it were true that Jesus was God or a part of God. If so, how should he pray?⁵⁸ Actually, the prayer he gave his disciples, the Lord’s Prayer, is only performed by a poor servant who is in need of the mercy of God. In *Izhār al-Ḥaqq* the author gives twelve different arguments to prove that Jesus was just a worshiper.⁵⁹

Jesus was a prophet of God. Al-Hilālī confirms that Jesus was a prophet of God. He states that Matthew 21:46 is the strongest evidence against those who believe in the divinity

⁵² Al-Hilālī, (Dhū al-Qi’dah, 1404/ July 1984) Manqaba li al-Malik Fayṣal Qaddasa Allah Rūḥahu, in: *Majallat al-Buhūth al-Islāmiyya*, Vol 11, 317. Casablanca, Morocco. Soft copy, available at <http://www.alifta.com/Search/ResultDetails.aspx?lang=ar&view=result&fatwaNum=&FatwaNumID=&ID=1650&searchScope=2&SearchScopeLevels1=&SearchScopeLevels2=&highLight=1&SearchType=exact&SearchMoesar=false&bookID=&LeftVal=0&RightVal=0&simple=&SearchCriteria=allwords&PagePath=&siteSection=1&searchkeyword=216167217132217135217132216167217132217138#firstKeywordFound>, accessed on 15-July-2011.

⁵³ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 11.

⁵⁴ Al-Hilālī also referred to the story of Jesus and the Devil in the Bible, see [Matthew 4:10], ’] ‘Thou shalt serve the Lord , thy God; And Him only shalt thou serve.’

⁵⁵ Matthew [5:45], Al-Hilālī (2010a), 11.

⁵⁶ Matthew [8:20, 9:6, 6:13, 27, 17:9, 12, 22, 18:11, 19:28,20:18, 28, 24:27, 26:24, 45, 64],., see Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 686.

⁵⁷ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 736.

⁵⁸ Matthew [14:23]; Al-Hilālī (2010a), 14.

⁵⁹ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 736-750.

of Jesus (or the incarnation of God). It proves that all those who believed in Jesus during his lifetime did not believe in him being God or the Son of God or one part of the Trinity. His contemporaries believed in him as a prophet only.⁶⁰ Shaykh Al-Kīrānwī used the same verse to support the above statement. In *Izhār al-Haqq* he declares that this verse is evidence of a refutation of the Trinity. Jesus did not even like being called ‘good’, let alone being called God. This statement would be meaningless if Jesus had been God Incarnate.⁶¹

Jesus preached monotheism. To prove that Jesus preached monotheism (*tawhīd*), Al-Hilālī used Mark: 12:28-34, John: 17:30 and John: 20:16, thereby supporting his argument that Jesus had actually testified that Allāh is one, that there is no God save Him and that anyone who asserts his belief in His Unity is indeed close to the Kingdom of Allāh. Therefore, he who ascribes partners to him or makes him One of Three is removed from the Kingdom of Allāh, and is indeed the enemy of Allāh.⁶² Al-Hilālī confirmed that Jesus truly witnessed that Allāh was his God and the God of the other prophets and that there was no difference between him and them as far as their human nature was concerned. Therefore, anyone who pretends that Jesus is a God denies Jesus and denies all the messengers and the prophets of Allāh.⁶³ Besides these same verses, *Izhar al-Haqq* uses other verses to produce twelve statements made by Christ which implicitly or explicitly refute the doctrine of Trinity.⁶⁴

Al-Hilālī claimed that in Matthew: 7:21,⁶⁵ the word ‘LORD’ had been incorrectly translated into Arabic with the word *God*, leading people to believe that Jesus was God. If one looked carefully at the rest of the verse, one would find that it testifies instead to the fact that Christ is indeed a servant of God. The correct translation of the verse referred to, according to Al-Hilālī, should be as follows: ‘*Not everyone who addresses me as “Sir” shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who complies with the will of my Father who is in Heaven.*’ Also, the term ‘father’ is used to denote ‘God’ in different places in the Bible,⁶⁶ and it is not specific

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 12.

⁶¹ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 741.

⁶² Al-Hilālī (2010a), 19.

⁶³ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 20.

⁶⁴ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 736-750.

⁶⁵ In the King James’ Version, Cambridge Edition, we read : “Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven”

⁶⁶ Matthew [5:45], Matthew [5:48], Matthew [6: 1], Matthew [11:25]

to Christ. In his *Izhār al-Haqq*, Al-Kīrānwī argues that some words, like father, have been omitted from the Arabic translation of the Gospel (Mark 13:32): ‘*But of that day or hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father alone*’. He adds that this verse also refutes the doctrine of the Trinity.⁶⁷

When dealing with *Distortion and Abrogation in the Bible*, in his *Izhār al-Haqq* Al-Kīrānwī mentions that the translator of the Arabic version of the Bible printed in 1811 had distorted Christ’s statement by changing the first person into the second person. Christ’s statement was ‘The Lord our God is one Lord’, this had been changed into ‘The Lord thy God is one Lord’. This seemed to have been a deliberate change as the first person used in the first instance refutes any possibility of godhood for Jesus whereas the use of the second person does not necessarily refute it (Mark 12:29).⁶⁸

After an investigation and comparison of different Bible translations, it seems that Al-Hilālī used the "King James’ Version" in his translations of the Bible verses. Al-Hilālī does not say which Arabic version of the Bible he used. In his opinion, the Arabic version of the Gospel he used was very poor and barely comprehensible. In a letter to Ridā, Al-Hilālī states that he wrote notes in Arabic on the Gospel of Matthew. When reading the English version afterwards, he discovered an Arabic version mistranslated from English. Commenting on this he says: ‘I hope to translate the Bible into good Arabic’.⁶⁹ In another letter to Ridā, he says: ‘I hope that some Muslim organization will translate the Gospels into correct Arabic with annotations to expose the confusion of the Christians, just as they have done with our Book.’⁷⁰

The author of *Izhār al-Haqq* claims that the biblical books teem with errors and that a large number of clear contradictions are to be found in them. He categorically states that it was self-evident that a revealed text must be free of errors and contradictions. *Shaykh* Al-Kīrānwī claimed he had been able to discover 119 contradictions and 110 errors.⁷¹ Al-Hilālī shared this view, as he also mistrusted the reliability of the Gospels as a revealed text (*tahrīf*)

⁶⁷ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 740.

⁶⁸ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 739.

⁶⁹ Letter from Al- Hilālī to Ridā, Lucknow, 28 Jumāda al-Thāniya 1352/ 18 October 1933, See Ryad (2008), 270.

⁷⁰ Ibid, Letter, Al-Hilālī to Ridā, Lucknow, 24 Jumāda al-Ulā 1352/ 14 September 1933, See Ryad (2008), 270.

⁷¹ Al-Kīrānwī (1989), 257-350.

in either the Arabic or the English version. He pointed out that there were many cases of distortion and human manipulation in the texts of these books.⁷²

Crucifixion. Al-Hilālī provided the petitioner with several pieces of evidence that the story of the crucifixion was a forgery. The strongest evidence was, he said, when the Jews arrested Jesus and took him before Pilate, who condemned him and then handed him over to the Jews to be crucified, Jesus refused to speak or to utter even a single word.⁷³ Al-Hilālī commented that the Christians would interpret this as his desire to be crucified in exchange of the redemption of mankind and the forgiveness of their sins. Al-Hilālī wondered, if this were true, why did he ask God to turn death away from him? Why did he shout as he was on the cross ‘*Eli, Eli, lāmā sabachthani?*’ (My God, my God, why have You forsaken me?, Matthew 27:46). He adds, how could Jesus have refrained from revealing the truth, especially as he was reported to have been an eloquent orator who used to deliver long speeches in which he fluently rebuked and criticized the Jewish scholars.⁷⁴ Al-Hilālī thought no reasonable person would believe this. But, if both the crucifixion and the redemption were to prove to be forgeries, all the cornerstones on which the Christian belief is grounded would definitely collapse.⁷⁵ Describing the event of the crucifixion of Jesus, Rahmatullāh Al-Kīrānwī mentions that if Christ had been God, he would not have cried and said, ‘My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me?’⁷⁶ or ‘Father into your hands I commend my spirit’⁷⁷ and so forth because death cannot overcome God.

These paragraphs reveal that it is crystal-clear that Al-Hilālī knew of Al-Kīrānwī and his work. He replicated many of his arguments without citing the source. Both Al-Hilālī and the Indian Muslim polemicist Rahmatullāh Al-Kīrānwī used the same verses from the same Gospels to support their argument on the doctrine of Trinity, stating that Jesus was a human being and a prophet of God. It was Al-Hilālī and Al-Kīrānwī’s view that it is a common practice of Christian scholars to change the texts of their Holy Scriptures they thought this would be expedient. As did Al-Kīrānwī, Al-Hilālī argued that the story of the crucifixion was

⁷² Lauzière (2008), 367.

⁷³ Matthew [27:11], Matthew [27:13-14]. Al-Hilālī (2010a), 9.

⁷⁴ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 22.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Matthew [27:46].

⁷⁷ Luke [23:46].

a forgery. The new aspect of Al-Hilālī's work was perhaps that he had been able to 'verify' the Arabic quotations from the Bible in the English King James' Version.

It was typical of Al-Hilālī, that he tried to substantiate the Islamic points of view on the basis of passages from the Gospel of Mathews which were merely concerned with matters of the Creed.⁷⁸ Al-Hilāl asserted that Christians are wrong and must be recognized as infidels because they attribute a divine status to a prophet.⁷⁹ It was characteristic of the quality of Al-Hilālī's work that his moderate knowledge of English did not hinder him from proving the weakness of Christianity by quoting passages from the Gospel of Matthew.

Al-Hilālī's work attracted wide attention after its publication in 1973. As we mentioned earlier, Ibn Bāz later ordered the publication of 20,000 copies of Al-Hilālī's *Al-Barāhīn* in Saudi Arabia.⁸⁰ As said, they were published in Mecca in 1973 by *Dār al-Thaqāfa*. In an article in 1984, Al-Hilālī mentioned that people from Jordan had asked his permission to republish his *fatwa* because they said contained strong arguments against the Christians, without which it would not be possible to defeat them.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī (2010a), 10.

⁷⁹ Al-Hilālī (2006), Vol.3, 310; Al-Hilālī and Khān (1997), 878.

⁸⁰ Al-Hilālī (Dhū al-Qi'dah, 1404/ July 1984), "Manqba li al-Malik Fayṣal Qaddasa Allah Rūḥahu" in: Majallat al-Buḥūt al- Islāmiyya, Vol.11. Casablanca, 313. softcopy, available at <http://www.aliifta.com/Search/ResultDetails.aspx?lang=ar&view=result&fatwaNum=&FatwaNumID=&ID=1650&searchScope=2&SearchScopeLevels1=&SearchScopeLevels2=&highLight=1&SearchType=exact&SearchMoesar=false&bookID=&LeftVal=0&RightVal=0&simple=&SearchCriteria=allwords&PagePath=&siteSection=1&searchkeyword=216167217132217135217132216167217132217138#firstKeywordFound>, accessed 15- july-2011.

⁸¹ Ibid.

9. The Final Phase, Morocco (1974-1987): The Unpublished Collection of Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya

9.1. The Final Phase

The period 1974-1987 was the final phase of Al-Hilālī's life in Morocco. Upon his return to his native country, Al-Hilālī had no paid job. His last years were blighted by poverty caused by a lack of income.¹ In one of his letters² addressed to a certain Ḥasan Al-Hilālī, which is preserved among the letters in the unpublished collection of *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya*, Al-Hilālī writes:³

To my dear brother Mr Al-Hasan Al-Hilālī. Peace and God's Mercy and Blessings be upon you. I received your letter at a time at which I am hampered by sickness, old age and poor eyesight which prevents me from reading and writing. It has been essential for me to earn my living from teaching, because I spent my youth and middle-age fighting colonialism, and I was forced to live in exile. [As a consequence] I forfeited my pension and such is the reward I have for my efforts. Hence I am obliged to work in order to earn my living at the time of old age and rest. Nonetheless, I seek assistance and support from Allāh.⁴

Actually, Al-Hilālī sold the house in which he used to live in the city of Meknes to one of his relatives in order to provide himself with a source of income. When some Moroccan students informed Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz about his plight, the latter was deeply saddened and he turned for help to King Fahd Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1921-2005). Subsequently, the Saudi Embassy in Morocco ordered a house to be built for Al-Hilālī. An unnamed student of Ibn Bāz reported that the latter also fixed an amount of money as a pension for Al-Hilālī in recompense for his teaching at the Islamic University in Madina.⁵ However, Al-Hilālī's

¹ My personal conversation with al-Hilālī's grandson ‘Abd al-Ghānī Muhammad Būzakrī, in the city of Meknes, Morocco on 11 Aug 2010.

² Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 239.

³ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā Al-Hilāliyya,” (1976), the letter is dated (14 Rajab 1384 AH / 18 November 1964), 76.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ ‘Alī ibn Šāliḥ al-Gharbī (2012), *Kashf mā janā bihī al-tujār al-fujār ‘alā kutub al-Hilālī al mikhyār*, Meknes:np, 14.

grandson ‘Abd al-Ghanī says that Al-Hilālī did not receive any retirement pension from Saudi Arabia.⁶

Back in Morocco in 1974, again according to his grandson, Al-Hilālī was occupied with *da‘wa*.⁷ He used to answer the letters sent or the questions people put to him, both inside and outside Morocco, by phone. During his lessons, Al-Hilālī continued to use the *Fath al-Majīd* on the *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, a famous commentary by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. ‘Abd al-Ghanī Būzagrī added that Al-Hilālī was the first to introduce this book to the general public in Morocco. In fact, it was reprinted between 1974 and 1975 after Al-Hilālī had written to Shaykh Ibn Bāz, who had contacted King Faisal. The latter granted him the money to cover the costs needed to print the book. Three thousand copies were sent to Al-Hilālī, who suggested that these should be distributed for the symbolic price of 5 *Dirhams* a copy, as he realistically believed that a book which was free of charge would never be read.⁸

After he left Saudi Arabia, at the request of Ibn Bāz Al-Hilālī became the head of the *Jam‘iyyat al-Da‘wa wa-al-Irshād*,⁹ a missionary preaching movement in Morocco. Ibn Bāz also supported Al-Hilālī and helped him to move to Casablanca as he was struggling to cope with a host of challenges in Meknes.¹⁰ When Al-Hilālī arrived in Casablanca, he was very elderly. Nevertheless, his advanced age did not prevent him from preaching in many mosques, among them the Grand Mosque in that city.¹¹ One of the goals of his preaching activities was to recruit future Salafī students to study at the Islamic University in Medina. Therefore, he used to write letters of recommendation for people who wanted to study in the Saudi universities. Before writing any such letter, it was his custom to ask the applicant to bring him

⁶ My personal conversation with Al-Hilālī’s grandson ‘Abd al-Ghānī Muhammad Būzagrī, in the city of Meknes, Morocco on 11 Aug 2010.

⁷ See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 170.

⁸ Ibid., 174.

⁹ Al-Hilālī (1980), Family Archive, 1-2. See also the article of Muḥammad ibn Sa’d al-Shuway‘ir, a Saudi religious scholar who knew both Al-Hilālī and Ibn Bāz, in which he maintains that Ibn Bāz helped and supported Al-Hilālī in his calling. However, Al-Shuway‘ir is vague about what kind of support this was and the reason behind the relocation from Meknes to Casablanca. See also <http://www.al-jazirah.com/2008/20080321/ar3.htm>, accessed 19-11-2014.

¹⁰ Lauzière (2008), 367.

¹¹ On the mosques in which he preached, See Ḍarīf (1992), 137.

My personal conversation with al-Hilālī’s grandson ‘Abd al-Ghānī Muhammad Būzagrī, in the city of Meknes, Morocco on 11 Aug 2010.

a letter of recommendation from another scholar, and he used to make the applicant swear to worship Allāh sincerely, always abide by the recommendations of Islam and to never shave his beard.¹² Among them was Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Al-Maghrāwī (b. 1948), the founder and head of the pietistic association *Jam ‘iyyat al-Da‘wa ila al-Quran wa-al-Sunna*.

