

Glossary

‘adl: Justice.

‘afw: What is beyond the need; surplus. An important term in Qur’anic economics, it appears in the *Qur’an* (2: 219) as instruction to spend in the cause of Allah whatever is over and above one’s needs.

‘Ahd al-Amān: (‘Pledge of Security’) Tunisia’s new constitution, instituted in 1857, ensured equity, justice and freedom to the people.

aḥadīth: See *ḥadīth*.

aḥbāsīyah: Belonging to *aḥbās* (singular = *ḥabs*), inalienable property, the yield of which is devoted to pious purposes; a religious bequest. An alternate term used for *waqf*, mostly in North Africa. See also *waqf*.

aḥl al-ḥall wa al-‘aqd: Literally, ‘those qualified to loosen and bind’, meaning a selected few responsible for Muslim affairs.

aḥl al-ḥarb: People at war. Sometimes the term *‘dar al-ḥarb*’ is used, which means ‘war land’; historically, the country of those non-Muslims who had declared war against the Muslims.

ajūr mushtarak: Joint hireling or a common employee.

al-Muayyad: A magazine established by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hut and Muḥammad Hasan Sultani.

al-‘Arab and *al-Waṭan*: Two novels by al-Nadim.

‘āriyah: Item lent for use; assumption of ownership of a benefit without compensation.

awqāf: Endowments (singular = *waqf*).

awsaṭ: The average.

āyah: Verse of the Qur’an.

a’yān: The elite class.

bay’ al-ajal: Time-based sale.

bay’ al-khiyār: Optional sale, as the seller has the option to abrogate it if he is able to return the price; same as *bay’ al-rajā’*.

bay’ al-rahm: Sale of collateral.

bay’ al-rajā’: Sale on buyback expectation.

bay’ al-iltizām: Sale on obligation.

bay’ al-istiṣnā’: A contract of sale whereby the purchaser asks the seller to manufacture a specifically defined product using the seller’s raw materials at a given price to be delivered at a specified place. The contractual agreement of

istiṣnāʿ: has a characteristic similar to *bayʿ al-salam*, in that it provides for the sale of a product not available at the time of sale. It also has a characteristic similar to the ordinary sale, in that the price may be paid when the product is delivered.

bayʿ al-wafāʿ: A sale agreement in which the buyer agrees to return the goods at the same price once the agreement is concluded. It is permissible if the clause for returning the goods is not instituted beforehand. But if the clause is the essence of the contract, the agreement becomes void.

Beylik: A Turkish word, meaning the territory under the jurisdiction of a Bey, the governor of a district or province in the Ottoman Empire.

Canṭar (al-qinṭār): An Egyptian unit of weight used to measure cotton and rice. Like many eastern censures, it conformed to no absolute standard, but after 1836, it was reckoned at 98 or 99 pounds.

Dahrīyīn: Materialists.

Derebeys: Turkish valley lord or a feudal lord in Anatolia in the 18th century, with considerable independence from the central government of the Ottoman Empire.

dirhams: Silver coins.

Dīwān al-Madāris: Department dealing with schools affairs.

dīwān: Secretariat or department.

fāʿidah: Interest.

fals: Copper coin (plural = *fulūs*). Sometimes the term is used for money in general.

fārīq: Commander.

farṭ: Excess or interest.

Fatāwā: Religious decrees (singular = *fatwā*) on a matter made by a competent *shariʿah* scholar qualified to issue decrees (*muftī*), who gives an opinion based on *shariʿah* rules and principles.

fellāh or *fallāḥ*: Farmer.

fī sabīl-Allāh: In the way of Allah; a very comprehensive Qurʿanic term which includes all kinds of public interests and deeds of piety.

Fiqh: Jurisprudence.

fiqhī: Related to *fiqh* or jurisprudence.

Farmān: Royal decree.

fulūs: Copper coins (See singular = *fals*, above).

fuqahāʿ: Jurists (singular = *faqīh*).

Furāt: Ottoman-sponsored newspaper under the editorship of al-Kawakibi.

ḥadīth: Speech, action, habits and events of the Prophet's life codified by his companions and enlarged and revised by later Muslims (plural = *aḥadīth*).

The *ḥadīth* is second source of law in Islam. In Islamic economics as well, the contents of authentic *aḥadīth* are accepted as a valid primary source.

ḥalāl: Islamically valid.

Ḥanafī Fiqh: One of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence.

Ḥārrat al-Yahūd: A locality in Cairo inhabited by Jews.

Ḥāshiyah: A footnote; marginality.

Ḥatt-i Humāyūn: This document, handwritten by the Ottoman Sultan, was a reform law enacted in 1856, sometimes referred as '*tanzīmāt*', meaning reorganization and modernization of the Ottoman Empire (*khatt-e humāyūn* in Persian).

