

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibn-Bāz (2009), 70-71.

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

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...<sup>3</sup>

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...<sup>4</sup>

The Indian journal, *Ṣawt Al-Umma* (The Voice of the Nation), published an article under the title: 'Min A'lām al-Salafiyyīn: Khātimatu 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.'<sup>5</sup> Among other piece of information it reported:

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<sup>2</sup> Al-Sabtī (1993), 129.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Thawra newspaper, Tiṭwān: 1987, 224.

<sup>4</sup> See also Anonymous: "Al-'Ālim al-jalil al-duktur al-Hilālī fī dhimmat Allah," al-Furqan, 4, (1987), 107.

<sup>5</sup> Sawt Al-Umma' al-Hindiyya, "Khātimatu 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.<sup>6</sup>

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 Salafi Movement can be traced back to the Wahhābī School, which was founded in the Arabian Peninsula by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792).<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> namely Muḥammad Ibn ‘AbdAllāh (1757-1790) and Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822). The current Moroccan Salafi leaders consider the former to be the main precursor of their Movement in the country.<sup>9</sup> The year 1811 can be considered to be the date of the introduction of the

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<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> Zeghal (2005), 42.

<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Sultan Sulaymān seemed to have nurtured a great respect for Wahhābīsm, which angered many 'Moroccan 'ulamā' including those in Fes.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup> Muḥammad Ḍarīf continues by specifically saying that Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh had used Wahhābīsm to counter Sufism.<sup>14</sup> 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 Sufis and their symbols.<sup>15</sup>

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*.<sup>16</sup> 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*).<sup>17</sup> These strong measures are the reason that the later Salafis in Morocco have looked upon Mawlāy Sulaymān as one of the forerunners of their Movement.<sup>18</sup> 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

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<sup>10</sup> Abun-Nasr (1987), 247-264.

<sup>11</sup> Abun-Nasr (1963), 93.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Sā'ih (1969), 38.

<sup>13</sup> Ḍarīf (2010), 110.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Zeghal (2005), 41.

<sup>16</sup> Abun-Nasr (1963), 94.

<sup>17</sup> Abun-Nasr (1963), 95.

<sup>18</sup> Abun-Nasr (1963), 93.

the Tijāniyya Order, Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1735-1815), who left Algeria to settle in Fes in 1789.<sup>19</sup> 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'.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 'Allāl al-Fāsī (1910-1974), a famous and influential Moroccan Salafī, 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 Salafī nationalism directly to the Wahhābī doctrine.<sup>22</sup>

As did their counterparts in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>23</sup> the Moroccan Salafīs upheld the religious tradition of *al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* (the pious predecessors).<sup>24</sup> 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,

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<sup>19</sup> Zeghal (2005) , 41.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Zeghal (2005), 42.

<sup>22</sup> Al Fāsī (1972), 48.

<sup>23</sup> 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-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Rīḍā. 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 Rīḍā and his followers are often known.

<sup>24</sup> 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 Moulay 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.<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup> 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*'<sup>27</sup> (Unmasking the Belief in Innovation of the Denominations), in which he attacked the Sufi orders, condemning various of their practices and beliefs as being incompatible with true Islam, specifically singling out the Tijani Order for criticism.<sup>28</sup> 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'.<sup>29</sup>

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

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<sup>25</sup> Zeghal (2005), 40.

<sup>26</sup> Ryad (2008), 247-248.

<sup>27</sup> This book by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥafīz was published in Fes 1909. See Abun-Nasr (1963), 98.

<sup>28</sup> Abun-Nasr (1963), 98.

<sup>29</sup> 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 burden of past accretions so that Islam could be harmonized with reason and modernity.<sup>30</sup>

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 Wāḥḥābī 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 (*ridḍa*).<sup>33</sup> 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-Fāsī (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*).<sup>34</sup> Al-Fāsī was convinced that the *Sharī‘a* should become the source of all modern legislation in Muslim states.<sup>35</sup>

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

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<sup>30</sup> Lauzière (2008), 306-308.

<sup>31</sup> Ḍarīf (2010), 117.

<sup>32</sup> Abun-Nasr (1987), 382.

<sup>33</sup> Lauzière (2008), 308-310.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> 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*.<sup>36</sup> 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*.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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

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<sup>36</sup> Zeghal (2005), 51.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Hilālī, “Al-Tamassuk bi al-Kitāb,” 1979, 4-7.