In his doctoral dissertation, Lauzière considers Al-Maghrāwī to have been Al-Hilālī’s successor as leader of the Salafī Movement in Morocco.¹³ Nevertheless, Al-Hilālī’s grandson provided the present researcher with a letter, from Al-Hilālī’s archive, which makes clear that the relationship between the two was not particularly good. In 1980, Al-Hilālī addressed a letter to Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ṣakhr, who had asked him whether he was preaching on his own or in collaboration with Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Al-Maghrāwī who claimed to be the head of the Preacher Movement in Morocco.¹⁴ In his letter, Al-Hilālī spoke about the history of his preaching mission and his relationship with Al-Maghrāwī who had been in the habit of visiting him at his house when he was teaching at the Islamic University in Saudi Arabia. In this rather critical letter, Al-Hilālī mentions that, when Al-Maghrāwī came back to Morocco after he had completed his BA in Saudi Arabia, he had claimed that he had been appointed head of the *Jam ‘iyyat al-Da‘wa wa-al-Irshād* in Morocco by the Saudi religious authorities. Al-Hilālī goes on to complain that, despite the fact that he had made tremendous efforts to help Al-Maghrāwī to continue his graduate studies in Saudi Arabia, the latter had turned on him and launched a hostile campaign against him. Al-Hilālī also reports that he had intervened to help Al-Maghrāwī receive his suspended salary when the latter had asked his forgiveness. Al-Hilālī said that Al-Maghrāwī had submitted a request to the Central Bureau of the *Jam ‘iyyat al-Da‘wa wa-al-Irshād* in Casablanca asking he be allowed to found a branch in the city of Marrakesh. Al-Hilālī reports that, no sooner had he done this than the new branch in Marrakesh had split from the Central Bureau and founded an independent branch in that city, which was made up of three persons, one of whom was Al-Maghrāwī.¹⁵ In a reaction to the above-mentioned letter, Al-Maghrāwī had this to say about Al-Hilālī:

Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī was my model for calling [people] to Allāh and for countering heresies and polytheism. I was one of the companions of the *Shaykh* from

¹² Al-Sabfī (1993), 42.

¹³ Lauzière (2008), 360.

¹⁴ Al-Hilālī (1980), Family achieve, 1-2

¹⁵ Ibid.

the end of the 1960s until he came back from Medina in 1974. was in close contact with him during all this period. Nonetheless, I used to disagree with him on many issues, for instance, the *Shaykh*, may Allāh have mercy on him, believed that Western people had not received the message of the Prophet, peace be upon him, therefore he thought that they had a legitimate reason which prevented [us] from referring to them as infidels (...) In fact, the influence of the West on him was clear to behold. In his early life, he used to wear Western clothes, and this clearly shows that he was influenced by them. Be that as it may, in the last period of his life the *Shaykh* had completely changed his way of life since his allegiance to Islam could be seen in every detail of his life. I also held and still hold divergent legal opinions from those he had on many issues, such as covering up a woman's face.¹⁶

It has been noted that the six years (1968-1974) Al-Hilālī spent in Saudi Arabia had not left him unaffected. In this period, Al-Hilālī discussed *tawhīd* in most of his *fatwas*, in which he did his best to highlight the True Path. In 1975, Al-Hilālī published one of his most important works, namely: a Quranic commentary entitled *Sabīl al-Rashād* (The Path to Right-Mindedness), in which he did not comment on each *Ṣura* and each verse of the *Qur'ān*. Instead, he concentrated on the passages relating to *Tawhīd*.¹⁷ In his argument, he commanded misguided Muslims to leave the path of innovation and obey 'Authentic' Islam (*al-Islām al-Ṣaḥīḥ*), or else face being burnt in *Jahannam* (Hell).¹⁸ In the *fatwas* related to '*aqīda*' in *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya*, just as in *Sabīl al-Rashād*, Al-Hilālī issued many religious warnings and accusations, in which he identified and exposed the numerous opponents of 'Authentic Islam', namely: *al-kuffār* (the unbelievers),¹⁹ *al-mufsidūn*²⁰ (the corrupt), *al-mujrimūn* (the sinners) and *al-mushrikūn*²¹ (the polytheists). This last category includes the people who do not believe in the Day of Judgement, who pretended to be Muslim because they observe the five

¹⁶ My personal conversation with *Shaykh* Dr 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maghrawī, in his house in Marrakesh, Morocco, on 8 August, 2012.

¹⁷ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.2, 331

¹⁸ Lauzière (2008), 384-386.

¹⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 135-136, 157-158, 200, 229.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

²¹ See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.2, 234, 267.

pillars of Islam, but were, nevertheless, polytheists, because of their non-obedience to the standards of ‘Authentic’ Islam.²²

One of the matters which most clearly characterized Al-Hilālī and distinguished his doctrine from that of most other Salafis was his conception of monotheism. He developed a new typology of monotheism consisting of four parts, instead of the classical Salafi tripartite sub-division: *Tawḥīd al-Rubūbiyya* (the Oneness of Lordship), *Tawḥīd al-Ulūhiyya* also known as *Tawḥīd al-‘ubudiyya* (the Oneness of Worship) and *Tawḥīd al-Ṣifāt* (the Oneness of Attributes). To these three, Al-Hilālī added *Tawḥīd al-ittibā‘* (Oneness of Observance). In his work, *Sabīl al-rashād*, Al-Hilālī confirms his division of *tawḥīd* into four types namely a) the Oneness of Lordship (*Tawḥīd al-rubūbiyya*), (b) the Oneness of Worship (*Tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya* or *tawḥīd al-‘ubudiyya*), (c) believing in the Divine Names and their Attributes (*Tawḥīd al-asmā’ wa- al-ṣifāt*), and (d) the Oneness of *Tawḥīd al-Ittibā‘* (the Oneness of Observance) .²³ With the *first* type: the Oneness of Lordship, Al Hilālī means that a person must believe strongly in Allāh as the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth and, the movement as well as the stillness they contain. Furthermore, it includes the idea that Allāh is the One Who disposes absolutely over all the creatures by granting them either to life or to death, to being or nothingness through bestowing and withholding, through exalting and abasing whomsoever He wills, He indeed being Allāh, the Lord of mankind. Al Hilālī goes on to mention that whoever believes that somebody else can create something whose weight equals that of an atom, or less, is a disbeliever. With the *second* type: Al Hilālī indicates that a servant of Allāh must not turn away from Him, be it in his worship or in his supplication, in his appeal for help, when he seeks refuge with Him, in his secret fear, in asking people to help him do things that only Allāh can do, in his hope, or in his trust. According to him, one must actually turn to Allāh absolutely within one’s heart, one’s tongue one’s senses and feelings, so as to bring good and repulse evil. With the *third* type: the Oneness of Allāh's Names and Attributes Al-Hilālī, this means that a Muslim should describe his Lord only by using the Attributes God has given Himself in His Book, or the Attributes His Messenger has used to describe Him in his *ḥadīth*. The *fourth* type:²⁴ the Oneness of observance, which means that, in his religion, a Muslim should follow nothing but the Revelation, namely the *Qur’ān* and the *Sunna* of the Prophet and his companions, and the scholars who came after them, because

²² See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 157-158, 230.

²³ Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1, 131.

²⁴ Ibid., See also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 339.

they are transmitters, not lawmakers. Al- Hilālī points out that making laws is specific to Allāh, whereas the mission of his Messenger is to convey Allāh's Message. He stresses that the Prophet's companions and the reliable scholars who succeeded them conveyed His teachings to us. However, nothing is admitted in religion without evidence from either the *Qur'ān* or the *Sunna*: matters which comply with them will be accepted, and those which do not comply with them will be rejected.²⁵

²⁵ Ibid.

9.2. The Unpublished Collection *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya*

On Thursday 30 September 1976 (6 Shawwāl 1396), Al-Hilālī finished his unpublished collection of *fatwas* entitled *Al-‘Uyūn al-Ḍilāliyya fī Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya* (The Albuminous Water Sources of the *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya*) which he had commenced sixteen years earlier in 1960. The *Al-Fatāwā Al-Hilāliyya* reflects his thoughts during the last two decades of his life. The afore-mentioned *fatwas* are bundled into two volumes. I have decided to present an overview of the collection of 600 *fatwās*, dealing with their form and content, as well as the kinds of people or institutions who posed the questions to him, and his methodology in issuing *fatwas*.

Some of the *fatwas* were handwritten by some of his scribes, the rest have been typewritten. Some people might ask why Al-Hilālī began recording his *fatwas* in this period and not before. In my opinion, the reason for this decision was the visual problems from which he suffered in the last two decades of his life. By 1975, he had become blind and he was no longer able to read or write. His grandson, ‘Abd al-Ghanī Būzakrī,²⁶ says in the composition of these *fatwas*, he had to be helped by a clerk. In most cases he was helped by one of his students, among them Riḍā Allāh al-Mubārakfūrī and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib,²⁷ or a family member like ‘Abd al-Ghanī Būzakrī himself.

The length of the *fatwas* depended on the type of question and the questioner. Some have very long answers, like the *fatwa* entitled *Tārik al-Ṣalāt* (The person who does not perform the prescribed prayers) , while others are very brief. The *Hijra*²⁸ date is usually found in the upper left-hand corner of the paper, and the Christian date and name of the questioner are often placed at the top of the paper. At the end of the text is written Al-Hilālī’s name, including his domicile which for the most of the *fatwas* was his home in Meknes in Morocco. Most *fatwas* open with the *basmala* or the *ḥamdala*, meaning that the opening of the *fatwa* generally consists of two or three rhyming lines praising God and or expressing Al-Hilālī’s request for divine guidance in his interpretation of the *fatwa*. Normally, the question includes the name of the *mustaftī* (petitioner) and his address. Usually, Al-Hilālī opened his *fatwa* with

²⁶ Based on my personal conversation with Al-Hilālī’s grandson ‘Abd al-Ghanī Muhammad Būzakrī, in the city of Meknes , Morocco on 11 August 2010.

²⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 41, 189, 192, 205, 225.

²⁸ Al-Hilālī urged his students to mention the *hijra* , instead of its Christian equivalent date in their letters See for example. Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1,68, 122, 128, 173, 177, 182, 205, 227; Vol.2, 289.

the expression *ilā akhī* ..[To my brother...] followed by the name of the questioner. The questions have been divided into the following forms: (a) *mā qawlukum fī...*²⁹ (What do you say concerning ...) or b:) *bayān al-ḥukm al-shar'ī fī*. (Can you clarify the legal ruling concerning ...?).

At the beginning of some answers, Al-Hilālī offers some words of encouragement for his students informing them that he does not doubt their sincerity and their desire to follow the Prophet and their devotion to their brothers in God.³⁰ He had an aversion to being addressed as *Shaykh* or 'great scholar', but preferred to be called Dr Al-Hilālī, which corresponded to the title he had earned when he graduated from the University of Berlin.³¹ Al-Hilālī's reply usually begins with the word (*al-jawāb*) which means 'the answer'. In some *fatwas* the word *al-jawāb* is followed by the du'a' *wa-bi Allāh al-tawfīq* (Success is granted by God).³² Most of the *fatwas* end with the formula 'and God knows best' (*wa-Allāhu a'lam*) or 'And God the Exalted and most High knows best' (*wa-Allāhu subḥānahu wa-ta'ālā'a'lam*). In a few *fatwas*, this text has been omitted, leaving only the words *wa-s-salām*. Al-Hilālī's signature, appended to the reply, is composed of the word *Al-'Abd al-faqīr*³³ (the poor servant of God) which either precedes or follows the name, and a short prayer '*uḥfiya'anhu or ghufira lahu* (May his sins be forgiven).³⁴

Al-Hilālī did not record his *fatwas* in either a chronological order or a thematic order. An aberration which might be attributed to his blindness. Eighty per cent of the *fatwas* were issued in his place residence in Meknes, and the remaining 20 per cent consist of the questions which were presented to him in his domicile in Saudi Arabia when he was at the University of Medina.³⁵ Seventy *fatwas* in *Al-Fatāwā Al-Hilāliyya* are dedicated to '*aqīda* (the Creed). In

²⁹ The official *fatwas* have another type of questions: *aftūnāma'jūrin*, and another type request is *natlubal-jawābjazākumAllāh'Annāwa-'an al-muslimīnkhayran*.

³⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 69, 140, 223.

³¹ On the basis of my personal conversation with Dr Zīn al-'ābidīn Balafriḥ, Casablanca, Morocco on 24 Dec 2011. He stated: 'What most attracted me is the fact that it was the first time I heard people using the title "Doctor" to talk to a religious scholar'. See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 43.

³² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.2, 279.

³³ *Ibid.*, 199; Vol.2, 280.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 109, 218.

³⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.2, 280-286, 291-295, 297-299, 300-303, 304-306, 310-313, 314, 315-316, 317, 318-319, 320, 321-323, 324-327, 328-332, 333-334.

these *fatwas* he adduces a strict definition of *tawhīd*,³⁶ disputes the validity of the Maliki³⁷ School of Law and condemns Sufism³⁸ and Sufi festivals (*mawāsīm*).³⁹ Another seventy-three *fatwas* have to do with innovations (*bida'*).⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī was convinced that innumerable innovations (*bida'*)⁴¹ had permeated Moroccan society⁴² and this influx had resulted in deviation from 'Authentic' Islam.⁴³ In *fatwas* on 'aqīda, Al-Hilālī's opinion is that a person had but one religious orientation and that was 'Authentic Islam', this being something which any Muslim must respect, cherish and adhere to. In most of the *fatwas* related to *bida'* (innovations), Al-Hilālī maintains that he who continues to perform heretical acts and adhere to *bida'* is either an ignorant or a hypocrite. In this context, Al-Hilālī refers to the well-known book by Imam Al-Shāṭibī named *Al-I'tiṣām*. Al-Hilālī pointed out that in this book, As-Shāṭibī adduces strong evidence from the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* and the consensus of the Muslim scholars on this matter. His purpose for doing so, Al-Hilālī claimed, was that such arguments might readily expose the aberrations of heretics. Al-Hilālī believed that things which both the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* do not describe are lawful.⁴⁴

On matters of worship, Al-Hilālī issued thirty *fatwas* on *zakat*,⁴⁵ five on the pilgrimage,⁴⁶ twenty-eight related to purification⁴⁷ and one hundred and two about prayer.⁴⁸

³⁶ Ibid., 159-160, 200; Vol.2, 304.

³⁷ Ibid.,103-104, 234; Vol.2, 298, 302-303, 308, 337.

³⁸ Ibid., 130-131. 165-166, 212, 217, 230, 238.

³⁹ Ibid., 98-99, 205.

⁴⁰ Ibid.,12-15, 16-17, 31-32, 38-39, 41, 43, 45-46,49, 65-66, 68, 79, 81,89, 108, 114, 121, 134, 141-142, 147, 149, 151, 157 , 161, 167-169, 179,182, 186, 190, 207, 211, 212, 222, Vol.2, 289-291, 329, 336, 259; 155-156, 166, 181, 189, 201, 202, 215-220, 224-228, 247, 263.

⁴¹ See for example Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya," 1976, Vol.1, 160-161, Vol.2, 269.

⁴² For example aloud reciting the Qur'ān, See Ibid., 231.

⁴³ Ibid., 139-140, 165-166, 168, 169, 182, 211, 211, 231; Vol.2, 301, 308, 318-319, 330

⁴⁴ Al-Hilālī (1982), 55-56.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 184, 205, 207, 214, 218; Vol.2, 306, 317, 321.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 194.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 181, 187, 208, 213; Vol.2, 335.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1,7,9,10,16,20-21, 29,41, 44, 89-91;106-108, 143, 157, 179, 181, 189, 206, 207, 214, 224, 232, 240, Vol.2, 279, 302-303, 304, 308, 329, 330, 337-338, 259, 151, 157; 16, 39, 42-45, 49, 62, 66-67, 80-83, , 106, 101, 111, 114, 131-138, 146, 150-153, 159, 162, 182, 189, 195, 199, 200- 205,215, 217, 225-227, 243-244, 259-261, 271-272.

His opinions on these matters can be described as ultra-orthodox.⁴⁹ In one of the *fatwas*, a very young girl visited him in Meknes and confessed that her sister was an infidel (*kāfira*) because she no longer prayed. Al-Hilālī told the young girl that Islam requires her not to love her sister and should turn her back on her and not help her until she believed in Allāh.⁵⁰ This particular ruling is something which Al-Hilālī repeated in many of his *fatwas*. Al-Hilālī did admit that he had been accused of *tashaddud* (harshness) and *ghuluww* (exaggeration), but he dismissed these criticisms by claiming that truth was on his side. He told his enemies to read what Ibn Kathīr had written about this issue in the fourteenth century, and quoted reports from the Prophet and the Companions to confirm the validity of his views.⁵¹

In many instances, Al-Hilālī simply provided a numbered list of so called primary proofs to be found in Qur’anic passages, which was followed by the commentary of a reliable exegete, *ḥadith*, or other reliable secondary sources.⁵² In other cases, he reproduced entire sections of books written by medieval purist scholars.⁵³ He did this when dealing with the issue of *Hukm tārik al-ṣalāt* (the Islamic ruling about the person who does not perform the prescribed prayers),⁵⁴ which is based on *the Kitāb al-ṣalāt* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and in its argumentation also heavily relies on Ibn Hazm.⁵⁵

Al-Hilālī issued seventeen *fatwas* about fasting.⁵⁶ In his view, Ramadan reflected the disunity of Muslims at the present time.⁵⁷ We have noted that the most urgent *fatwas* about fasting were those he issued during the month of Ramadan itself in which he invalidated the official commencement of the fasting month and its official end. Al-Hilālī and his disciples created uproar in Meknes in 1960s and again in the late 1970s when they disputed the beginning of the month of Ramadan.⁵⁸ Al-Hilālī reportedly subscribed to the view held by Ibn

⁴⁹ For example Al-Hilālī issued a *fatwa* preventing women from travelling alone, See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 192.