Ḥatt-i Sherif: An irrevocable Turkish decree countersigned by the sultan (*khatt sharīf* in Arabic).

heavenly *shar'*: Divine commandment.

ḥijāb: Veil.

al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī: The National Party, founded by al-Nadim.

ḥubūs: Endowments (Singular = *ḥabs*).

I'tidāl: *The Moderate*, the name of a journal.

Ijārah: Hiring, renting.

al-ijārah al-fāsīdah: Void hiring.

ijtihād: Exerting utmost effort; a jurist's endeavour to derive or formulate a rule of law on the basis of evidence found in the sources.

I'lām: *Information*, the name of a journal.

'Ilm: Knowledge

'Ilm al-Dīn: An educational encyclopedia in the form of a novel which contains a world of information about the Middle East and Europe. *'Ilm al-Dīn* is the name of the book's main character.

iltizām: A form of tax farm that appeared in the fifteenth century in the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror and was abolished during the *Tanzīmāt* reforms in 1856. *Iltizām* was typically an annual agreement.

imām: Head, or the leader. Rulers of the first Saudi state were called 'Imam'.

iqtisād: Moderate spending. This is the term used in Arabic for 'economics'.

Iram dhāt al-'Imād: A reference to two verses of the Qur'an (89: 7–8): 'The (city of) Iram, with lofty pillars, the like of which were not produced in (all) the land'.

iṣlāḥāt: Reforms.

Istibdād: Autocracy.

istiftā': Query.

istiṣnāʿ: An order to a producer to manufacture a specific commodity for the purchaser. Under an *istiṣnāʿ* agreement, a seller undertakes to develop or manufacture a commodity with clear specifications for an agreed price and to deliver the same after an agreed period of time.

al-Ittihād al-ʿArabi: *Arab Unity*, a journal published in London in 1882 by Bishop Louis al-Sabunj.

jāhid: Renegade.

jāmid: Ossified.

jamʿiyat: Associations.

Jamʿiyat al-Iqtirāḍāt al-ʿumūmīyah: Common Borrowing Society.

al-Jamʿiyat al-Khayrīyat al-Islāmīyah: The Islamic Charitable Society.

Jamʿiyat al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā: The Society of the Indissoluble Bond, established by al-Afghani and Abduh in Paris.

Jamʿiyat Umm al-Qurā: An association of the Mother of Towns, Makkah. It is a novel or theoretical dialogue authored by al-Kawakibi.

janissary or *yenicer*: New troops; anglicized as '*janissary*' and in Arabic '*inkishārīyah*'.

kaffārāh: Obligations prescribed by the *sharīʿah* for various sins (plural = *kaffārāt*). These obligations are to be discharged, in some cases, by spending money on needy persons.

kaffārāt māliyah: Financial penalties.

khalīfah: Successor.

khedive: Prince, originally a Persian word.

khilāfah: The leadership of the faith.

al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzīyah: *Egyptian Plans*, a book authored by al-Maqrizi.

al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqīyah al-Jadīdah: *Tawfiq's New Plans*, referring to Egypt's ruler at the time, a book authored by Ali Mubarak.

khiyār al-sharʿī: Option by stipulation; a conditional option, where one of the parties stipulates certain conditions; if the other party fails to meet them, it grants the stipulating party the right to rescind the contract.

khuwājā: A Westerner.

Kisrā: Sasanid, title of ancient Persian rulers.

Kitāb al-Iqtisād al-Siyāsī: *The Book of Political Economy* by Khalil Ghanim, published in Alexandria in 1879.

madhhab: Way, method, school of jurisprudence.

madrasah: School.

Mahdī: Rightly guided.

malikāne: Developed as a replacement for *iltizām*, its duration was for life.

al-manāfiʿ al-ʿumūmīyah: *Industrie*.

maṣlahah: Welfare; the basic consideration in the formulation of law in Islam.

mīrī: *Kharāj* lands in the Ottoman empire (AD 1281–1924); also known as '*amīrī* 'arāḍī: that is, lands belonging to the '*amīr* (ruler, prince). During the Ottoman period, *mīrī* referred to suitable land for agricultural use where the ultimate owner was the state but the usufruct belonged, in most cases, to individuals.

muḍārabah: Partnership; a form of business contract in which one party contributes capital and the other personal effort. The financier is known as *rabb al-māl* and the worker or entrepreneur as *muḍārib*. The proportionate share in profit is determined by mutual consent. But the loss is borne only by the owner of the capital, in which case the entrepreneur gets nothing for his labour.

muḍārib: The working partner.

muftī: Jurisconsult, one who is authorized to give opinions in Shariah matters (*bash muftī* = chief jurisconsult).

mujtahid: Independent, fresh decisionmaker.

mukhābarah: A sharecropping contract whereby the landowner reserves the crop of a specific area for himself. Such a contract is not permitted in Islam.

multazim: The holder of an *Iltizām* (tax farming).

multazimīn: Tax farmers.