<sup>38</sup> Abun-Nasr (1963), 99.

<sup>39</sup> 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-Thanawiyya*).

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 *khātam al-Awliyā*’ (seal of sainthood) in his order.<sup>40</sup> Al-Tijānī was awarded the title of *khātam 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*).<sup>41</sup>

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?<sup>42</sup> Al-Hilālī avowed that the irrefutable proofs adduced by Al-‘Arabī al-‘Alawī where the spur which caused him to abandon *al-Tijāniyya* utterly and completely.<sup>43</sup> 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 *ḥadith*, Qur’anic exegesis, theology and *fiqh*.<sup>44</sup> 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

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<sup>40</sup> Ryad (2011), 4.

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> Lauzière (2008), 98.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Hilālī (2005a), 4-14.

<sup>44</sup> 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 present<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup>

'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, Malīkism and Ash'arism, all of which were

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

<sup>46</sup> Al-Hilālī (1982), 25.

<sup>47</sup> Lauzière (2008), 384-386.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Hilālī, "Al-Fatāwā al-Hilālīyya," 1976, Vol.2, 328.

<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup>

### 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.<sup>51</sup> 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 book<sup>52</sup> *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.<sup>53</sup> Al-Majdhūb stresses the praise Al-Hilālī won among his contemporaries on account of his exceptional knowledge of *fiqh*, *ḥadith* and the Arabic language.<sup>54</sup> Although

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<sup>50</sup> Ḍarīf (2010), 118; Zeghal (2005), 283-284.

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

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

<sup>52</sup> al-Majdhūb (1977).

<sup>53</sup> Al-Majdhūb (1977), 118-144.

<sup>54</sup> 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*<sup>55</sup> (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'ān* 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 'Authetic' Islam.<sup>56</sup> In spite of its weaknesses, Al-Sabtis's study<sup>57</sup> is nonetheless a

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<sup>55</sup> Al-Sabti (1993), 6-8.

<sup>56</sup> 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,<sup>58</sup> 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*<sup>59</sup> (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*).<sup>60</sup> Mashhūr dedicated the first part of his first volume to Al-Hilālī's biography.

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<sup>57</sup> Prof. Dr Belāfirīj, 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.

<sup>58</sup> In his master's thesis "Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī juhūdahu 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 'a'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).

<sup>59</sup> Al-Hilālī (2006), Vol.1. 381, 517.

<sup>60</sup> Al-Hilālī (2006a), Vol.1. 26.

Mashhūr also edited an unpublished *Collection of Poems*,<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> 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

<sup>61</sup> 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.

<sup>62</sup> Al-Hilālī (2010b), 26.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Hilālī (2010b), 58-65.

<sup>64</sup> Lauzière (2008).

<sup>65</sup> Lauzière (2008), 6.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

Morocco in 1973 at the age of eighty-three.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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,<sup>69</sup> as well as the assumption that Al-Hilālī even earned the nickname *Shaqī* (mischievous) al-Dīn instead of Taqī al-Dīn.<sup>70</sup>

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.<sup>71</sup> 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,<sup>72</sup> 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

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<sup>67</sup> 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).'

<sup>68</sup> Lauzière (2008), 370.

<sup>69</sup> [www.achabibah.com](http://www.achabibah.com), accessed 12-01-2013

<sup>70</sup> Lauzière (2008), 371.

<sup>71</sup> As quoted in Lauzière (2008), 356.

<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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,<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup>

Lauzière's primary sources include Al-Hilālī's published religious writings, his journalistic work, plus a variety of other Salafī materials.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> 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,<sup>79</sup> Umar Ryad also managed to gain access to Al-Hilālī's archive in Morocco.<sup>80</sup> More recently, he has written a chapter on Al-Hilālī's life in

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<sup>73</sup> Al-Hilālī, "Radd, " 1974, 1-32.

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

<sup>75</sup> 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

<sup>76</sup> Lauzière (2008), 365-366.

<sup>77</sup> Lauzière (2008), 8.

<sup>78</sup> Lauzière (2008), 28.

<sup>79</sup> Ryad (2008).

<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup>

### 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-Hādiya 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

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<sup>81</sup> 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-Muḥsin al-Kāzīmī (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*, *Hukm 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-Hilāliyya*). In September 1976, Al-Hilālī finished his unpublished collection of *fatwas* entitled *al-'Uyūn al-Zilāliyya fī Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya* (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.