⁵⁰ See also *ibid.*, 9; 21, 101-102; 109-111, 152, 179, 186, 189, 192, 207, 208, 223, 227, Vol.2, 333.

⁵¹ Al-Hilālī (2006b), 30-31.

⁵² Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 155-159, 197-198, 226 ; Vol.2, 266-267, 274.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 89-91, 171, 215.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9; 21, 101-102; 109-111, 152, 179, 186, 189, 192, 207, 208, 240; Vol.2, 302, 308, 310-312, 321, 333.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 80, 183, 191, 203, Vol.2, 49, 118, 124, 189, 249, 209, 227; 312.

⁵⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 158, 208.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol.1, 190.

Taymiyya, Ibn Qudāma⁵⁹ and many contemporary purist Salafis.⁶⁰ In his view, Ramadan began immediately after the crescent moon had been sighted by an official representative anywhere in the Islamic world (*waḥdat al-ṣiyām*),⁶¹ but the Moroccan Ministry of Islamic Affairs rejected this interpretation. Traditionally, Ramadan only begins after an official representative has seen the crescent moon with the naked eye anywhere in the kingdom.⁶²

In the field of the *mu'āmalāt*,⁶³ Al-Hilālī issued seventeen *fatwas* on marriage, five on divorce matters and seventeen on matters related to commercial transactions, including *fatwas* pronouncing on usury (*ribā*).⁶⁴ Furthermore, he issued 133 *fatwas* on all kinds of religious beliefs and practices and on various matters in private life. Many problems to do with Muslim minorities were also submitted to Al-Hilālī.⁶⁵

9.2.1. The Kinds of People or Institutions Who Posed Questions

At the beginning of the 1960s and during the last two decades of his life, Al-Hilālī responded to a wide variety of questions. It should be emphasized that these questions were submitted by a wide spectrum of people from different parts of the world. Although the majority were from his native Morocco, some were submitted from Europe,⁶⁶ Iraq,⁶⁷ Algeria,⁶⁸ the Middle East⁶⁹ and India.⁷⁰ The kinds of people or institutions who posed questions to Al-Hilālī can be subdivided into students, supporters and institutions. A treatment of these categories will be followed by a brief comparative analysis of their characteristics.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Vol.12, 314.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 191, 203, 209.

⁶² Ibid., 209.

⁶³ Ibid., 59.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 22-28, 133, 195, 196, 225, Vol.2, 265, 300, 304, 315-316.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 141-142.

⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 18, 30-31, 36, 167, 188, 259; Vol.2, 5-6, 9, 11-12, 18, 35, 38, 45, 52, 57-59, 62, 69-70, 76, 89, 91, 105, 107, 114, 122, 125, 126, 132-133, 137-138, 143-144, 150, 155, 157-158, 166, 168, 183, 199, 201, 208-209, 220, 225, 230, 234, 236, 254-55. Vol.2, 269-271;

⁶⁷ Ibid., 39; 46-47; 61-63, 103-105, 115-116, 135-136, 153-154, 169-170, 175-176, 194; Vol.2, 272.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 130-131, 222, 230.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Vol.2, 275.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Vol.1, 117-118, 215.

9.2.1.1. *Al-Hilālī's Students In- and Outside Morocco*

One of his most famous students in Morocco was ‘Alī al-Raysūnī (b. 1943),⁷¹ the founder of ‘*Anṣār al-Sunna* (the Supporters of the *Sunna*), the first Islamic movement for preaching ‘Authentic Islam’ in the northern Moroccan city of Shafshāwan after independence.⁷² In one of his *fatwas*, Al-Hilālī encouraged him to propagate Salafism in the villages and the cities and to pursue the elimination of everything which contradicted ‘Authentic Islam’.⁷³ ‘Alī al-Raysūnī recalled that the ‘*Anṣār al-Sunna* organized a conference in Shafshāwan in 1979, the first forum of the public preaching of ‘Authentic Islam’ in Morocco. It was headed by Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī, assisted by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Al-Maghrāwī. Many Islamic scholars and different Islamic institutions from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Morocco attended the conference.⁷⁴

In Morocco, Al-Hilālī also received questions from local *imams*.⁷⁵ There was, for instance, a question from a certain ‘Ali Ibn Muḥammad Azrūrḥ from Al-Hilālī’s native village, who did not attend Al-Hilālī’s theological lessons, but had been informed about the lessons given each weekend by Al-Hilālī’s students who studied in Meknes.⁷⁶ This man was curious to find out more about Al-Hilālī’s way of thinking and his religious orientation.⁷⁷ Al-Hilālī replied by saying that his vocation was in compliance with the (*Qur’ān* 12,108) ‘*Say (O Muḥammad): This is my way; I invite unto Allāh (i.e to the oneness of Allāh) with sure knowledge, I and whosoever follows me. And Glorified and Exalted is Allāh. And I am not of*

⁷¹ Ibid., 122-123. For other questions, by the same person see, Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 36-38, 124-125, 126-127, 165-166, 200, 211, 214, 217, 230, 231, 235, 237,

⁷² The name ‘*Anṣār al-Sunna* was suggested by Al-Hilālī himself. ‘Ali al-Raysūnī, confirmed this to the present author during a personal conversation with him, 9 August 2011, in his house in the city of Shafshāwan, Morocco, on 9-8-2011. He said: ‘ Al-Hilālī recommended the creation of the ‘*Anṣār al-Sunna* , because at that time we had remarked upon the large number of innovations which were wide widespread in Morocco and that people had ceased to abide by the rulings of the *Sunna* ’.

⁷³ Ibid., 214.

⁷⁴ My personal conversation with ‘Ali al-Raysūnī, 9 August 2011, in his house in the city of Shafshāwan, Morocco, on 9-8-2011. In spite of a long enquiry, the present author has not been able to lay his hands on any information about this conference and the publication of its content.

⁷⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 173-174, 183.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 227.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 52.

*the polytheists*⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī said that this verse also applied to him because his *da'wa* consisted of calling people to pure Islam, to monotheism and enjoining them to follow the messenger of Allāh, on the basis of evidence and proof and not on ignorance and imitation. Furthermore, in his opinion, his higher reward would be with Allāh. Al-Hilālī also informed his petitioner that this could be summarized as: by following the Book of Allāh and the *Sunna*, by following what is authentic and proved by the Prophet's *ḥadith*. However, Al-Hilālī asserted the foregoing would only be possible by literally following everything the Messenger had conveyed, by studying the *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*, and avoiding each and every innovation in religion.⁷⁹

Al-Hilālī's former students outside Morocco include journalists, politicians, Islamists and preachers who have all felt that they had benefited from the teaching of their *shaykh*, but did not always share his religious views. Al-Hilālī's attitudes towards these individuals generated very interesting discussions on religion and the concept of 'Authentic Islam'.⁸⁰ A very good example is a certain Maḥmūd Maḥdī al-Iṣṭanbūlī from Iraq.⁸¹ In a letter Al-Hilālī advised him to be kind to his Muslim brothers who followed 'Authentic Islam', and to try to develop relationships with them. Al-Hilālī instructed him that this should take place by forgiving their sins, ignoring their faults and trying to alert them so that they might turn to the right path and, even if they did not, it was important to be aware of not losing their brotherhood.⁸² Al-Hilālī states that in the past, he himself had taken the opposite tack which he had thought to be right, but, after some time he realized that it was the wrong way to handle the situation. Even the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh were not safe from controversy in religious matters.⁸³ In an answer to the same person, Al-Hilālī's reply was very harsh as he adjured the petitioner to avoid writing rubbish. If he did not, he would not receive an answer because he did not want to enter into correspondence in which a message seething with ignorance and abuse would be sent from the West to the East.⁸⁴ Al-Hilālī continued by saying that Authentic Salafism should be innocent of insults and innuendo; instead it should

⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī and Khān (1997),347.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid., 231, 233; Vol.2, 280-288.

⁸¹ Ibid., 61, 103, 167-168, 238.

⁸² Ibid., 170.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 63.

exemplify good ethics, or the dignity and loyalty and sincerity of brotherhood.⁸⁵ To the same person, he stated that most of the Moroccan cities betrayed signs of innovation, misguidance and polytheism. Furthermore, when the worst had come to the worst, a group of his followers had been put in prison because of their faith.⁸⁶

9.2.1.2. *Al-Hilālī's Petitioners Who Have Championed Salafism Inside and Outside Morocco*

Many of Al-Hilālī's petitioners, women⁸⁷ as well men, have championed Salafism.⁸⁸ They can be found among all layers of Moroccan society. As just mentioned, Al-Hilālī's attitudes towards these individuals generated very interesting discussions on religion and the concept of 'Authentic Islam'.⁸⁹ One of those who supported Al-Hilālī's 'Authentic' Islam was 'Abd al-Guennūn, a very influential figure in post-colonial Morocco. His position on an institutional level allowed him to facilitate Al-Hilālī's propagation and defence of 'Authentic Islam'. The proof of this assertion can be illustrated by the following case. In 1968, Al-Hilālī received questions from some of his students who complained about the situation of their brothers. Al-Hilālī replied to one of this students saying:

...that the reason for writing the above was the incident concerning my student Ibrahim Ibn Ḥammū who visited Khenifra, a city in the Central Atlas located 100 km south of Meknes, as part of his *da'wa* quest in his attempts to purify Islam by preaching the Oneness of God inside the mosques and exhorting the people to eschew the innovations followed by the enemies of 'Authentic' Islam. The villagers had

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 63.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 50, 204; 192,193,228; Vol.2, 275, 298-299, 307, 314.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 209, 214, 229, 230, 233; Vol.2, 298, 300, 339

⁸⁹ Ibid., 231, 233; Vol.2, 280-288

accused this student of causing civil instability which resulted in his incarceration⁹⁰ for more than one year.⁹¹

Al-Hilālī reacted to this appeal by writing a letter to Abdullah Guennūn asking for his assistance. Al-Hilālī wrote:

To my dear brother, the amiable Professor ‘Abd Allāh Guennūn, I am writing to you in order to inform you that [at present] we are witnessing the arrest, the trial and the imprisonment of anyone who encourages people to embrace monotheism and to comply with the teachings of the Messenger of Allāh (Peace be upon him); although the accused eventually might be found not guilty, he will still be arrested and imprisoned Your vigilant devotion to monotheism has made me very happy. In fact, an attack on me is also an attack on you; because our mission is the same...I invoke Allāh to assist us all to hold fast to that which was revealed to His Servant and Messenger.⁹²

It should be stressed that many of the questions were submitted by Salafis or people who had converted to Salafism,⁹³ which can often be deduced from the way Al-Hilālī addresses them. Usually, he begins his *fatwa* with: ‘I have a question from the brothers who were helped by God to follow the Prophet and his sayings and to reject all that is in contravention of the *ḥadith*.’⁹⁴ He also he replied to a certain Ṣadiq al-Khayyātī⁹⁵ by saying:

⁹⁰ Another example, Al-Hilālī’s student , ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, was put in prison, because of his adhering to Salafism see Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 223.

⁹¹ Ibid., 42, 168, 206. On Al-Hilālī’s complaint to ‘Abd Allah Guennūn, a member of the Moroccan government at that time, about the situation of his students who were being imprisoned. See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 236.

⁹² Ibid., 236.

⁹³ Ibid., 223.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 219.

⁹⁵ Other question by the same person see, Ibid., 209, 214, 229 .

We are much gladdened by the conversion of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Zamzamī⁹⁶ from the state of polytheism and his averment of monotheism by declaring that he will combat against his former group,⁹⁷ therefore we need to help him⁹⁸

In April 1967 Shaykh Muḥammad al-Zamzamī (d.1989) had converted to Salafism through the intervention of Al-Hilālī. He was one of the most prominent personalities among Al-Hilālī's petitioners to champion Salafism in Morocco.⁹⁹ In a *fatwa*, Al-Hilālī replied to him by saying that those who do not permit the Islamic greeting to be used to anyone who wears a suit¹⁰⁰ and shaves his beard¹⁰¹ are infidels and hypocrites.¹⁰² His discourses against immorality, injustice and corruption in the 1970s and 1980s had a huge impact and gained him a considerable following among the followers on the 'Authentic Islam'.

Although many of Al-Hilālī's petitioners have championed Salafism,¹⁰³ they have not always shared his religious views. It is worth noting that on many occasions Al-Hilālī found himself enmeshed in religious controversies arising from the doctrine of 'Authentic Islam'. A petitioner, a certain Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Khamlishī,¹⁰⁴ for example, had some doubts about Al-Hilālī's claim to adhere to 'Authentic Islam'. Al-Hilālī answered him by saying that accusing him of heresy showed that the petitioner was still insisting on controversy; he would do better to avoid feelings of enmity and innovation.¹⁰⁵ Al-Hilālī continued that the claim that shaving the beard is corruption and great sin, which requires an effective boycott¹⁰⁶ [of Al-Hilālī], will lead to estrangement which is an even greater evil.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Al-Hilālī assured his counterpart that he was happy with his calling to

⁹⁶ Shaykh Zamzamī converted to Salafism In April 1967. On his discussion with Al-Hilālī, See Ibid., 139.140, 232.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 217.

⁹⁸ Ibid.. See also Ibid., 237.

⁹⁹ On al-Zamzamī discussion with Al-Hilālī, See Ibid., 139.140, 232

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 212,

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 199, 235, 237; Vol.2, 264

¹⁰² Ibid., 55. 163-164.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 209, 214, 229, 230, 233; Vol.2, 298, 300, 339.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 220. On the same subject from the same person see, *ibid.*, 234.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 220, 237. see also Ibid., 55.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 220.

‘Authentic Islam’ and his rejection of innovation. Al-Hilālī ended his reply by asking God to reconcile the hearts of preachers advocating the right path.¹⁰⁸

Al-Hilālī also received questions from outside Morocco, namely: from petitioners in Europe who championed Salafism there.¹⁰⁹ One of them was a certain ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥusain al-Khnifī from France, about whom we do not have any information. He posed Al-Hilālī a question on the 10 September 1976, asking about some people who had built a mosque in France and in doing so had propagated innovations which were supported by their *imam*. The question was whether or not he should pray with them. In his answer Al-Hilālī stated :¹¹⁰

Verily, the imam of the mosque must be a heretic himself. I would advise you not to pray with them in that mosque, and not to linger in their company... In fact, there is in France a group of monotheists who comply with the *Sunna* of the Messenger of Allāh (May Allāh bless him and grant him peace). Herewith you will find enclosed their address so that you might visit them from time to time to renew your faith... All their acts which you have described are noxious heresies. He who commits such acts is cursed, and Allāh will accept from him no prayer, no fasting, no pilgrimage, no alms-giving, no charity and no recitation of the *Qur’ān*. I hope Allāh will let someone guide them to the truth, because their intention is good; but they are ignorant.¹¹¹

9.2.1.3. *The Institutions*

Al-Hilālī also received questions from different institutions in the Middle East and Europe. For instance, he had a question from *Majma’ al-Buḥūth al-Islamiyya bī al-Azhar* (The Islamic Research Academy of Al-Azhar) via ‘Abd Allāh Guennūn, the Secretary-General of the Association of ‘*Ulama* of Morocco, concerning the Islamic ruling about insurance.¹¹² He also

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 221

¹⁰⁹ About questions from Europe see also Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 18, 30-31, 36, 167, 188, 259; Vol.2, 5-6, 9, 11-12, 18, 35, 38, 45, 52, 57-59, 62, 69-70, 76, 89, 91, 105, 107, 114, 122, 125, 126, 132-133, 137-138, 143-144, 150, 155, 157-158, 166, 168, 183, 199, 201, 208-209, 220, 225, 230, 234, 236, 254-55. Vol.2, 269-271.

¹¹⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 345.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., 92-94..

had questions from *Jam 'iyyat al-Iṣlāḥ al-Ijtimā'ī* (The Foundation for Social Reform) in Kuwait on the mixing (*ikhthilāt*) of girls and boys at school.¹¹³ Moreover, he received questions from different non-Islamic Institutions.¹¹⁴ For instance, on 12 March 1965, Dr Haveman, a director of the Department of Architectural Art at the University of Aachen, sent Al-Hilālī a question.¹¹⁵ His reason for contacting Al-Hilālī was that he could not find any Islamic source on the subject of Islam. He had chosen Al-Hilālī especially because of his acquaintance with the situation in Morocco and his knowledge of European countries, He wrote:

Dear and Honoured Al-Hilālī, Verily, our institute is currently studying the conditions of teaching and education in both Morocco and in five other countries on different continents. However, we have faced many serious challenges during our research and many central issues remain unanswered. We believe that religion plays a preponderant role in shaping the way of thinking and the nature of culture in Morocco. Therefore, we would like to know your opinion on the extent to which religion influences primary, secondary and vocational education. It is also of great importance to us also to know the nature of the changes which have taken place in Morocco since 1956.¹¹⁶

Al-Hilālī commenced his answer by stating that it would be scientific and free of all forms of bigotry and bias. Regarding the first question, about religion and education in Morocco, Al-Hilālī said:

Religion has no influence on education, because neither are religious issues taught, nor are prayers said in schools. Some Quranic words might be taught in the primary school, but without teaching their meaning or translating them into practice. Most of the teachers do not observe the prayers, and their appearance does not reflect their Islamic identity. In fact, this situation is not new, it dates from the colonial period; nevertheless it has become more openly manifest since Independence. This situation was wrongly attributed to the French colonizer, but when the country became

¹¹³ Ibid., 275. For more information about this foundation see <http://www.eslah.com>, accessed 19-11-2014.