Muqaddimah: *Introduction*, the title of Ibn Khaldun's famous work, an introduction to history.

Musāmarah: 'The Evening Chat'; the name of each chapter of Ali Mubarak's novel, *Ilm al-Din*.

niṣāb: Minimum exemption limit in *zakāh*.

al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah: The Islamic currency.

qāḍī al-quḍāh: Chief justice.

qānūn: Law.

al-Qur'an: The book of Allah revealed to the Prophet Muhammad and transmitted to the present age through an incessant chain.

qurūsh: Pence (singular = *qirsh*).

al-rahn: Collateral.

al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī: The Tunisian government's official gazette.

Rawḍat al-Madāris: *Nursery Schools*, an educational magazine.

ribā: Interest/usury; an excess or increase which, in a loan transaction, accrues to the lender over time without giving an equivalent countervalue or recompense (*'iwaḍ*) in return to the borrower.

ribḥ: Profit.

rizq aḥbāsīyah: Agricultural *awqāf*.

salam: An advanced sale at a deferred date but with immediate payment. The term is also applied to a mode of financing adopted by Islamic banks. It is usually applied in the agricultural sector when the bank advances money for various inputs to receive a share in the crop, which the bank sells in the market.

sanad: Chain of transmissions.

al-Shahabā': The first privately published Arabic-language weekly from Aleppo/Damascus, issued by al-Kawakibi.

shar': Commandment.

Sharā'ī': Sacred laws, ways (singular = *sharī'ah*).

Shara'ī: Legal, related to Shari'ah.

Sharī'ah (or *Shari'ā*): Sacred law of Islam.

shūrā: Consultative body.

shurakā' fi'l-ḍamān: Partners in guarantee.

siyar: Biographies.

sūkarah: Security or *securité*, a nineteenth century-term for insurance.

ṣulḥ: Compromise; settlement of dispute. When a dispute erupts between two parties concerning rights, they agree to accept part of what is disputed and renounce the remaining claim.

Sūrah al-Baqarah: Name of the second chapter of the Qur'an.

Sūrah al-Nisā': Name of a chapter in the Qur'an.

Ṭabā'i' al-Istibdād wa Maṣāri' al-Isti'bād: The Attendants of Autocracy and the Destruction of Subjugation.

tafsīr: Exegesis of the Qur'an.

al-Ṭā'if: Al-Nadim's weekly journal, formerly *al-Tankīt wa'l-Tabkīt*.

Takmilah: Completion.

tā'mīn: Insurance.

al-Tanbīh: *Warning*, the first Arabic newspaper, launched in 1800.

al-Tankīt wa'l-Tabkīt: *The Irony and the Reproach*, a weekly journal issued by al-Nadim in 1881.

tanzīmāt: Reforms or the modernization era in the central Ottoman Empire.

Taqīd: The blind and uncritical following.

taṣawwuf: Islamic mysticism.

Tawḥīd: Belief in the One God and denial of all other deities. The *Tawḥīdī* movement was initiated by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115–1206/1703–92), who called for a return to the original sources of Islam.

al-tharwah al-'umūmiyah: The public wealth.

al-Tijārah: *The Commerce*, a journal issued by Is'haq Adib on the advice of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani.

'*ulamā'*: Religious sages, scholars.

Umm al-Qurā: *The Mother of Towns*, i.e., Makkah, a novel, appeared in print in 1899 under the pseudonym al-Sayyid al-Furati.

Ummah: Nation, the Muslim community as a whole.

'*urf*': Relating to the sources of Islamic law, it is the custom and the usage of a particular society.

al-Ustādh: *Master, Professor*, a journal issued by al-Nadim in 1892.

uṣūl al-fiqh: Legal methodology, principles of Islamic jurisprudence.

