

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.