¹¹⁴ Al-Hilālī, (1976), Vol.1, 92-94; Vol.2, 268-271, 275-278

¹¹⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.2. 268-271

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 268.

independent it became clear that Islam was observed more devoutly under colonization than since Independence. The reason behind this is the fact that the political leaders once pretended to be true believers in order to exploit the [sentiments of the] populace in fighting the colonizer; once they had achieved their goal, they rejected the practical aspects of Islam.¹¹⁷

In answer to the second question, about the degree of change which has taken place in Morocco since 1956, Al-Hilālī stated that the changes which had occurred in Morocco remained limited to the following: 1) the drastic rise in unemployment; 2) the educational diffusion and the growth of the number of the primary and secondary schools, the establishment of two universities and a large number of institutes and high schools. Nevertheless, in Al-Hilālī's opinion, under colonization education was taken more seriously and was better organized than it had been since Independence. 3) After Independence, there had been a great rise in taxes which continued to go up every year. 4) The cost of living continued to increase every year, and this affected all food products. 5) Al-Hilālī said that there was almost a consensus among the Moroccan people that the administration of justice under colonization had been better than it had been since Independence. However, the government had recognized some of these allegations and showed an interest in restoring the situation.¹¹⁸

As a religious scholar and a *mufī* who interacted with both the masses and the elite, Al-Hilālī displayed great skill. This is obvious from the way he interacted with his students, supporters and institutions. He was evidently a pleasant and a friendly man as long as he was not rubbed up the wrong way. However, he did not hesitate to be harsh and destroy the reputation of his opponents when he deemed it necessary.¹¹⁹ Like most purist Salafīs, Al-Hilālī was determined not to change his mind on matters of religion. In other matters, he was far more lenient and ready to co-operate with many of his counterparts, as long as their goal was a shared one. Interestingly, Al-Hilālī was quite diplomatic when he was attacked by people who considered themselves purist Muslims and expressed their doubts about the adherence of Al-Hilālī to 'Authentic' Islam.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 269.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 230, 238.

9.3. Al-Hilālī's Methodology in *Al-Fatāwa al-Hilālīyya*

Al-Hilālī did not take money for issuing *fatwas*,¹²⁰ because he was convinced that *muftīs* were supposed to issue their *fatwas* free of charge. On the 24 December 1966, a *mustafti*, named Mawlay ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Hāshim attached a postage stamp to the question sent, so that he could use it to send his answer. Al-Hilālī did not agree with this.¹²¹ Moreover, Al-Hilālī, shared the views of Imām Mālik and Ibn al-Qayyim,¹²² who were of the opinion that a *fatwā* should only be issued in response to problems which had actually arisen (*wa-lā yajib al-iftā’ fi –mā lam yaqa’*).¹²³

Al-Hilālī denied the validity of following a particular traditional school of law,¹²⁴ which means that he did not feel himself tied to the Malīkī,¹²⁵ Shafī’ī, Ḥanafī, and Hanbalī or any other school of law.¹²⁶ Therefore, he claimed to rely upon the primary sources namely the *Qur’ān* and *Sunna*. Consequently, his method (*manhaj*) was bound to the *madhhab al-Salaf*.¹²⁷ In the issuing of *fatwas* or legal opinions, Al-Hilālī argued that passing judgement by imitating the opinions of other scholars was prohibited.¹²⁸ In fact, he went so far as to say that abiding by the teachings of one school of jurisprudence was a heresy.¹²⁹ His contention was that anyone who imitated someone other than the Prophet in matters related to religion, without even asking for the evidence of the legal opinions which the former had issued, thinking when he did so that he was infallible, was indeed a polytheist.¹³⁰ To substantiate his claim, Al-Hilālī used the statement of Ibn ‘Abd Al-Barr who, on the basis of his interpretation of the *Qur’ān*, was convinced that imitating people in matters of religion is a reprehensible

¹²⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 229.

¹²¹ Ibid., 180.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 364-366

¹²⁴ Ibid.,105, 233

¹²⁵ In one of his *fatwas*, when he was not able to find an answer to a question from a women named Al-Ḥajja Rkiyya, he was obliged to quote an argument of the *Madhhab Mālik*, See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 204.

¹²⁶ Ibid.,233.

¹²⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 328.

¹²⁸ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 234.

¹²⁹ Ibid.,105.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 5.

act.¹³¹ Al-Hilālī denied the authority of the Islamic schools of law and advised qualified Muslims to adhere to the rules and guidelines specified in the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*,¹³² because their interpretation was free of any prejudice.¹³³ Al-Hilālī argued that if any Muslim scholar knew of the existence of a reliable *ḥadīth* but had nevertheless decided to leave it aside in support of some random view, he could be considered an innovator and a sinner (*athīm*).¹³⁴

Al-Hilālī did concede that anybody who could not extract an Islamic rulings directly from the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* might follow the opinions of a scholar of his time, without restricting himself to one specific scholar or one specific group. Al-Hilālī maintained that unqualified Muslims should not look at the formative texts and try to interpret the proof and subsequently draw their own imaginative conclusions about Islam without proper training. In order to prevent deviations from the truth, Al-Hilālī recommended anyone who ignored religious science should have the duty of resorting to *taqlīd*.¹³⁵ He reported that all the scholars agreed on the fact the common people should follow the opinions of the scholars. Al-Hilālī likewise reported that Muslim scholars also agreed that common people are not allowed to issue legal opinions.¹³⁶ Moreover, Al-Hilālī believed that the division of Muslims into sects¹³⁷ and confessions was an outright deviation from the Right Path.¹³⁸

Al-Hilālī maintained that *ittibā'*, which literally means 'following' but also stands for following the Prophet and the *salaf*,¹³⁹ is the term used by Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ to refer to *ijtihād*.¹⁴⁰ What Al-Hilālī understood by *ijtihād* is the knowledgeable competence required to recognize the truth [of Islam] and bring it to light. He considered *ijtihād* a form of independent reasoning. He was convinced that this demanded a comprehensive study of the

¹³¹ Ibid., 105.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 233.

¹³³ Al-Hilālī (1982), 67-68; Al-Hilālī (1977), 87.

¹³⁴ Al-Hilālī (1982), 81-82, 123,. See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 105, 165-166. 234.

¹³⁵ Al-Hilālī (al-Tamassuk , 1979), 52-53; Al-Hilālī (1982), 49; See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 63, 174.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 183.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 165-166, 230, 238; Vol.2, 286-289; 289, 318-319.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 149-150, where he mentions for example the deviation' of the Shī'a.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 165-166.

¹⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī (2005a), 25.

primary sources, consisting of the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*, as well as thorough study of the relevant secondary sources of the Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ, such as the sayings of the Tabi'īn, Ibn Taymiyya,¹⁴¹ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya¹⁴² and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb¹⁴³ on certain religious matters, including the assessment of obscure prophetic reports. He repeated the words of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 1448) to the effect that '... any *ḥadith* which Ibn Taymiyya does not know is not a *ḥadith*.'¹⁴⁴

9.4. A Forerunner of Fiqh al-Aqaliyyāt (Fiqh of Muslim minorities)?

Al-Hilālī's *fatwas* relating to questions posed by Muslim minorities¹⁴⁵ in Western Europe are very interesting sources in the light of the ongoing Islamic discussions on these minorities.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, on a personal level a study of them also enables us to understand the development of Al-Hilālī's thought .

As discussed in Chapter 4, in 1938 during his time in Germany, Al-Hilālī had clearly stated that remaining in Europe was only permitted in Islam *out of necessity*. Later, Al-Hilālī advocated a different, more moderate point of view, in which he challenged the person who pretended that it was not permissible to travel to and reside in non-Islamic countries to provide relevant proof.

Nevertheless, he prohibited a Muslim to apply for the citizenship of non-Muslim countries by stating that: he who holds the nationality of a Muslim country which governs according to the *sharia* and chooses to be naturalized in a country which does not govern according to *sharia* law is indeed sinful. Al-Hilālī was adamant that by applying for citizenship of a non-Muslim country, a Muslim has to declare his loyalty to that non-Muslim country and abide by its laws . However, this naturalization did not make him an infidel.¹⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, in 1953, during a trip to Germany to visit his son, Al-Hilālī had a

¹⁴¹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.2, 312.

¹⁴² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 200.; Vol.2, 312.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 139.140, 232.

¹⁴⁴ Ibn Mi'mār (1958), 106.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 18, 30-31, 36, 167, 188, 259; Vol.2, 5-6, 9, 11-12, 18, 35, 38, 45, 52, 57-59, 62, 69-70, 76, 89, 91, 105, 107, 114, 122, 125, 126, 132-133, 137-138, 143-144, 150, 155, 157-158, 166, 168, 183, 199, 201, 208-209, 220, 225, 230, 234, 236, 254-55.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya," 1976, Vol.1, 175-176, 240; Vol.2, 272-273, 277-278, 320, 321, 326, 337.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 167.

disagreement with his son who had taken the German nationality in order to obtain a scholarship. He mentioned that his son, ‘Abd al-Mu’min, had been encouraged by his Germany family to take German nationality. Al-Hilālī stated that he complained about this regulation at the German Foreign Office but without success.

In his *fatwas* from the sixties onwards, he allowed Muslims to *live* in the non-Muslim world.¹⁴⁸ For example, on 29 March 1968 a certain al-‘Arabī al- Sharqāwī, about whom we do not have any further information, put a question to Al-Hilālī concerning travelling to countries in which the majority of its inhabitants does not practise Islam. Al-Hilālī began his answer by saying:

Well, you must know that this is permissible. Likewise, the money which the worker, the merchant or the craftsman might earn while he is living there is lawful; provided that the way he earned it is lawful. He who pretends that it is not permissible to travel to non-Islamic countries should provide relevant proof. In the event he fails to justify his opinion, and surely he will, the following verse would undoubtedly apply to him, in *Sūrat An-Naḥl* (116-117) ‘And say not concerning that which your tongues put forth falsely: This is lawful and this is forbidden,’ so as to invent lies against Allāh. Verily, those who invent lies against Allāh will never prosper. A fleeting brief enjoyment (will be theirs), but they will have to endure a painful torment.¹⁴⁹

Al-Hilālī added that, in fact, the Prophet ordered his Companions to emigrate to Ethiopia whose king was Christian before he had converted to Islam. Furthermore, the Companions of the Prophet were continually travelling to the Levant for trade and commerce. Indeed, this fact is described in (*Qur’ān* 62: 11): ‘And when they see some merchandise or some amusement they disperse headlong to it.’¹⁵⁰ Al-Hilālī did wonder which country in his era was an Islamic nation in which the *Sharia* was applied and which judged by that which Allāh has revealed? Al-Hilālī told the petitioner to go ahead and travel to the West with Allāh's blessing.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 140-141; Vol.2, 322.

¹⁴⁹ (*Qur’ān* 67:15) and (*Qur’ān* 29:20) See Al-Hilālī & Khān (1997).

¹⁵⁰ (*Qur’ān* 62: 11) See Al-Hilālī & Khān (1997).

¹⁵¹ Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya, Vol.2. pp 201, fatwā 145.

On 12 May 1968, in another *fatwa*, a certain Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Sūsī, about whom we do not have any further information, submitted a question to Al-Hilālī about residing in a non-Muslim country. Al-Hilālī commenced his answer by saying:

You are talking today about *Dār al-Islām* (the House of Islam) and *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the House of War), as if you were living 300 years earlier. You should be aware of what is happening in the era in which you live. However, if Allāh guides you to cling to belief in His Unity and to follow the *Sunna* of his Messenger, and if you can guide your wife to that, then you must know that this is a great blessing which demands that you be thankful because it is very rare in our time.¹⁵²

Al-Hilālī stated that the subject of the *Dār al-Islām* and the *Dār al-Ḥarb* was no longer significant in terms of the position of Muslims who, for one reason or another, happened to live outside the ‘Territory of Islam’.¹⁵³

In order to delineate Al-Hilālī’s view more sharply, I shall compare the view of Al-Hilālī, who had direct personal knowledge of the situation of the Muslims in the West and his close Wahhabi friend Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz,¹⁵⁴ who was a leading cleric in Saudi Arabia for twenty-five years, and from 1993 held the additional rank of minister after King Fahd Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz appointed him Grand *Mufti* of Saudi Arabia. I shall also compare his views with those of the well-known Islamic scholar Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymīn. Over the years, both Wahhabi scholars issued thousands of *fatwās* to ensure that the kingdom adhered to the traditional Wahhābī interpretation of Islam, which gave and still gives Saudi Arabia its deeply conservative cast.

One of Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz’s *fatwas* concerned a question addressed by a Muslim who was living in Italy, who asked whether it is permissible for a Muslim to settle and reside permanently in a non-Muslim country.¹⁵⁵ In his answer Shaykh Ibn Bāz stated that living in a land in which *shirk* and *kufir* are prevalent, is not permissible, whether Muslims are

¹⁵² Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 140-141. On the same subject from the same person see *Ibid.*, 53.

Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya,” 1976, Vol.2, 155.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ The New-York times [0362-4331] Jehl yr:1999 vol:148 iss:51522, p.25

Shaykh Ibn Bāz was blinded by disease as an adolescent, but little else is known about his early life. Estimates of his birth year vary from 1909 to 1912.

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Bāz, “Majmu’ Fatāwa Shaykh Ibn Bāz”, 1992, Vol.9, 403.

there for work, business, study or some other purpose, because the verse in the *Qur'ān* is quite clear on this matter.¹⁵⁶ Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz also drew attention to several ‘*aqīda*’ principles saying that settling among the *kuffār* is not done by one who knows the real meaning of Islam and faith, meaning that in his opinion one must completely disavow and keep far away from the infidels and their lands. In order to substantiate this view, he quoted a whole series of classical authorities.¹⁵⁷ Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz also distinguished the following four reasons why it is *harām* (not allowed) to travel, settle and reside permanently in a non-Muslim country: a) It is not possible to practise one’s religion openly in a way which signifies that one has discharged one’s duties fully. b) The texts and the clear statements of the scholars indicate that, if a person does not know his religion enough to produce evidence and proof and hence is not able to defend it and ward off the specious arguments of the *kuffār*, it is not permissible for him to travel to their lands. c) One of the conditions of it being permissible to travel to their land is that one should be safe from the *fitnah* of their power, control, specious arguments and attractions, and be safe from imitating them or being influenced by their actions. d) Blocking the means which might lead to *shirk* is one of the most important principles of Islam. Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Bāz asserted that it had been noticed that what happened to Muslims who settle in these lands is the result of their settlement in a land of disbelief. Muslims should therefore be steadfast in adhering to their religion, practising it openly, following its commands, heeding its prohibitions and calling others to it, until they are able to emigrate from the land of *shirk* to a Muslim land.¹⁵⁸

In his turn, Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymīn, issued a *fatwa*¹⁵⁹ entitled ‘*Mā Ḥukm al-iqāma fī-bilād al-kuffār*’ (Is it permissible for a Muslim to settle and reside permanently in a non-Muslim country?). In the opinion of Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymīn, there are two basic conditions which must be met before residing in infidel countries: (1) That the person must be secure in his religious commitment, so that he has enough knowledge, faith and willpower to ensure that he will adhere firmly to his religion and be beware of deviating or going astray, and that he maintains an attitude of enmity and hatred towards the infidels and will not befriend them and love them, since befriending them and loving them are attitudes which

¹⁵⁶[al-Nisa’ 4:97-99] .

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Bāz , “Majmu’ Fatāwa Shaykh Ibn Bāz”, 1992, Vol.9, 403.

¹⁵⁹ Al-‘Uthaymīn (2002), 24-26.

contradict faith.¹⁶⁰ (2) That he should be able to practise his religion openly, including observing all the rituals of Islam with no impediment. If he cannot to do this, then it is not permissible to remain there because, should this be the case, it is obligatory to migrate.¹⁶¹

In their article, Van Koningsveld and Shadid add that Shaykh al-‘Uthaymīn¹⁶² also distinguishes six purposes for which Muslims might stay in the Territory of Unbelief: (1) To preach Islam (*da‘wa*), which is a collective duty of Muslims because it is a kind of *jihād*. (2) To study the circumstances of the Infidels in order to warn Muslims against the dangers of being dazzled by them. This is also a kind of *jihād*. (3) To serve as a representative of a Muslim nation. The legal status of this residence must be judged in the light of its purpose. (4) For another specific, permissible purpose, for instance, commerce or medical treatment. (5) For the purpose of study, which is more risky in that it might have a detrimental impact on the faith of the person staying there for this purpose. (6) Intermingling with the infidels by the obligation to strengthen the ranks of the infidels required by citizenship.¹⁶³

Al-Hilālī did not share the viewpoints of the two Saudi scholars quoted on the issues related to Muslims living in the West, although his opinion is closer to that of Al-‘Uthaymīn than to that of Ibn Bāz. There are, nonetheless, significant differences between Al-Hilālī and Al-‘Uthaymīn. Firstly, Al-‘Uthaymīn set some conditions to be met if a Muslim wants to settle in a non-Muslim country. No explicit prohibition is formulated, though it is clear that Shaykh ‘Uthaymīn does not approve of the presence of the last category of Muslims in a non-Muslim country.¹⁶⁴ Al-Hilālī maintained that the residence of Muslims in non-Muslim countries such as those in Europe and America for the purpose of education and employment is not only allowed but must be considered mandatory in many cases.