Uṣūl al-Iqtisād al-Siyāsī: *The Principles of Political Economy*.

wāli: A governor or Pāshā.

al-Waqā' i' al-Miṣrīyah: *Egyptian Facts*, a magazine published in Cairo during the 1880s.

waqf: Appropriation or tying up of a property for a pious purpose in perpetuity so that no proprietary rights can be exercised over the corpus but only over the usufruct. *Waqf* property cannot be sold, inherited or donated to anyone. It is set up for the benefit of the poor or some other pious socioeconomic, religious or educational purposes.

waṭanīyah: Patriotism.

wazīr al-baḥr: Minister of marine affairs.

zakāh: One of the five pillars of Islam. It is a religious financial duty levied on all persons having wealth above an exemption limit (*niṣāb*) at a rate fixed by the *Shari'ah*. The object is to take away a part of the wealth of the well-to-do and to distribute it among the poor and the needy. It is levied on cash, cattle, agricultural produce, minerals, capital invested in industry and business, etc. The distribution of *zakāh* fund has been laid down in the *Qur'an* (9: 60).

al-zar' li-al-zāri': Crops for the cultivator.

Zaydi jurists: Jurists following the Imam Zayd b. Ali b. al-Husayn (d. 860 CE).

Notes

1 Introduction

1. Henceforth the former figure would mean AH (After Hijrah) and the latter / CE (Common Era).
2. For details, refer to Islahi, 2005, *Contributions of Muslim Scholars to Economic Thought and Analysis* up to the fifteenth century.
3. In the words of Brown, 'In a variety of ways Tunisia during this period of time was a smaller model of Egypt, and both of these countries in turn shared a common fund of ideas and institutions with the Ottoman Empire' (Brown, Leon Carl, 1967, *The Surest Path* 'An Appreciation of the *Surest Path*' (Introduction), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, p. 6).

2 The Nineteenth Century Arab World: An Overview

1. Ottoman sultans and their rules during the nineteenth century,
 1. Selim III 1789–1807
 2. Mustafa IV 1807–1808
 3. Mahmud II 1808–39
 4. Abdülmecit I 1839–61
 5. Sultan Abdulaziz 1861–76
 6. Abdulhamid II 1876–1909
2. The First Saudi State was founded in 1744 and continued till 1818. It had four rulers during this period. Their names and the time of rule are given below,
 1. Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud 1744–65
 2. Abdul Aziz b. Muhammad Ibn Saud 1765–1803
 3. Saud b. Abdul Aziz b. Muhammad Ibn Saud 1803–14
 4. Abdullah b. Saud b. Abdul Aziz 1814–18
3. Muhammad Ali and his successors in Egypt during the nineteenth century
 1. Muhammad Ali 1805–48
 2. Ibrahim 1848–48
 3. Abbas I 1848–54
 4. Sa'id I 1854–63
 5. Isma'il I 1863–67 as a *wāli* and 1867–79 as a *khedive*
 6. Tawfiq I 1879–92
 7. Abbas II 1892–1914

It may be noted that up to 1867, rulers were referred to as *wāli* (governor or Pāshā). In June 1867, they obtained the status of *khedive* (the viceroy of Egypt under Ottoman suzerainty) (1867–1914). While *wāli* is an Arabic word, *khedive* is originally a Persian word meaning 'prince'.

4. The title *Pāshā* is of Persian and Turkish origin. Pasha was a higher rank in the Ottoman Empire's political and military system, typically granted to governors, generals, dignitaries and others.
5. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab is commonly known as a revivalist and renovator of religious beliefs and practices. The centre of his activities was the Najd region of Arabia. At that time, it was infested with corrupt beliefs and wrong practices. There was no law and order. Old practices of idolatry and superstition were prevalent, and the consumption of opium and wine common. The economic conditions were deplorable. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab worked in such a tough environment, applying the same prescription which the Prophet (pbuh) once used on the Arabs. Essentially, he called his people to *Tawhīd* and the rejection of un-Islamic beliefs and practices. He urged people to return to the worship of Allah only and to a strict adherence of the Sunnah of the Prophet. For more details, see Islahi, 2010, pp. 41–63; Islahi, 2011b, pp. 21–36.
6. For more details, see Richmond, 1977, p. 72.
7. Tunisian rulers were called *bey*. Following are the names of Tunisian *Beys* during the nineteenth century,

1. Hammuda ibn Ali	1782–1814
2. Uthman ibn Ali	1814–14 (murdered)
3. Mahmud ibn Muhammad	1814–24
4. Al-Husayn II ibn Mahmud	1824–35
5. Mustafa ibn Mahmud	1835–37
6. Ahmad I ibn Mustafa	1837–55
7. Muhammad II ibn al-Husayn	1855–59
8. Muhammad III al-Sadiq	1859–82
9. Ali III ibn al-Husayn	1882–1902
8. 'The similarity between Egypt's Abbas Hilmi I (1813–54, r. 1848–54), who succeeded Muhammad Ali, and Tunisia's Muhammad, who succeeded Ahmad Bey, is marked. Both represent a would-be conservative reaction not lacking in anti-Westernism. Both showed an inclination to dismantle or at least neglect the reforms of their predecessors but, in the process, did manage to achieve some tax relief for a hard-pressed peasantry. Each was succeeded by a more prodigal, irresponsible ruler (Sa'id for Egypt, Muhammad al-Sadiq for Tunisia) whose reigns saw the true beginning of foreign indebtedness' (Brown, 1967, p. 27n).
9. Janissary, *yenicer* (new troops), anglicized as *janissary* and in Arabic *inkishārīyah*.
10. A *derebey* (Turkish, valley lord) was a feudal lord in Anatolia in the eighteenth century, with considerable independence from the central government of the Ottoman Empire. Derebeys were required to provide military assistance in time of war, but ruled and administered their own territories, in full freedom in practical terms, and often forming local dynasties.
11. Under the Ottoman regime, the term *a'yān*, an eminent person, at first denoted provincial or local notables, but in the eighteenth and early