Secondly, Al-‘Uthaymīn argued that settling in the country of infidels poses a great danger to a Muslim’s religious commitment, morals, behaviour and etiquette. He said:

We and others have seen how many of those who had settled there went astray and came back different people from what they were when they went away. They have come back as miscreants, and some have come back having apostatized from their

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Al-‘Uthaymīn (2002), 24-26.

¹⁶² On detailed view of Al-‘Uthaymīn, see also Wasif Shadid and Sjoerd van Koningsveld (1996), 84-115.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 93.

¹⁶⁴ Al-‘Uthaymīn (2002), 226.

religion and disbelieving in it and in all other religions – we seek refuge with ‘*Allāh* – denying it completely and mocking the religion and its people, past and present. Hence, one must take measures to guard against this and stipulate conditions which will prevent people from following this path which leads to doom and destruction.¹⁶⁵

However, Al-Hilālī, who had direct knowledge of the situation of the Muslims in the West, clearly indicated that staying in non-Muslim countries such as those in Europe and America is permissible for Muslim. As he saw it, this was surely because in these countries both immigrants and converts were able to implement their religious duties in their daily life. Therefore, they could live in peace without fear of losing their faith. Thirdly, Al-Hilālī maintained that both disbelief and immorality were predominant in all [Islamic] countries, save the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.¹⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī clearly indicated that in such Christian countries as France, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands, there were Muslim communities keeping religion pure for Allāh and abiding by the religion of Islam. Al-Hilālī wondered what made the *mustaftī* so worried about the Christian countries:

If you fear disbelief, you should know that it is more common in your own country. If you are worried about the fact that these countries do not judge with that which Allāh has revealed, you should know that the situation is even worse in your own country. If you fear fornication, usury, injustice, drinking alcohol, women adorning themselves and mixing with men, you should know that all this is more common in your own country. In fact, you may practise your faith in such Christian countries as France, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands if you have the will, more effectively than you are used to doing in your own country. There are actually Muslim communities keeping religion pure for Allāh, who abide by the religion [of Islam].¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol.1, 141.

¹⁶⁷ In 1396 A.H (1976), In another *fatwa* on the same subject, a certain Haddou Ibn Hammadi asked Al-Hilālī about Muslims travelling to countries and about working there in order to earn his living. See Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1996, Vol.2, 201.

At the end he told the petitioner, if he was given the possibility to obtain a passport, he should go abroad with Allāh's blessings.¹⁶⁸

Reviewing these discussions, it becomes crystal clear that, for Shaykh al-‘Uthaymīn residing in the land of, what he calls, infidels was principally a matter of creed. The aforementioned *fatwa* is therefore logically classified among the *aqīda-fatwas*. This in contrast to Al-Hilālī for whom education and employment in the non-Muslim world weighed more heavily and might even be considered obligatory in some cases. Furthermore, Al-Hilālī stressed that permission to settle in non-Muslim countries was given on the condition of observing the Islamic rituals and preserving the Islamic faith. He also seems to have based his positive opinion on his own experiences in the West. This in contrast to Ibn al-‘Uthaymīn who stressed the negative effect on Muslims returning from the West who had abandoned their faith. Finally, a significant difference between Al-Hilālī and the Wahhabi scholars in general is the fact that the former does not distinguish between Western countries and most countries in which Islam is the dominant religion, whereas the latter do. In the eyes of Al-Hilālī, the only Islamic country in which ‘Authentic Islam’ was implemented was Saudi Arabia which can be considered quite a radical opinion.

¹⁶⁸Ibid..

Conclusions

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to identify the religious profile of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī (1894-1987). Despite the fact that Al-Hilālī is known as a ‘Salafī’ scholar, there are many features of his religious activities which are characteristic of him as a person. The study allows the conclusion that Al-Hilālī seems to have been a born polemicist to be drawn. Nevertheless, he could be fairly pragmatic when circumstances demanded that he be so. At times, because of these two contradictory features he revealed a certain degree of ambivalence and a number of inner struggles. In many cases, his opinions were certainly not in line with mainstream Salafism. This is nowhere more obvious than in his development of a new typology of monotheism consisting of four parts, apparently a discarding of the classical Salafī tripartite sub-division. Furthermore, unquestionably Al-Hilālī was a Salafī scholar who combined preaching with more far-reaching academic ambitions. His ambition and perseverance in teaching himself English allowed him to develop skills which provided him with new prospects and perspectives. Besides being an inveterate traveller, he was a poet and a successful writer.

1. Al-Hilālī’s Interest in Debates and Polemics With His Opponents, both Muslims and Non-Muslims. He Had Debates with Sufis, Shiites and Christians

The first feature which can be adduced which distinguishes Al-Hilālī from many other Salafī scholars is his readiness to hold frequent debates with his opponents. Al-Hilālī’s debates were both written and oral and these debates were held with different religious groups, both Muslim and non-Muslim. He challenged the Sufī brotherhoods, the Shia scholars and the Christians alike. In most cases, his debates originated with a request for a *fatwa* from a petitioner. In some cases the enquirer could even be a non-Muslim. In many cases, Al-Hilālī was not the initiator of the debate himself, but was answering a question or defending his faith and religious belief against what he had experienced as an attack.

One of Al-Hilālī’s first debates, on 12 November 1921, was with Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī and concerned the the Tijaniyya Brotherhood. The latter challenged Al-Hilālī to a theological debate (*munāzara*) on the soundness of his beliefs. Al-Hilālī later wrote that he felt he had to choose between adhering to his mystical brotherhood in ignorance and mindless imitation or taking up the gauntlet of the debate, thereby following the path of the great scholars who espoused dialectical reasoning. He chose the latter path. Actually, the

latter convinced the former that the doctrinal foundation of the Tijaniyya Order was nothing but a falsehood. Muhammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī challenged Al-Hilālī’ on the alleged fact that Aḥmad al-Tijānī, the founder of the order, had really met the Prophet and eventually convinced Al-Hilālī embraced the principles of the Salafiyya. Al-Hilālī also based his decision to turn his back on Sufism on a vision of the Prophet whom, he claimed, he had seen twice in his dreams. (Chapter 1)

Al-Hilālī’s most important written polemic with Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī (1855-1939) was on the veneration of graves in Shia Islam. It took place on 7 February 1927. Al-Hilālī compiled his answers to Al-Qazwīnī in the form of a booklet entitled *Al-Qāḍī al-‘adl fī ḥukm al-bina’ ‘ala al-qubūr*, which was published in Cairo in 1927 at the request of Rashīd Riḍā. (Chapter 2)

In Spanish Morocco in the years 1942-1947, he had many clashes with Moroccan religious scholars, among them Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1902-1962). These conflicts arose from three main issues: his open rejection of the Malīkī School, his sharp criticism of Sufism and the *fatwa* he issued on the permissibility of shaving the beard. (Chapter 5)

In 1949 Al-Hilālī studied Western works and used them in his writings. His stated goal was to employ them as a tool in a ‘counter-attack’ against non-Muslims. For instance, some Moroccan students from the University of Granada in Spain, who complained about the insults about Islam and Moroccans they had to endure from their Christian professors, requested al-Hilālī to provide them with arguments to counter and confound them. Consequently, Al-Hilālī translated and commented on the booklet by the American populist and atheist Joseph McCabe (1867- 1955), *The Moorish Civilization in Spain*, a rather superficial pamphlet, replete with sweeping statements praising the Arab civilization in Spain and refuting Christianity. (Chapter 6)

At the end of the 1960s, Al-Hilālī’s religious activities, especially those in Meknes (Morocco), once again enmeshed him in controversy. Actually, on this occasion he found himself in trouble with numerous ordinary Muslims because of his vehement attacks on the Sufī orders. Nor was he in favour with the local authorities, because he was continuously challenging the official jurisprudential and theological schools of thought, namely the Malikite School and the Asharite Creed. (Chapter 7)

Al-Hilālī’s idea of producing proofs against Christianity, using the Christian Scriptures to support a proper Islamic perception, goes back as far as the year 1930. At Christmas 1930, Al-Hilālī engaged in a debate with a young American missionary whose

name was Fred William Smith, who happened to have some knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and strongly criticized it from a biblical perspective. This debate seems to have had two consequences: firstly, Al-Hilālī became aware of the importance of foreign languages in the pursuance of his goal, so he began learning English so as to read the Bible; secondly, Al-Hilālī wrote notes in Arabic on in the margins of the Gospel of Matthew. (Chapter 3). When preparing his later polemical treatise, *Al-Barāhīn al-injīliyya*, it is obvious that Al-Hilālī was aware of the famous polemical work *Izhār al-Ḥaqq* (The Truth Revealed) by Raḥmatullāh Ibn Khalīl al-Raḥmān Al-Kīrānwī (1818-1891). Al-Hilālī replicated many of Raḥmatullāh Al-Kīrānwī's arguments, without, however, citing this source. In, Saudi Arabia, Al-Hilālī's work *Al-Barāhīn* attracted wide attention after its publication in 1973. The Saudi *mufti* Ibn Bāz ordered the publication of 20,000 copies of Al-Hilālī's *Al-Barāhīn*. (Chapter 8)

2. Al-Hilālī's Pragmatism Was Always Circumscribed By Some Boundaries Which He Never Transgressed

Pragmatism and opportunism were two characteristics which loomed large in Al-Hilālī's personal profile. They are apparent in many of the choices he made during his lifetime and in the contents of his preaching. They were unequivocally present on the occasions on which he was ready to accommodate to rules and laws prevailing in the countries in which he happened to be residing. Be that as it may, this pragmatism never overstepped certain limits he had set for himself and these limits seem to have depended on the country in which he was residing.

For instance, if we take into account the fact that in 1921 when Aḥmad Ibn al-Hājj Al-Āyyāshī Skirij (1877-1944) helped Al-Hilālī, to obtain his passport to go to Egypt by sending a letter of recommendation to the official representative of France in Cairo, it might be inferred that he had not (yet) openly condemned the Tijaniyya Order, and that, in Morocco, he had remained discreet about his earlier conversion to Salafism. Therefore, when Al-Hilālī speaks about his 'conversion' immediately after the debate he had with Ibn al-Ārabī al-Ālawī, this should be understood as a private conversion, which he initially kept to himself. This assumption is also supported by the help he received from Tijaniyya disciples during the early period of his time in Egypt. (Chapter 1). In fact, he only began openly criticizing the Tijaniyya Brotherhood during his residence in Arabia, because combating Sufism is the chief preoccupation of this country. Certainly, Ibn Bāz urged him to write a book in which he would summarize the aberrations of the Tijaniyya Order. (Chapter 3).

In 1921, in Morocco the limits of his pragmatism and opportunism were visible in his serving the interests of France and falling under the influence of the imperial power. For

instance, he was offered a post as a judge by Aḥmad Skiriji, the chairman of the judges in the district of Oujda in the west of Morocco. However, Al-Hilālī protests that he refused the post because Aḥmad Skirij would have had to consult the French inspector (*mufattish/ murāqib*) before deciding on important Islamic issues which should be judged by *Shar'a*. Al-Hilālī had noticed that Aḥmad Skirij used to meet the French observer every Saturday to inform him about all the sessions which had been held at the tribunal and to seek his advice on everything. He grew convinced that both scholars and writers had to become either the voice of the colonizer in the country or be prepared to accept punishment. (Chapter 1)

Another point which can be adduced to show Al-Hilālī's pragmatism is the fact that he obviously used to adapt his preaching to the local situation of the countries in which he was residing. In 1927, when he proclaimed Riḍā the winner of the debate with Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī and Riḍā rewarded him by sending a letter to King Ibn Sa'ūd requesting that this ruler pay him special attention and, at the request of the local authorities, Al-Hilālī re-edited his anti-Shiite booklet, *Al-Qāḍī al-'adl fī ḥukm al-bina' 'ala al-qubūr*, which he completed on the 25 August 1927. The major difference between the first version, published in Egypt, and this second, published in Arabia, is that the language of the former is moderate (*layyina*), carefully respectful, whereas the language of the latter is rather harsher and more uncompromising (*khashina*). Another alteration is the free use of insinuations, accusations and polemics in the second version. By his own admission, in Arabia there was no need to worry about how the Shi'a in Iraq would react. The geographical aspect could certainly have played a role in the choice of the language and also the position he took in debates with Shia scholars. Simultaneously, it seems that Al-Hilālī was planning to inveigle himself closer to King 'Abd al-'Azīz to whom he even dedicated a eulogistic poem. He was probably well aware that that more uncompromising language and the use of offensive words and insults would also serve his personal cause very well in (fiercely anti-Shiite) Wahhabi circles. Unquestionably Al-Hilālī also praised Arabia, because he believed that there was no land freer of polytheism than the Najd. (Chapter 2, Chapter 9)

Another occasion on which Al-Hilālī proved to be pragmatic or opportunistic occurred in 1930, when he sought the help of the French embassy to leave Saudi Arabia. His objective was to use the diplomatic mission to convince King Ibn Sa'ūd to allow him leave the kingdom. (Chapter 2)

Al-Hilālī's opportunism was undoubtedly also reflected in Nazi Germany in the 1940s, when his commitment to the Palestinian cause led him to use extremely pejorative language

against the Jews. His contribution to Nazi propaganda is well attested in his programmes in Radio Berlin (Chapter 4). In his services to the Nazi regime, he apparently saw a beckoning opportunity to strengthen his position and, at the same time, preach Salafism worldwide. (Chapter 4). However, the limits of his pragmatism seem to have been reached in 1942 when he was prevented from criticizing France. After Germany had defeated France and taken control of it, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs forbade Al-Hilālī to write anything hostile about French colonialism in Morocco or to criticize any high-ranking French representative in that country. Despite this restriction, Al-Hilālī claimed, the managing-director of Radio Berlin allowed him to say anything he liked about Britain. According to his own statement, Al-Hilālī replied that he would never again write and broadcast another article for Radio Berlin and immediately resigned. Al-Hilālī also insisted that after his resignation he never received the 12,000 Marks which Radio Berlin was supposed to pay him as his annual salary. (Chapter 5)

In 1957, Al-Hilālī's pragmatism also became apparent in Iraq, where, in order to keep his position as an *imam*, he used to make invocations for the king in Friday prayers. Al-Hilālī said that from a Salafī point of view to pray for the king was a kind of innovation, a view which he did not deny. However, he explained that if he did not pray for the king, he could not be an *imam* at Friday prayers, and neither a teacher nor preacher in the mosque. (Chapter 6)

One fact which shows Al-Hilālī's pragmatism in Saudi Arabia is that he took the context in which he was issuing his legal opinions into account. Al-Hilālī regretted that he had not been careful enough when he had re-published his article, *Ta'lim al-Banāt wa Tarbiyatuhunna* (The Teaching of Girls and Their Education) in Saudi Arabia in 1974. 'I should have changed some phrases and expressions when I decided to publish that article in the Islamic University Journal, because it is the context which defines the nature of the discourse that one has to make.' Now he said that all the arguments he had previously used in his *fatwa* on the veil should be limited to women living in countries which did not abide by the Islamic Law. Although he altered his view, Al-Hilālī never budged from his point of view opinion of the *niqāb* and on principle never agreed with the obligatory covering of women's faces. His views were so pungent that the chancellor, 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Bāz, ordered all the pages of Al-Hilālī's article, be removed from the international Islamic University Journal of Al-Madina. (Chapter 8)

3. Al-Hilālī's Disagreements With Mainstream Salafism

Al- Hilālī did not always hold the same opinions as other Salafi scholars, who were his contemporaries. In many cases , his opinions did not tally with mainstream Salafism. It goes without saying that Salafism is a fierce opponent of everything which is not based on the religious scriptures, especially in matters related to seeking help and making invocations. Nevertheless, in 1930, when Al-Hilālī happened to fall sick, he decided to write some strange invocations on pieces of paper and almond shells and burn them. (Chapter 3)

Another example which shows that Al-Hilālī sometimes contradicted Salafi teachings was his belief that it is not obligatory for Muslims to follow the sayings of the Prophet concerning *ādāb* (decorum), especially in matters related to beard growth, dressing and eating. In fact, there are many *fatwas* in the unpublished collection *Al-Fatāwā Al-Hilālīyya* in which Al-Hilālī, in contrast to many other Salafi scholars, says he does not think that shaving the beard constitutes a major sin. (Chapter 2, Chapter 5). However, years later, on 12 April 1969, at his home in Al-Madīna, in Saudi Arabia, he stated that,

The aim of all the comments I have made on the issue of the beard was to combat the polytheists and repress them [the Sufi people]; however, my opinion is unsound. The right opinion is to follow the *Sunna* of the Prophet and to comply with his commands, be they in the articles of faith, the obligations, the morals or in the customs related to a person's innate state. Accordingly, I repudiate the comments I made a long time ago. I believe the truth must be accepted: a Muslim must let the beard grow, trim his moustache and make plain his distinction from disbelievers. (Chapter 9).

Once again it should be emphasized that his opinion about the *niqāb* was not in accordance with mainstream Salafism or Wahhabism, as he did not accept the more stringent Wahhabi opinion which obliged women to cover their face and hands.(Chapter 8)

Finally, a significant difference between Al-Hilālī and the Wahhabi scholars was the fact that he allowed Muslims to *live* in the non-Muslim world. In espousing this view, Al-Hilālī disagreed with most his Salafi scholars, notably with those with whom he had close contact such as Ibn Baz and Al-Uthaymīn. Al-Hilālī did not make a distinction between Western countries and most countries in which Islam was the dominant religion, whereas most Salafi scholars certainly did. In the eyes of Al-Hilālī the only Islamic country in which 'Authentic' Islam had been implemented was Saudi Arabia, which can be considered as quite a radical opinion. (Chapter 9)

4. Al-Hilālī's Ambivalence and Inner Contradictions

On some occasions, the position which Al-Hilālī chose to take could be marked by ambivalence and contradiction. After leaving Saudi Arabia in 1930, Al-Hilālī continued spreading the Salafiyya message in his travels in India, Afghanistan and Iraq, criticizing any belief which contradicted its principles. Nevertheless, he was not always consistent in abiding by the teachings of Salafism which he so vigorously promoted. For instance, when he went to Afghanistan in 1352/1934 and fell ill with malaria, he was so frantic that he decided to submit to a strange treatment which he said he had had to resort to in his 'Time of Ignorance' (before his conversion). He decided to write invocations on pieces of paper and almond shells and burn them. Surprisingly, his fever receded, something Al-Hilālī could not explain. Al-Hilālī states that he was obliged to use this method to ease the pain he was suffering. (Chapter 3).

Another example of his ambivalence is the fact that he mingled his anti-colonial feelings with Nazi propaganda, which even led him to deny the fact that Hitler also had a colonial and imperialistic agenda. Even when fighting colonial powers (France and Britain), he was supporting another colonial power. (Chapter 4).

During the war, the Spanish Governor-General in North Morocco assigned him, in Al-Hilālī's own words, a worthy position which could only be awarded to such senior scholars as Mudīr Khizānat Ma'had al-Bāḥithīn (Director of the Library of the Institute of Researchers), and gave him a salary of 300 Pesetas. Over and above this, Al-Hilālī also received a 500 Peseta salary from the Ministry of *Awqāf*. One does wonder how Al-Hilālī could accept such a salary from the official religious authorities, while he was an openly fierce opponent of the Mālikī School. (Chapter 5)

A final illustration of Al-Hilālī's ambivalence is the fact that he praised both King Muhammad V [1909-1961] and King Ḥasan II (1929-1999) for their Salafism and their support for the Qurān and the *Sunna*. This despite the fact that Hassan II was known to be a fierce and open defender of the Malikī doctrine and to encourage Sufi ceremonies, especially the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet, which Al-Hilālī considered heretical.

(Introduction)

5. A Forerunner of *Fiqh al-Aqaliyyāt* (*Fiqh of Muslim minorities*)?

Al-Hilālī's *fatwas* related to questions about Muslim minorities in Western Europe are very interesting sources in the light of the ongoing Islamic discussions about these minorities. Moreover, they also enable us to understand the development of Al-Hilālī's thought. It is highly likely that having lived in Germany for some time had had an impact on Al-Hilālī as

far as the issue of residence in the West was concerned. In 1938, during his time in Germany, Al-Hilālī clearly stated that staying in Europe was only permitted in Islam *out of necessity*. Nevertheless, in his *fatwas* from the sixties, he did permit Muslims to *live* in the non-Muslim world. He challenged those persons who claimed that it was not permissible to travel to and reside in non-Islamic countries to provide relevant proof of their assertions. Despite this lenience, he did not allow a Muslim to apply for the citizenship of non-Muslim countries by stating that: he who holds the nationality of a Muslim country which governs according to the *Sharia* and chooses to be naturalized in a country which does not govern according to *Sharia* law is indeed sinful. Al-Hilālī's reasoning was that when applying for citizenship of non-Muslim country, a Muslim would have to declare his loyalty to a non-Muslim country and abide by its laws. However, this naturalization did not automatically make him an infidel. (Chapter 9)

6. Al-Hilālī's Interest in Foreign Languages, Notably English

Al-Hilālī learned English from a Christian missionary in the Indian city of Lucknow where he lived until the end of 1933. It was during this period that his awareness of the necessity of learning foreign languages was raised. He argued that learning European languages was necessary to Muslims if they were to defend their religion. (Chapter 3) As a forerunner in the field of Muslim Minority *Fiqh*, Al-Hilālī argued that learning European languages was essential to Muslims for three reasons: first it was a means for the *umma* to serve God better in the modern age; second, it would allow Muslims to read the labels on their imported Western medicine, or to know the real content of imported food; third, it would put them in a position to defend Islam most effectively. (Chapter 6).

One aspect of the Qadyāni sect Al-Hilālī deeply admired was that they used different languages to spread their faith and to this they owed the success of their predication in both the East and the West. Al-Hilālī claimed that because of their good English, the Ahmadiya disciples were able to bring Islam to the attention of many Westerners who had previously known nothing about it. (Chapter 3)

7. Al-Hilālī's Doctoral Studies and His Academic Career

Al-Hilālī was a Salafī scholar who combined preaching with secular academic ambitions. His academic life was linked to his proselytism. He believed that by holding a degree from Europe he would be in a position to command authority in the Islamic world and to spread 'Authentic Islam'. So, with the help of Shakīb Arslān, Al-Hilālī went to study in Germany where he was awarded his PhD. While he was there, he had the chance to get close to some

great figures of German Orientalism such as Paul Khale. In fact, Al- Hilālī's academic life might be described as rich and particular. Its particularity derived from the fact that he was allowed to follow his post-graduate studies in Germany without even having obtained a BA degree, a circumstance in which Shakīb Arsalān played an important role. In fact, there is a possibility that he might even have been recruited to serve the Nazi propaganda in return for being able to complete his doctoral studies. (Chapter 4)

The richness of his academic career arose from the fact that he took up different academic positions throughout his life. In late 1927, Al-Hilālī was appointed a lecturer at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. (Chapter 2). In September 1930, in India, he had even been appointed dean of the Arabic Literature Department (Chapter 3). In 1936 he was both a student and a lecturer at the University of Bonn. (Chapter 4) In 1954, Al-Hilālī was invited to be a guest lecturer at the University of Bonn. Besides these posts, he was Professor at to the Faculty of Education of Queen 'Alia University in Baghdad, where he remained professor until 1959. (Chapter 6) In 1959, Al-Hilālī lectured at Muḥammad V University, in Rabat. He taught Arabic language and Arabic literature and in 1964, the Minister of *Habous* and Islamic affairs, Aḥmad Bargash appointed Al-Hilālī professor of Quranic exegesis and *Hadith* at the newly founded *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥasaniyya* in Rabat. (Chapter 7). From 1968 to 1974, Al-Hilālī served as professor of Islamic faith at the Islamic University in Medina. (Chapter 8)

8. Al-Hilālī as a Worldwide Traveller

One of the characteristics which makes Al-Hilālī a singular Salafī scholar was his willingness to travel worldwide. In many cases, his residence in the countries (Algeria , Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia ,India , Afghanistan, Germany and Spanish Morocco) in which he would decide to stay was relatively short. Frequently, the main reason for leaving the countries in which he was living was his disagreements with either the local authorities or the local scholars of the other schools of thought. (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9)

9. Al-Hilālī as a Man of Letters

The religious life of Al-Hilālī and his continuous involvement in preaching did not prevent him from enjoying an interest-packed literary life. In fact, Al-Hilālī was both a poet and a writer.

Al-Hilālī was appointed the director of the Arabic journal *Al-Diyā'*, which was indeed a kind of symposium through which to communicate with other Muslims and make the *Nadwat al-'Ulamā'* better known to the Arab world. *Al-Diyā'* also became a channel through which Al-Hilālī could preach his Salafī ideas. Published from 1932 to 1935, the magazine

discussed the ideals of the Salafiyya. Al-Hilālī sent copies of the journal to his mentor, Rashīd Ridā, who reprinted its first edition in *Al-Manār*. (Chapter 3). During the period he lived in Germany he was strenuously engaged in propagating anti-colonial ideas and Salafism, among other methods through the Salafī journal *Al-Fath* of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (1886-1969). (Chapter 4)

During his time in Germany Al-Hilālī collaborated with Paul Kahle in the translation of *Kitāb al-Buldān (The countries' Book)* written by Al-Faqīh al-Baghdādī, and *Tayf al-Khayal* (Pleasant Fantasy), written by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl al-Kaḥḥāl (1248 – 1311). (Chapter 4)

In 1946 he established the Salafī journal *Lisān al-Dīn* in the city of Tetouan. In it he used to publish political articles criticizing the British and the French colonial policies in the region (Chapter 5). During the post-Independence period from 1960 to 1968, he wrote numerous articles in the official Islamic magazine of Morocco, *Da'wat al-Haqq*. (Chapter 7)

In Al-Hilālī's family archive, there is an unpublished *Collection of Poems*, which he entitled *Minḥat al-Kabīr al-Muta'ālī fī Diwān Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī* (The Gift of the Great and Transcendent [Allāh] in the *Diwan* of Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī). In this unpublished collection of poems Al-Hilālī describes his travels to different countries and cities, and his suffering and patience in overcoming adversity, fired by his purpose of being able to guide people on the Straight Path. (Introduction , Chapter 9).

10. Al-Hilālī's Typology of Monotheism: Oneness of Observance

One of the subjects which clearly characterizes Al-Hilālī and distinguishes his doctrine from that of most other Salafīs is his conception of monotheism. He developed a new typology of monotheism consisting of four parts, instead of the classical Salafī tripartite sub-division: *Tawḥīd al-Rubūbiyya* (the Oneness of Lordship), *Tawḥīd al-Ulūhiyya* also known as *Tawḥīd al-'Ubudiyya* (the Oneness of Worship) and *Tawḥīd al-Ṣifāt* (the Oneness of Attributes). To these three, Al-Hilālī added *Tawḥīd al-Ittibā'* (the Oneness of Observance). With the *first* type: the Oneness of Lordship, Al Hilālī meant that one must strongly believe in Allāh as the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth and, the movement as well as the stillness they contain. Al Hilālī went on to mention that whoever believes that somebody else can create something whose weight equals that of one atom, or less is a disbeliever. With the *second* type Al Hilālī indicated that a servant of Allāh must not turn away from Him, be it in his worship or in his supplication, in his appeals for help, when he seeks refuge with Him, in his secret fear, in asking people to help him do things that only Allāh can do, in his hope, or in his trust. The

third type, meant for Al-Hilālī that a Muslim should describe his Lord only by using the Attributes God has given to Himself in His Book, or the Attributes His Messenger has used to describe Him in his *ḥadīth*. The *fourth* type: the Oneness of Observance, meant that in his religion a Muslim should follow none but the revelation, namely the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* of the Prophet and his Companions, and the scholars who came after them, because they are transmitters and not lawmakers. Al-Hilālī pointed out that making laws is specific to Allāh, whereas the mission of his Messenger is to convey Allāh's Message. The Prophet's companions and the reliable scholars who succeeded them have conveyed His teachings to us. However, nothing is admitted in religion without evidence from either the *Qur'ān* or the *Sunna*, whereby matters which comply with them will be accepted, and matters which do not comply with them will be refuted. (Chapter 8 and Chapter 9).

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4. Interviews with Students of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī

1. With al-Hilālī's grandson Mr. 'Abd al-Ghānī Muḥammad Būzakrī , in the Moroccan city of Meknes, on 11 August 2010.
2. With Mr. 'Alī al-Rayṣūnī , at his house in the Moroccan city of Chefchaouen, on 9 August 2011.
3. With Dr Muḥammad al-Dar'āwī , in the Moroccan city of Meknes, on 11 August 2011.
4. With Dr Zīn al-'Abidīn Balafrij, during his visit to the Netherlands, The Hague, on 23 December 2011.
5. With Shaykh Dr 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maghrawī, at his house in Marrakesh, Morocco, on 8 August 2012.

Summary

This study is an examination of the religious profile of Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī (1894-1987) as it evolved throughout the various periods of his life. It pays special attention to his writings which were directed to larger audiences, concentrating in particular on his *fatwas* which often took the form of public debates and polemics. Several of these smaller publications have gone through a series of reprints and enjoyed wide, international distribution, occasionally subsidized by rich friends or by the Saudi government.

The numerous printed writings from Al-Hilālī's hand have been the main primary sources of the research. The study of these primary sources and many other contemporary printed materials has occasionally been deepened by looking at unpublished documents in Al-Hilālī's private archive in Morocco, and by personal interviews with Al-Hilālī's grandson, 'Abd al-Ghāni Būzakrī, and with his most influential Moroccan students who are still alive, and now belong to the older generation.

The study commences with an introduction, beginning with a discussion of the *Origins of the Salafiyya in Morocco*, in order to enable the reader to understand and place Al-Hilālī and his conversion to Salafism in a chain of a longer historical tradition in Morocco, stretching back to the early nineteenth century.

In this study, 'Authentic' Islam, in Al-Hilālī's conception of it, is analysed. Al-Hilālī does not refer to the term *Salafiyya*, nor does he accept the use of the term *Wahhābīyya*. He rejected both these on the grounds that they were extrinsic words introduced by people hostile to Islam. The term 'Authentic' Islam is used by Al-Hilālī in his works when he wishes to refer to the 'genuine' essence of Islam which had come down from the early days of Islam and has not been affected by intrusive cultural aspects. (§1). This discussion is followed by a survey of *Previous Studies on Al-Hilālī's Life and Thought*. (§2). In the conclusion, the *Research Question, Focus and Sources* are presented. (§3). Besides this introductory chapter, the other nine chapters are divided as follows.

The *first chapter* offers a brief sketch of the formative period of Al-Hilālī's convictions and deals with the religious turning-point in his life. This chapter pays special attention to the debate which Al-Hilālī had with Muhammad ibn al-'Arabī al-'Alawī (d.1964). This was pivotal to his religious life. In fact, the latter convinced him that the doctrinal foundation of the Tijaniyya Order was nothing but a falsehood. Muḥammad ibn al-

‘Arabī al-‘Alawī challenged Al-Hilālī’ to defend the fact that Aḥmad al-Tijānī, the founder of the Order, had really met the Prophet. In his book, *Al-Hadiyya al-Hādiya ilā al-Ṭā’ifa al-Tijāniyya* (The Guiding Gift to the Tijaniyya Order), Al-Hilālī’ also bases his decision to turn his back on Sufism on a vision of the Prophet whom, he claimed, he had seen twice in his dreams. In Al-Hilālī’s eyes, seeing the Prophet was the central theme both in his acceptance of Salafism and his repudiation of Sufism. Therefore, on the evidence of his own words, it is possible to claim that the way Al-Hilālī had interpreted these dreams was very subjective and not well founded

In the *second chapter*, Al-Hilālī’s attitudes are examined in the light of his early missionary work in Egypt and elsewhere. This chapter is dedicated to the debates he had with ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Kāzimi (1871-1935) and Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī (1855-1939). Al-Hilālī later incorporated his answers to Al-Qazwīnī in the form of a booklet entitled *Al-Qāḍī al-‘adl fī ḥukm al-bina’ ‘ala al-qubūr*, which was published in Cairo in 1927 at the behest of Rashīd Riḍā. In Arabia, Al-Hilālī re-edited his booklet of the same title on the 25 August 1927. This chapter discusses the differences between the first version, published in Egypt, and this second, published in Arabia. For instance, in Al-Hilālī’s own words he used a moderate (*layyina*) language in the first version, whereas in the version published in Arabia he had no hesitation in adopting more uncompromising language (*khashina*) because, as he said, in Arabia there was no need to worry about how the Shi’a in Iraq would react. The King ordered Chief Judge Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan to print and distribute a thousand copies immediately. In Saudi Arabia, during the period between 1927 and 1930, among other the offices he held, Al-Hilālī acted as an expert advisor for the Wahhabis in matters concerning Shiism and mysticism, as well as in scientific matters, namely: the issue of whether the Earth was round or flat. In the 1920s, the differences in religious points of views between the ‘*ulama*’ of the Najd, who followed the *madhhab* of Imam Ibn Ḥanbal, and Al-Hilālī who saw himself as an independent scholar were already clearly in evidence.