- nineteenth centuries, it was applied to a class of landlords who exercised political functions and were accorded official status (Available at <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/ayan>).
12. This word, *tanẓīmāt*, which has given its name to an entire period of attempted reforms and Westernization in the central Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, might be translated, according to the context, as 'reforms,' 'reorganizations,' 'regularizations,' and so on. Sometimes it conveys the sense of 'modernization'. It began in 1839 and ended with the First Constitutional Era in 1876. The *tanẓīmāt* reform era was characterized by various attempts to modernize the Ottoman Empire and to secure its territorial integrity against nationalist movements from within and aggressive powers from outside of the state. The reforms attempted to integrate non-Muslims and non-Turks more thoroughly into Ottoman society by enhancing their civil liberties and granting them equality throughout the Empire.
 13. *Hatt-i sheriff* (*khatt̄ sharīf* in Arabic), an irrevocable Turkish decree countersigned by the sultan. The Ottomans' reform endeavours entered a new phase by 1839 with the issuing of a decree called Khatt-i Sharif Kul Khana, which confirmed the Ottoman guarantees for man with regard to life, property and dignity. It laid the foundation for an eventual comprehensive reform of both the military and the administration (Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hatt-I_humayun).
 14. *Hatt-i Humāyūn* (*khaṭṭ-e humāyūn* in Persian), meaning a document handwritten by the Ottoman Sultan, was an Ottoman reform law enacted in 1856, sometimes referred as *tanẓīmāt*, meaning reorganization and modernization of the Ottoman Empire (Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hatt-I_humayun).
 15. For example, Napoleon III once observed that if the Arabs tasted justice and freedom, France could not remain in peace in Algeria (Amin, 1979, p. 57).
 16. During two stages of their history, the Arabs encountered Western culture and sciences: the works of ancient Greeks during the ninth century CE and modern European works in the nineteenth century. These they translated into Arabic. 'The striking fact about the translations of the ninth century was that they covered a wide area of knowledge, with three notable exceptions – literature, theology, and history. On the other hand, Greek sciences, philosophy, logic, mathematics, zoology, botany, astronomy, and related fields all became part of the legacy of medieval Arabs. By comparison, nineteenth century interest in translation was more limited. Technical works were its chief concern, and these technical works were rarely "pure sciences". Geography and history were secondary emphases, while minor attention was paid to literature and law. Philosophy, logic and science in its pure science received virtually no attention' (Abu-Lughod, 1963, pp. 58–59).
 17. See Arsalan, *Limādḥā Ta'akhkhar al-Muslimūn?* p. 77 (cited by Sharabi, 1970, p. 51).