Chapter Three deals with the first steps in Al-Hilālī’s international preaching. In 1932, at the request of Mr Sulayman al-Nadawī (d.1953), Al-Hilālī established an Arabic journal named *Al-Diyā’* in Luknow in India. *Al-Diyā’* became a channel through which he could preach his views on Islam. Incidentally, the foundation of this journal allowed him to put into practice some of the religious convictions to which he had adhered to before his conversion to ‘Authentic’ Islam. For instance, he openly stated that shaving the beard was not a sin, and that the covering of a woman’s face was not compulsory. His radical views resulted in his

temporary dismissal from the *Nadwat al-'Ulamā'* in Luknow. During the time he spent in India, he also learned English from a Christian missionary, as he had realized that learning a foreign language was of great importance to being in a position to defend his faith. In this chapter in India, Al-Hilālī's evolving ideas about the Qadyāniyya sect and its growing success will also be discussed. He published three articles on the Qadyāniyya. Interestingly, his views on this religious community were not consistent as these three articles bear witness. In the first article, he sought to give reasons for the existence of the Qadyāniyya, praising its members for bringing Islam into focus in the West. Nevertheless, in his second article, he openly stated that the Qadyāniyya disciples were unbelievers, basing his opinion on the article by Abū al-Makārim in the magazine *Al-Fatḥ*. In his third article, Al-Hilālī was trying to understand why many people could so easily accept the heresies of the Al-Qadyāniyya sect. He reached the conclusion that the major reason for its unquestioning acceptance was people's ignorance of Arabic. Special attention will be paid to his *fatwa* entitled *Al-Isfār 'an al-ḥaqq fī mas'alat al-sufūr wa-l-ḥijāb* (Uncovering the truth about covering and uncovering the hands and the face) which dealt with a crucial issue at that time.

Chapter Four discusses Al-Hilālī's activities during the time he spent in Germany. Al-Hilālī himself says that the reason he travelled to Europe, even though he had reached the age of forty, was to obtain a university degree so as to be able to find a job at an Asian or African university. There is a strong possibility that Al-Hilālī was recruited by Shakīb Arslān to work for the Nazi regime in exchange for a postgraduate position in Germany. This chapter focuses on the *fatwas* he issued during his time in Germany. Special attention will be devoted to the approximately thirty-five talks (in Arabic), Al-Hilālī gave on Radio Berlin in the period 1939 to 1941. His main aim was to illustrate the crimes committed by the French, British and Jewish colonial powers and to preach *jihād* against them.

Chapter Five begins with a discussion of the reason for Al-Hilālī's departure from Germany in 1942 and his vicissitudes thereafter in Spanish Morocco. The most probable reason that he left Germany can be found in his private archive. Once Germany had defeated France and began collaborating with the Vichy government, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs forbade Al-Hilālī to write anything hostile about French colonialism in Morocco. Al-Hilālī replied that he would never again write another new talk for Radio Berlin and resigned forthwith. Al-Hilālī claims that after his resignation, he never received the 12,000 Marks which Radio Berlin was supposed to pay him as his annual salary. There are solid grounds for thinking that when Hajj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī (1893-1974) noticed that Al-Hilālī was in distress in

Nazi Germany and decided to leave the country, he asked Al-Hilālī to accomplish a mission for him in Morocco. The purpose was to deliver an ‘oral message’ (*risāla shafawiyya*) to ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Ṭurrays (d.1970), the leader of the *Hizb al-Islāh al-Waṭanī* (the Party for National Reform). Besides the confrontation Al-Hilālī had with Spain, this chapter discusses his conflicts with many Moroccan scholars, among them Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1902-1962). These disputes arose from three main issues: his open rejection of the Malīkī School, his sharp criticism of Sufism and the *fatwa* he issued on the permissibility of shaving the beard. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq wondered how Al-Hilālī could pretend to implement the *Sunna* when he believed that shaving the beard was not compulsory. Consequently, a large part of this chapter will be devoted to Al-Hilālī’s *fatwa* on the ruling of Islām about shaving the beard. In it, he does not consider a Muslim’s refusal to grow a beard to represent a major sin.

Chapter Six discusses Al-Hilālī time in Iraq, where he had settled from 1947 to 1959. Al-Hilālī studied Western works and exploited them in his writings. His motivation in using such studies was also to fulfil his aim of pursuing *Da‘wa* (Islamic Mission) and to use them as a tool in a ‘counter attack’ against non-Muslims. For instance, some Moroccan students from the University of Granada in Spain, complained to him about the offensive attack launched by Christian professors against Islam and Moroccans and requested Al-Hilālī to provide them with arguments to repudiate these slights. Consequently, Al-Hilālī translated and commented on the booklet by the American polymath and atheist Joseph McCabe (1867- 1955), *The Moorish Civilization in Spain*, a rather superficial pamphlet containing many sweeping statements praising the Arab civilization in Spain and refuting Christianity. His Arabic version of the booklet was published in Iraq in December 1949 with the help of a friend. It is the main subject of this chapter. For a further critical evaluation of Al-Hilālī’s work, we can refer to the work of Shakīb Arslān Shakīb Arslān, *Al-Hulal al-Sundusiyya fī al-Akhhbār al-Andalusiyya*, published in the year 1936, and his work entitled *The New Islamic World* published in 1921. In comparison with this scholarly undertaking, the value of Al-Hilālī’s work is very limited.

Chapter Seven shows how Al-Hilālī was able to lead an active intellectual and religious life in Morocco after Independence. This chapter also reveals how Al-Hilālī turned his back on Sufism, the Malikite School and Ash‘arism and all other elements of the most popular and widespread manifestations of Moroccan Islam. Often, the religious activities he undertook, especially those in Meknes, turned out to be controversial. Actually, he found himself in trouble with ordinary Muslims because he of his vehement attacks on the Sufi

orders. He was also in hot water with the local authorities, as he was untiring in challenging the official jurisprudential and theological schools of thought, namely the Maliki School and the Asharite Creed. During this period, Al-Hilālī became involved in a discussion about the affair of the Baha'īs in Morocco. His ensuing *fatwa*, *Ḥukm al-murtadd fī al-Islām* (The Ruling on the Apostate in Islam) is discussed in detail within the wider context of contemporary Moroccan history. The legal opinion handed down by Al-Hilālī shows some distinctive features that can be summarized as follows: firstly, in giving his *fatwa*, he limited himself to religious texts, and hence pays no attention to either Moroccan or international law; secondly, he dismissed the tribunal which handed down the sentence against the Baha'īs for not being an Islamic court.

In *Chapter Eight*, the extent to which Al-Hilālī's religious profile was affected by his time in Saudi Arabia is examined and assessed. In this chapter his difference in views with the Saudi religious establishment is discussed. As will be shown, Al-Hilālī did not accept the more stringent Wahhabi opinion which obliges women to cover their face and hands. His view on the necessity for a woman to cover her face is a pertinent example illustrating the conflict in which he was embroiled with the Saudi scholars. Nevertheless, Al-Hilālī's collaboration with Muḥsin Khān on the translation of the *Meanings of the Noble Qur'an* in English shows that he was eager not to contradict the Saudi authorities, even though he had provided many arguments from the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* to substantiate the view according to which a Muslim woman may disclose her hands and her face. This is also a very good example of the way in which Al-Hilālī took into account the individual differences between people and places when he was issuing his legal opinion. This chapter also discusses Al-Hilālī's very successful *fatwa* entitled *Al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya* (The Evangelical Proofs that Jesus Is a Human Being and Has No Share in Divinity). Al-Hilālī was interested in providing irrefutable arguments to challenge Christians, showing that they were wrong and therefore must be recognized as infidels because they attribute a divine status to a prophet. In 1975, Al-Hilālī became blind and decided to return to Morocco.

Chapter Nine offers a brief sketch of the final phase in Al-Hilālī's life and his religious profile based on the unpublished collection of *fatwas* entitled *al-'Uyūn al-Ẓilāliyya fī Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya* 'The Albuminous Water Sources of the Hilalian Fatwas' which he had begun in 1960 and finished in September 1976. In this concluding chapter, the scope of this work will be discussed on the basis of: (1) the kind of people who were asking the questions; (2) Al-Hilālī's methodology; (3). In this chapter, I have selected one *fatwa* of special

historical interest for a somewhat detailed discussion. This *fatwa* is related to the question whether Muslims are permitted to live in the non-Muslim world; (4) This is an issue Al-Hilālī addressed at various intervals during his long and fruitful life, for the first time in 1938, from Germany (see Chapter 4). He allowed Muslims to live in Europe, but prohibited them to apply for citizenship of non-Muslim countries, as they would have to declare their loyalty to a non-Muslim country and abide by its (non-Islamic) laws. Al-Hilālī's views are compared to the convictions of two prominent Saudi *muftis* on the same issue. One of the matters which most clearly characterized Al-Hilālī and distinguished his doctrine from that of most other Salafis was his conception of monotheism and this is also discussed in this chapter. He developed a new typology of monotheism consisting of four parts, instead of the classical Salafī tripartite sub-division: *Tawḥīd al-Rubūbiyya* (the Oneness of Lordship), *Tawḥīd al-Ulūhiyya* also known as *Tawḥīd al-'ubudiyya* (the Oneness of Worship), and *Tawḥīd al-Ṣifāt* (the Oneness of Attributes). To these three, Al-Hilālī added *Tawḥīd al-ittibā'* (Oneness of Observance).

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to identify the religious profile of Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī [1894-1987], despite the fact that Al-Hilālī is known as a Salafī scholar there are many features which make him unique to some extent. (Compare my Conclusions at the end of this thesis).

(1) Al-Hilālī's interest in engaging in debates and polemics with his opponents both Muslims and non-Muslims. He had debates with Sufis, Shiites, and Christians.

(2) Al-Hilālī's admitted pragmatism and opportunism were always circumscribed by some boundaries which he never transgresses.

(3) Al-Hilālī's disagreement with mainstream Salafism as he certainly did not always have the same opinions as those Salafī scholars hold. In many cases, his opinions were not in accordance with mainstream Salafism.

(4) On some occasions, the position which Al-Hilālī took could be fraught with ambivalence and contradiction.

(5) Al-Hilālī considered learning foreign languages an Islamic commandment.

(6) Al-Hilālī was a Salafī scholar who combined preaching with academic ambitions. His academic life was linked to his proselytism. He believed that by holding a degree from Europe he could be able to command authority in the Islamic world and to spread 'Authentic' Islam.

(7) One of the features which makes Al-Hilālī a 'global' Salafī scholar was his far-reaching travels and his activities in each of the countries in which he sojourned temporarily.

(8) The religious life of Al-Hilālī and his continuous involvement in preaching did not prevent him from having an interesting literary life. In fact, Al-Hilālī can be counted both a poet and a writer.

(9) One of the matters which most clearly characterized Al-Hilālī and distinguished his doctrine from that of most other Salafis was his conception of monotheism. He developed a new typology of monotheism consisting of four parts, instead of the classical Salafī tripartite sub-division: *Tawḥīd al-Rubūbiyya* (the Oneness of Lordship), *Tawḥīd al-Ulūhiyya* also known as *Tawḥīd al-'ubudiyya* (the Oneness of Worship), and *Tawḥīd al-Ṣifāt* (the Oneness of Attributes). To these three, Al-Hilālī added *Tawḥīd al-ittibā'* (Oneness of Observance).

Finally, the ultimate goal of this study has been reached, namely to deepen the understanding of the personal religious profile of this remarkable twentieth-century preacher of 'Authentic' Islam within the wider spectrum of the prevailing currents of Salafism and Wahhabism in the same period.

I believe that Salafism is an interesting area for research which continues to fascinate historians. The information provided in this study will help them to understand certain behavioural aspects of Salafists and those who champion 'Authentic' Islam. Finally, I hope that this study will also be an incentive for specialists in the field of Islamic studies to conduct more research into Salafism in the West in the twenty-first century.

Samenvatting

Deze studie is een verkenning van Taqī al-Dīn Al-Hilālī's [1894-1987] religieuze profiel zoals dit tijdens de verschillende periodes van zijn leven is geëvolueerd, in het bijzonder in zijn geschriften die op een groter publiek waren gericht. Hierbij wordt met name aandacht besteed aan zijn *fatwas* welke vaak de vorm aannamen van publieke debatten en polemieken. Verscheidene van deze kleinere publicaties zijn meerdere malen herdrukt en werden internationaal op grote schaal gedistribueerd, incidenteel gesubsidieerd door vrienden van de Saudische regering.

De talrijke gedrukte geschriften van Al-Hilālī's hand vormen de belangrijkste primaire bronnen van het onderzoek. De studie hiervan werd verdiept door ongepubliceerde documenten uit Al-Hilālī's privé-archief in Marokko, en door persoonlijke interviews met Al-Hilālī's kleinzoon, 'Abd al-Ghāni Būzakrī en zijn meest invloedrijke nog in leven zijnde Marrokaanse studenten, die vandaag de dag tot de oudere generatie behoren.

De studie vangt aan met een introductie, beginnend met een discussie over de oorsprong van het Salafisme in Marokko, ten einde de lezer in staat te stellen om Al-Hilālī en zijn bekering tot het Salafisme als onderdeel van een langere historische traditie in Marokko, welke teruggaat tot het begin van de negentiende eeuw, te kunnen plaatsen.

In deze studie wordt de 'Authentieke' Islam volgens Al-Hilālī geanalyseerd. Al-Hilālī refereert niet naar de term *Salafiyya*, noch accepteert hij het gebruik van de term *Wahhābīyya*. Hij wees dit af op grond dat dit termen betreft die door de vijanden van de Islam zouden zijn geïntroduceerd. De term 'Authentieke' Islam wordt door Al-Hilālī in zijn geschriften gebruikt als een referentie naar de 'daadwerkelijke' essentie van de Islam welke afkomstig is uit de begindagen van de Islam en niet door cultuur is beïnvloed. (§1). Deze discussie zal worden gevolgd door een onderzoek naar Voorgaande Studies over *Al-Hilālī's leven en Denken* (§2). Tenslotte zullen *Onderzoeksvraag, Focus en Bronnen* (§3) worden geschetst. Naast dit inleidende hoofdstuk wordt de stof behandeld in de volgende negen hoofdstukken.

Het *eerste hoofdstuk* biedt een korte schets van de formatieve periode van Al-Hilālī's overtuigingen en handelt over het religieus keerpunt in Al-Hilālī's leven. Dit hoofdstuk besteedt speciale aandacht aan het debat dat Al-Hilālī voerde met Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī al-'Alawī (d.1964), dat het keerpunt in zijn religieuze leven vertegenwoordigt. Het was laatstgenoemde die Al-Hilālī overtuigde dat het fundament van de leerstellingen van de Tijaniyya Orde enkel leugens betrof. Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī al-'Alawī daagde Al-Hilālī uit

om de doctrine dat Aḥmad al-Tijānī, de oprichter van de Orde, de Profeet daadwerkelijk had ontmoet, te verdedigen. In zijn boek *al-Hadiyya al-Hādiya ilā al-Ṭā'ifa al-Tijāniyya* (Het leidinggevende geschenk aan de Tijaniyya Orde), fundeert hij tevens zijn besluit om het Soefisme de rug toe te keren op basis van een visioen van de Profeet die hij claimde deze tweemaal in zijn dromen te hebben gezien. In Al-Hilālī's ogen was het zien van de Profeet een centraal thema, zowel in zijn acceptatie als in zijn afwijzing van het Soefisme. Het is daarom dat kan worden gesteld dat de manier waarop Al-Hilālī zijn dromen interpreteerde wel zeer subjectief was.

In het tweede hoofdstuk, zullen Al-Hilālī's houdingen in het licht van zijn vroege missionaire werk in Egypte en elders worden onderzocht. Dit hoofdstuk is gewijd aan het debat dat hij voerde met 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Kāzimi (1871-1935) en Al-Mahdī al-Qazwīnī (1855-1939). Al-Hilālī schreef zijn antwoorden in de vorm van een brochure getiteld *al-Qāḍī al-'adl fī ḥukm al-bina' 'ala al-qubūr* (De rechtvaardige rechter in het oordeel van het bouwen op graven), die in Cairo in 1927 werd gepubliceerd op verzoek van Rashīd Riḍā. In Arabië bewerkte hij zijn brochure die hij met dezelfde titel op 25 augustus 1927 uitgaf. Dit hoofdstuk zal ingaan op de verschillen tussen de eerste versie die in Egypte is gepubliceerd en de versie die in Arabië is gepubliceerd. Waar Al-Hilālī zich in zijn eigen woorden in de eerste versie bediende van gematigd (*lawayna*) taalgebruik maakt hij in de versie die in Arabië werd gepubliceerd meer gebruik van onverbiddelijke (*khashina*) taal, omdat hij zei dat het in Arabië niet nodig was zich zorgen te maken over hoe de Shi'ieten in Irak zouden reageren. De koning van Arabië gaf aan de Hoogste Rechter, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan, de opdracht om onmiddellijk duizend exemplaren te drukken en te distribueren. In Saudi Arabië, in de periode tussen 1927 en 1930, trad Al-Hilālī onder andere op als adviseur voor de Wahhabi's betreffende kwesties op het gebied van Shiïsme en mystiek, alsook binnen het domein van wetenschappelijke kwesties, namelijk: de vraag of de aarde rond of plat was. In de jaren twintig van de twintigste eeuw was het verschil in religieuze opvattingen tussen de 'ulama' van de Najd, welke de madhhab van Imam Ibn Ḥanbal volgden en Al-Hilālī welke zichzelf als een onafhankelijke geleerde beschouwde, reeds zichtbaar.