18. *Rawḍat al-Madāris* was Egypt's first educational journal, 1870–77. It was founded in 1870 by Ali Mubarak, the education minister. It was edited by Rafa'ah al-Tahtawi and his son Ali Fahmi.
19. During the Ottoman period, *mīrī* referred to suitable land for agricultural use where the ultimate owner was the state, but the usufruct belonged, in most cases, to individuals.
20. *Cantar* (*qinṭār*) is an Egyptian unit of weight used to measure cotton and rice. Like many Eastern censures, it conformed to no absolute standard, but after 1836, it was reckoned at 98 or 99 pounds (Richmond, 1977, p. 63).
21. For a concise account of land reform in the nineteenth century, see Anderson, J.N.D., 1972, 'Law Reform in Egypt, 1850–1950' in Vatikiotis (ed.).
22. An *iltizām* was a form of tax farm that appeared in the fifteenth century in the Ottoman Empire. The system began under Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror and was abolished during the *Tanzīmāt* reforms in 1856. *Iltizāms* were sold off by the government to wealthy notables, who would then reap up to five times the amount they had paid by taxing the peasants and extracting agricultural production. It was a system that was very profitable and was of great benefit to the Egyptian aristocracy under the Mamluks, and helped create a large and powerful elite. In Egypt, Muhammad Ali abolished it as part of his centralization efforts in the early nineteenth century. The holder of an *iltizām* was a *multazim*. *Iltizām* was typically an annual agreement; *malikāne*, developed as a replacement for *iltizām*, was for life (Available at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iltizam>. Accessed on 14 May 2014).
23. Mustafa Khaznadar (1817–78) was prime minister of the Beylik of Tunis from 1837 to 1873.
24. In the course of narrating the activities of the French, Jabarti describes a French intellectual establishment (Institut d'Égypte), where the French installed their scholars and housed an excellent library with a wide variety of books, including those written in Arabic and other Islamic languages. He seems to have been deeply impressed with the abundance of scientists attached to that establishment, fascinated by their strange equipments and their occasional experiments. These aroused the curiosity of the Egyptian historian. Furthermore, he observed with approbation their serious methods of work, their courtesy, to curious visitors of native population, and their interest in 'educating' intelligent Egyptians who frequented the *institut*. This side of the French he not only appreciated but on occasions used to his own advantage (Abu-Lughod, 1963, p. 22, with reference to al-Jabarti, pp. 34–35).
25. See al-Tahtawi, *Takhlīs*, chapter 13, paragraph one of section 6; al-Tūnisi, 1967, *The Surest Path*, pp. 151–57.
26. Many European writers have admitted this and emphasized the role of the Crusades in facilitating the contact between the West and East and thus providing opportunities for the West to benefit from the ideas and institutions of the Muslim East. For example, see Langholm, 1987, p. 115; Heaton, 1948, p. 152; Pribram, 1983, pp. 3–4.

3 Thinking on Economic Issues in a Traditional Way: al-Shawkani and Ibn Abidin

1. Al-Shawkani lived during the periods of the following three Zaydi imams of the nineteenth century:

al-Mansur Ali I	1775–1809
al-Mutawakkil Ahmad	1809–16
al-Mahdi Abdullah	1816–35
2. *Bay' al-rajā'* is known by different names. It is called *bay' al-rajā'* because *rajā'* means expectation, as in this sale, the seller hopes to recover his land. It is also called delayed or time-bound sale because the word *rajā'* also means delay and defer, and in this sale, the finalization of the contract is deferred to the stipulated date. Some other names are *bay' al-khiyār* (optional sale, as the seller has the option to abrogate it if he is able to return the price), *bay' al-rahm* (sale of collateral), *bay' al-ajal* (time based sale), and *bay' iltizām* (sale on obligation). In some Muslim countries, it is known as *bay' al-wafā'*, (sale of fulfilling promise, as the buyer fulfills his promise to return the sold object), although there is a slight difference between *bay' al-wafā'* and *bay' al-rajā'*. However, in the Yemeni courts, its official name was *bay' al-rajā'* (al-Sarhi, [n.d.], p. 44).
3. *Khiyār al-sharṭ* (option by stipulation) is a valid provision giving the right to confirm or to cancel the contract within a stipulated time period.
4. It may be noted that in a contract of loan and collateral (*rahm*), the lender is not permitted to benefit from the pledged object.
5. With reference to *al-Bazzāzīyah*, Ibn Abidin (*Majmū'ah*, 2, p. 120) mentioned that *bay' al-wafā'* is permissible due to people's need for it to avoid *ribā*.
6. This has been published many times: the Bulaq edition of 1272 AH in five volumes and later in 1276 AH and 1299 AH; the Maymaniyah edition in 1307 AH; the Istanbul edition of 1307 AH. Once again in 1323 AH, there was a Maymaniyah edition, and later in 1323 AH, the Babi al-Halabi edition and Istanbul edition in eight volumes along with the *Takmilah*, which has been photo-offset a number of times hence.
7. Muhammad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Tumurtashi (939–1004/1532–1598), the Hanafite scholar of the late sixteenth century, was born in Ghazzah (Palestine) and lived there, though he travelled to different cities in neighbouring countries such as Aleppo, Hamah, Damascus and Cairo as he made his academic pursuits. His work, *Risālah fī'l-Nuqūd* (Treatise on Money), or more correctly, *Badhl al-Majhūd fī Tahṛīr As'īlat Taghayyur al-Nuqūd* (Efforts to solve the questions of changing currencies), deals exclusively with problems relating to variations in the value of money. Ibn Abidin mentions its title as *Badhl al-majhūd fī mas'alat al-nuqūd* in his own treatise, entitled *Tanbīh al-ruqūd 'alā aḥkām al-nuqūd*, in which he incorporated the major portion of al-Tumurtashi's work. For al-Tumurtashi's thoughts on money, refer to Islahi (2009, pp. 109–11).