Hoofdstuk drie handelt over de eerste stappen van Al-Hilālī's internationale prediking. In 1932, op verzoek van Sulayman al-Nadawī (d.1953), richtte Al-Hilālī een Arabisch tijdschrift op genaamd *al-Diyā'*. *Al-Diyā'* werd een instrument waarmee hij zijn islamitische opvattingen kon prediken. Incidenteel stelde de oprichting van dit tijdschrift hem in staat om enkele van de religieuze overtuigingen welke hij aanhing voor zijn bekering tot de

‘Authentieke Islam’ in praktijk te brengen. Zo stelde hij bijvoorbeeld openlijk dat het scheren van de baard geen zonde was, terwijl het bedekken van het gezicht van de vrouw volgens hem niet verplicht was. Voorgaande leidde tot zijn tijdelijke afwijzing door de *Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’*. Gedurende de tijd die hij in India doorbracht leerde hij ook Engels van een Christelijke missionaris, aangezien hij zich had gerealiseerd dat het leren van een vreemde taal van groot belang was om zijn geloof te verdedigen. In dit hoofdstuk zullen Al-Hilālī’s evoluerende ideeën over de Qadyāniyya secte en haar toenemend succes worden besproken. Hij publiceerde, in 1933, drie artikelen over de Qadyāniyya. In deze drie artikelen spreidde hij niet altijd dezelfde mening over deze gemeenschap ten toon. In het eerste artikel probeerde hij de redenen voor het bestaan van deze orde aan te tonen waarbij hij hen prees voor het onder de aandacht brengen van de Islam in het Westen. In het tweede artikel stelde hij echter openlijk dat de volgelingen van de Qadyāniyya ongelovigen waren. Voor zijn opinie baseerde hij zich op het artikel van Abū al-Makārim in het tijdschrift al-Fath. In zijn derde artikel probeerde Al-Hilālī te begrijpen waarom veel mensen de ketterijen van de Qadyāniyya sekte gemakkelijk accepteerden. Volgens hem was de belangrijkste reden hiervoor onwetendheid betreffende de Arabische taal. Speciale aandacht zal in dit hoofdstuk worden besteed aan zijn *fatwa* getiteld *Al-Isfār ‘an al-ḥaqq fī mas’alat al-sufūr wa-l-ḥijāb (Het onthullen van de waarheid over het bedekken en onthullen van de handen en het gezicht)*.

Hoofdstuk vier gaat in op Al-Hilālī’s activiteiten tijdens zijn verblijf in Duitsland. Volgens Al-Hilālī was de enige reden waarom hij na zijn veertigste naar Europa reisde, het verkrijgen van een universitaire graad om daarmee een baan te kunnen krijgen aan een Aziatische of Afrikaanse universiteit. Hoogstwaarschijnlijk werd hij gerekruteerd door de Shakīb Arslān, om langs de voorbereidende weg van een postdoctorale positie, uiteindelijk voor het nazi-regime te werken. Dit hoofdstuk richt zich ook op de *fatwas* die hij opstelde gedurende zijn verblijf in Duitsland. Speciale aandacht zal worden gewijd aan de circa vijfendertig toespraken (in het Arabisch) welke hij gaf op Radio Berlijn in de periode tussen 1939 en 1941. Zijn voornaamste doel was om de misdaden van de Franse, Britse en Joodse koloniale machten te belichten en om *jihād* tegen hen te prediken.

Hoofdstuk vijf begint met een discussie over de reden van Al-Hilālī’s vertrek uit Duitsland in 1942 en zijn perikelen in Spaans Marokko. Het ligt het meest voor de hand dat de voornaamste reden dat hij Duitsland verliet in zijn privéarchief kan worden aangetroffen. Toen Duitsland Frankrijk versloeg en ging samenwerken met de Vichy regering, het Duitse Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken verbood Al-Hilālī te schrijven over het Frans kolonialisme

in Marokko. Al-Hilālī reageerde hierop door aan te geven dat hij nooit meer een artikel voor Radio Berlijn zou schrijven en nam onmiddellijk ontslag. Naar eigen zeggen heeft hij nooit de 12.000 Mark ontvangen die Radio Berlijn hem als zijn jaarsalaris moest betalen.

Hoogstwaarschijnlijk is het zo dat toen Hajj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī (1893-1974) bemerkte dat Al-Hilālī dusdanig misnoegd in Nazi Duitsland was en besloot om het land te verlaten, hij Al-Hilālī verzocht om een missie voor hem in Marokko te volbrengen in de vorm van het overbrengen van een “mondeline boodschap” (*Risāla Shafawiyya*) aan ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Ṭurrays (d.1970), de leider van Ḥizb al-Islāh al-Waṭanī (De Partij van Nationale Hervorming). Naast de confrontatie die Al-Hilālī met Spanje had bespreekt dit hoofdstuk zijn conflicten met vele Marokkaanse geleerden, waaronder Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (1902-1962) welke voortvloeiden uit drie belangrijke kwesties: zijn openlijke afwijzing van de Malikitische School, zijn scherpe kritiek op het Soefisme en de *fatwa* welke hij uitvaardigde over de toelaatbaarheid van het scheren van de baard. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣiddīq vroeg zich af of Al-Hilālī wel kon pretenderen de *Sunna* te implementeren als hij geloofde dat het scheren van de baard niet verplicht was. Derhalve zal een groot deel van dit hoofdstuk worden gewijd aan Al-Hilālī’s *fatwa* over deze kwestie, waarin hij betoogde dat de weigering van een moslim om een baard te laten groeien geen grote zonde vertegenwoordigt.

Hoofdstuk zes bespreekt Al-Hilālī’s periode in Irak, waar hij zich vestigde van 1947 tot 1959. Al-Hilālī bestudeerde Westerse literatuur en benutte dit in zijn geschriften. Zijn motivatie in het gebruik van dergelijke studies diende ook om zijn doel van *Da‘wa* (Islamitische Missie) te vervullen en om dit te gebruiken als een instrument in een ‘tegenaanval’ tegen niet-Moslims. Enkele Marokkaanse studenten van de Universiteit van Granada in Spanje, die klaagden over het offensief dat door enkele Christelijke professoren tegen de Islam en Marokko werd gelanceerd, verzochten al-Hilālī om ze met argumenten tegen hen te voorzien. Hierop vertaalde en becommentarieerde Al-Hilālī de brochure van de Amerikaanse atheïst Joseph McCabe (1867- 1955), *The Moorish Civilization in Spain*, een vrij oppervlakkig pamflet dat vele ongefundeerde uitspraken bevat ter ophemeling van de Arabische beschaving in Spanje en het Christendom weerlegt. Zijn Arabische versie van de brochure werd met de hulp van een vriend gepubliceerd in Irak in December 1949. Voorgaande is het belangrijkste onderwerp van dit hoofdstuk. Voor een kritische evaluatie van Al-Hilālī’s werkje wordt een vergelijking getrokken met werk van Shakīb Arslān getiteld *al-Ḥulalal-Sundusiyya fī al-Akḥbār al-Andalusiyya*, gepubliceerd in het jaar 1936 en zijn

werk getiteld “De Nieuwe Islamitische Wereld” gepubliceerd in 1921. In vergelijking daarmee blijkt de waarde van Al-Hilālī’s werk zeer beperkt te zijn.

Hoofdstuk zeven laat zien hoe Al-Hilālī in het Marokko “van na de onafhankelijkheid” in staat was om een intellectueel en religieus leven te leiden. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien hoe Al-Hilālī, in het bijzonder het Soefisme, Malikisme en Ash’arisme en alle andere elementen van de meest populaire en wijdverspreide uitingen van de Marokkaanse Islam, de rug had toegekeerd. In veel gevallen bleken zijn religieuze activiteiten controversieel van aard te zijn. In feite had hij een problematische relatie met talrijke gewone moslims, vanwege zijn heftige aanvallen tegen de Soefie orden, alsook met de lokale autoriteiten, aangezien hij voortdurend de officiële jurisprudentiële en theologische stromingen, namelijk de Malikitische school en de Ash’aristische geloofsleer aanviel. Gedurende deze periode raakte hij betrokken bij een discussie over de kwestie van de Baha’is in Morocco. Zijn daaruit voortvloeiende *fatwa*, *Hukm al-murtadd fi al-Islām* (Het oordeel over de afvallige binnen de Islam), wordt in dit hoofdstuk in detail besproken binnen de bredere context van de hedendaagse Marokkaanse geschiedenis. Het juridisch advies van Al-Hilālī heeft enkele onderscheidende kenmerken die als volgt kunnen worden samengevat: Ten eerste beperkte hij zich tot religieuze teksten bij het geven van zijn fatwa, hij schenkt geen aandacht aan de wetgeving van Marokko of het internationale recht. Ten tweede bestempeld hij het gerechtshof, waar de Bahai’ werden berecht, als niet-islamitisch gerechtshof.

In *Hoofdstuk acht*, zal de mate waarin Al-Hilālī’s religieuze profiel werd beïnvloed door zijn periode in Saudi Arabië worden onderzocht en beoordeeld. In dit hoofdstuk zal zijn verschil van opvatting in relatie tot de gevestigde religieuze orde van Saoedi Arabië worden besproken. Zoals in dit hoofdstuk is aangetoond vond Al-Hilālī de strikte Wahhabitische opvatting welke vrouwen verplicht om hun gezicht en handen te bedekken niet acceptabel. Zijn mening inzake de gezichtsbedekking van de vrouw is een goed voorbeeld om het conflict dat hij met de Saudische geleerden had te illustreren. Al-Hilālī’s samenwerkingsproject met Muḥsin Khān om de betekenissen van de Qur’an in het Engels te vertalen, laat echter zien dat hij Saudische autoriteiten niet openlijk wilde tegenspreken, hoewel hij van mening bleef dat gezichtsbedekking voor vrouwen niet verplicht was, hiervoor bewijs uit de Schriften aandragend. Bovengaande laat ook zien dat Al-Hilālī rekening hield met individuele verschillen tussen mensen en plaatsen op het moment dat hij zijn wettelijk oordeel gaf. Dit hoofdstuk bespreekt ook Al-Hilālī’s zeer succesvolle *fatwa* genaamd *al-Barāhīn al-Injīliyya*. Al-Hilālī was geïnteresseerd in het verschaffen van onweerlegbare argumenten om Christenen

uit te dagen, waaruit blijkt dat zij het mis hadden en als ongelovigen dienen te worden beschouwd omdat zij een goddelijke status aan een profeet toeschrijven. In 1975 werd Al-Hilālī blind en besloot terug te keren naar Marokko.

Hoofdstuk negen beoogt een beeld van de laatste periode van Al-Hilālī's leven en van zijn religieuze gedachtengoed te geven gebaseerd op de ongepubliceerde collectie van *Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliya* getiteld *al-‘Uyūn al-Zilāliyya fī Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliya* (“De Schaduwrijke Waterbronnen van de Hilalische fatwa's”), waarmee Al-Hilālī in 1960 was begonnen en welke hij in September 1976 voltooide. In dit afsluitende hoofdstuk zal de strekking van dit werk worden besproken (1), het soort mensen dat de vragen stelde (2) en Al-Hilālī's methodologie (3). Tenslotte was een ander belangrijk aspect van zijn wettelijke opvattingen het feit dat sommige hiervan waren gerelateerd aan problemen van moslimminderheden in het westen. Het feit dat hij in Duitsland gewoond had voorzag hem van een ervaring en inzicht waarmee hij de situatie van moslims die in het Westen leven beter kon begrijpen. In dit hoofdstuk is een fatwa geselecteerd die van speciaal historisch belang is voor een enigszins gedetailleerde discussie. Deze fatwa is gerelateerd aan de vraag in hoeverre het voor een moslim is toegestaan om in de niet-Islamitische wereld te verblijven (§4). Dit betreft een onderwerp dat Al-Hilālī met tussenpauzes in zijn lange en productieve leven vaak adresseerde, voor de eerste keer in 1938, vanuit Duitsland (zie hoofdstuk 4). Hij stond moslims toe in Europa te verblijven maar verbod hen de nationaliteit van niet-Islamitische landen aan te nemen, aangezien zij daarmee hun loyaliteit aan een niet-Islamitisch land zouden moeten verklaren en zich dienden te houden aan de daarbij horende (niet-Islamitische) wetten. Al-Hilālī's opvattingen worden hierbij vergeleken met de overtuiging van twee prominente Saudische Moeftis over dit onderwerp. In dit hoofdstuk wordt ook een element, dat Al-Hilālī mogelijk karakteriseert, besproken, namelijk zijn introductie van een nieuwe typologie van het monotheïsme in plaats van de trilogie van de meeste Salafi geleerden. Naast de Eenheid van Heerschappij, de Eenheid van Aanbidding, en de Eenheid van Attributen, Al-Hilālī spreekt over en de Eenheid van Inachtneming/Eerbiediging van het naleven van Goddelijke plechtigheden (Tawhīd al-ittibā‘).

In de voorgaande hoofdstukken is een poging ondernomen om het religieuze profiel van Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī [1894-1987] te identificeren. Ondanks het feit dat Al-Hilālī bekend stond een Salafistische geleerde te zijn, zijn er vele kenmerken die hem tot op zekere hoogte uniek maken. (Vergelijk mijn *Conclusions* aan het einde van dit proefschrift).

- (1) Al-Hilālī's belangstelling in het voeren van debatten en polemieken met zijn tegenstanders, zowel Moslims als niet-Moslims. Hij voerde debatten met Soefies, Shiïeten en Christenen.
- (2) Al-Hilālī's pragmatisme en opportunisme, waarbij echter bepaalde grenzen in acht werden genomen die hij niet overschreed.
- (3) Al-Hilālī's verschillen van mening met het mainstream Salafisme. In veel gevallen was zijn mening niet in overeenstemming met de heersende stroming binnen het Salafisme.
- (4) In sommige gevallen kan de positie die Al-Hilālī innam mogelijk worden gekenmerkt door ambivalentie en contradicties.
- (5) Al-Hilālī beschouwde het leren van vreemde talen als een Islamitisch gebod.
- (6) Al-Hilālī was een Salafi geleerde die preken met academische ambities combineerde. Zijn academische leven was verbonden met zijn missie. Hij was er van overtuigd dat een Europese academische titel hem autoriteit zou verschaffen binnen de islamitische wereld en hem zou helpen "ware Islam" te verspreiden.
- (7) Een van de elementen die Al-Hilālī tot een "globale" Salafi geleerde maakte zijn de wereldwijde reizen die hij maakte en zijn activiteiten in elk van de landen waar hij zich tijdelijk ophield.
- (8) Het religieuze leven van Al-Hilālī en zijn continue betrokkenheid bij het preken weerhielden hem er niet van om een interessant literair leven te leiden. In feite was Al-Hilālī zowel een dichter als een schrijver.
- (9) Een van de dingen die hem duidelijk kenmerkten was zijn opvatting over monotheïsme. Al-Hilālī ontwikkelde een nieuwe typologie van monotheïsme welke bestaat uit vier delen in plaats van de klassieke tripartiete onderverdeling. In feite spreekt Al-Hilālī over de eenheid van Heerschappij (*Tawḥīd al-Rubūbiyya*), de eenheid van aanbidding (*Tawḥīd al-'Ulūhiyya*), de eenheid van Eigenschappen en de eenheid van Naleving (*Tawḥīd al-Ittibā'*).

Hiermee is het uiteindelijke doel van deze studie bereikt, namelijk om het persoonlijke religieuze profiel van deze opmerkelijke twintigste-eeuws prediker van de 'authentieke Islam' te verdiepen, tegen de achtergrond van het mainstream Salafisme en het Wahhabisme in dezelfde periode.

Ik ben van mening dat Salafism een interessant onderzoekgebied vormt dat historici verder kunnen onderzoeken. De informatie die in deze studie is verschaft, zal hun tot hulp zijn bij het begrijpen van bepaald gedrag van Salafisten en de aanhangers van de "authentiek Islam". Tenslotte hoop ik dat deze studie ook een stimulans zal zijn voor specialisten op het

gebied van Islamologie om meer onderzoek te verrichten naar bijvoorbeeld het Salafisme in het westen in de 21 eeuw.

Curriculum Vitae

Abdessamad El Amraoui (1968) was born in Ouarzazate in Morocco. He finished his secondary education (Baccalauréat ‘Sciences experimentales’) in Rabat in 1989.

After his study at the Hogeschool van Amsterdam he obtained his Bachelor degree (‘ing.’) in Computer Science in 1996. On 26 August 2008, he received his Master of Arts degree in Islamic Theology from Leiden University. On 13 October 2010 he obtained his Master of Science degree in Information Science from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. Since 1996 he has been working as a Consultant at KPN.