8. It may be noted that on different occasions, the Shari'ah praises or upholds the *average*. For example, the Qur'an (5: 89) ordains that for one who breaks his swearing, his penalty (*kaffārah*) is to feed ten poor the average (*awsaf*) diet that he serves his own family.
9. Ahmad b. Ali al-Maqrizī (766–845/1364–1442) was born and lived in Egypt, and enjoyed a multifaceted career. His work, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi Kashf al-Ghummah* (trans. and ed. by Adel Allouche under the title *Mamlūk Economics, A Study and Translation of al-Maqrizī's Ighātha* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 1994) contains a detailed monetary history. Al-Maqrizī's *Ighāthat al-Ummah* served for him as a basis for another work, entitled, *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* or *al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah* in which he retained some sections of *al-Ighathah* while making certain additions and improvements. In this way, al-Maqrizī became the first to write an exclusive tract on money in Islam.
10. Muhammad b. Khalil al-Asadi lived in the ninth/fifteenth century. Nothing is known about his life except that he was born and died in Syria. He completed his work, '*al-Taysīr wa'l-I'tibār wa'l-Taḥrīr wa'l-Ikhtibār fī mā yajib min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa'l-Taṣarruf wa'l-Ikhtiyār*, in 855/1451. The book has been edited by 'Abd al-Qadir Tulaymat (1967). In *al-Taysīr* monetary issues are discussed in detail, and it is clear that al-Asadi considered monetary corruption one of the major causes of financial crisis during his time.
11. As in world civilization, in Islamic civilization, the first type of insurance to be used was marine insurance. Other types of insurance followed suit. At the end of the nineteenth century, the first insurance companies in the Islamic world were founded in 1890 in Egypt, and in 1893 in Turkey (Rispler-Chaim, 1991, p. 158).

4 The Economic Thought of Azharite Scholars: Rifā'ah al-Tahtawi and Muhammad Abduh

1. The moving spirit of the entire translation movement was al-Tahtawi. He was among the few Egyptians who distinguished himself during the early period of Muhammad Ali's rule. By way of recognition of his abilities and valuable contributions, Muhammad Ali rewarded him with high financial payments and appointed him to high positions (Heyworth-Dunne, J. [1939], '*Rifā'ah Badwi Rafī al-Tahtawi, the Egyptian Revivalist*' *BSOS*, London, vol. IX, pp. 961–967, and vol. X p. 400 ft.).
2. Recently, its English translation appeared under the title *An Imam in Paris: Al-Tahtawi's Visit to France (1826–31)*, about which Daniel L. Newman observes, 'This is an annotated translation of al-Tahtawi's *Takhlīṣ al-Ibriz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, the first translation of an in-depth Arabic account of a visit to Western Europe by a Muslim from the Near East. Its ideas and notions are as vibrant and palpable as they were over 150 years ago. ... It was instantly translated into Turkish, so it reached the Ottoman world at large, and really is more responsible than any other book, in the first half of

- the nineteenth century, for setting reformist debates in Ottoman and Arab society.' Published in 2004 by Saqi Books; first published in 2002 by Saqi.
3. No such report is found in the correct and authentic collections of *aḥādīth*.
 4. For example, see al-Ghazali, 1967, vol. 2, p. 106.
 5. *Mukhābarah* is a sharecropping contract whereby the landowner reserves the crop of a specific area for himself. The sharecropping contract of this nature is not permitted in Islam.
 6. *ʿAriyah* means 'item lent for use'; assumption of ownership of a benefit without compensation.
 7. When a dispute erupts between two parties concerning rights, they agree to accept part of what is disputed and renounce the remaining claim. This is called *sulḥ* or settlement of dispute.
 8. It may be noted that in neoclassical economics, the distinction between productive and unproductive labour was however rejected as being largely arbitrary and irrelevant. All the factors of production (land, labour and capital) create wealth and add value; they are all 'productive', directly or indirectly.
 9. Abduh's ideas first became known in the West when his theological treatise, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, was published in a French translation, with a long introduction by B. Michel and Moustapha Abdel Razik in 1925. C.C. Adams introduced him further when he published in 1933 his substantial and widely read *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*. The English translation of *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* by Ishaq Musa'ad and Kenneth Cragg was published in 1966 in London under the title *The Theology of Unity*. According to Kedourie (1966, pp. 1–2), Abduh cut a considerable figure in the voluminous diaries which Wilfrid Scawen Blunt began publishing in the first decade of the twentieth century in order to denounce the oppressions of the British government and promote the cause of its victims. Finally, Abduh is sympathetically, if ambiguously, presented in Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, which was published in 1908.
 10. We shall study the economic ideas of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, the great revolutionary of the nineteenth century, in the second part of this project.
 11. Its life was just nine months, from March 13, 1884 to October 10, 1884. It is said that it was the first Arabic paper to appear in Europe. *Tārīkh*, vol. I, p. 292; cf. Philip De Tarraji (1913), *Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfah al-Arabīyah*, Beirut.
 12. According to Kedourie (1966, p. 13), a feature of the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* is that it insists, in a manner reminiscent of Afghani, on the social utility of religion. The prophetic office, argues Abduh, enables society to maintain itself and to avoid calamity and anarchy; religion, in fact, is a good substitute for the natural feelings of love and sympathy between individuals, which ordinarily do constitute and maintain the bonds of society.
 13. Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–98), born in Delhi, tried to strengthen the position of Muslims after the fall of Mughal rule in India. Unlike Abduh, who supported the Urabi uprising against the European control in Egypt,

Khan kept himself aloof from the mutiny of 1857, which ended with the abolition of the 1000-year Muslim rule in India. However, Khan put the blame on British policy for this mutiny, as they had targeted the Muslims as a whole. In his last days, he established the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O.) College at Aligarh, which later became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920.

14. Al-Afghani targeted Sayyid Ahmad Khan's ideas in his only treatise in Persian, *al-Radd 'alā-al-Dahrīyīn* ('Refutation of the materialists').
15. In ancient Egypt, when the Prophet Joseph was the food minister at a time of drought, the people came from far away places to collect grain from Egypt. See the Qur'an 12: 58–65. During the entire Islamic period, Egypt has been supplying food grains to the Hijaz.
16. It is interesting to note that in the conflict of the capitalist and the labourer, Karl Marx (1818–1883) also used a similar expression. ('The proletarians of the world have nothing to lose but their chains.')
17. Riyāḍ Pāshā (1835 or 1836–1911) was an Egyptian statesman. He served as prime minister of Egypt three times during his career. His first term was between 21 September 1879 and 10 September 1881. His second term was from 9 June 1888 to 12 May 1891. His final term lasted from 17 January 1893 to 16 April 1894.
18. The island Sakız (Turkish) is known by different names, such as Scio (Genoese), Chio (Italian) and Chios Island (Sakız Adası) (Greek).
19. Perhaps this was the American Mutual Life Insurance Company, which was incorporated in 1897.
20. Mahmudul-Haq (1970) reports this in two places in his work *Muhammad Abduh... without any reference to Abduh's work*. He says, 'The most famous of his fatwās is one that makes it legal for the Muslims "to deposit their money in banks and draw interest on it"' (pp. 9, 45).
21. For a detailed analysis of Riḍa's report and its ambiguous content, see Badawi, 1964, pp. 223–39.

5 The Economic Ideas of Two Tunisian Statesmen: Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi and Bayram al-Khamis

1. Jami' al-Zaytunah was established by Umayyad, governor of Tunis in 720 H.
2. For more details, see Amin, 1979, p. 149.
3. Some of the information about al-Tunisi's biography was obtained through various Internet sources, especially one prepared by Larry A. Barrie: <http://www.answers.com/topic/khayr-al-Din#ixzz1fYDeUBhw>, accessed on 11.11.2011.
4. *Spahis* (French pronunciation: [spa.i]) is defined in Wikipedia as 'light cavalry regiments of the French army recruited primarily from the indigenous populations of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The modern French Army retains one regiment of Spahis as an armoured unit, with personnel now recruited in main land France. Senegal also maintains a

- spahi regiment as a presidential escort, the Red Guard.' The Ottoman cavalry corps were called Sipahi. Available at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spahi>, accessed on 29-7-2012.
5. The Arabic original of Khayr al-Din's work, first published in Tunis in 1284/1867, was divided into two parts, on the pattern of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* and his history. Accordingly, al-Tunisi called its first part the *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomena). The second part gives European countries' history, geography, population, sociopolitical organization, and so on. Like Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*, al-Tunisi's *Muqaddimah* is more important than the main work. In this, he presents a comparative image of European and Muslim societies. His purpose was to explore the basic causes of Europe's progress and the decline of Muslim states and to offer remedies for their decadence. Al-Tunisi's *Aqwam al-Masālik* has been translated into English language by Leon Carl Brown, under the title *The Surest Path*. It is acknowledged hereby that this translation has been used in the present study, along with the original Arabic version.
 6. Another example: the 'Introduction' of Ahmad b. Abu al-Diyaf's (1219–91/1804–76) work, *Ithāf Ahl al-Zamān bi Akhbār Mulūk Tunis wa 'Ahd al-Amān*, shows that the author was highly influenced by the *Muqaddimah* of Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi's *Aqwam al-Masālik* (Ibn Abu al-Diyaf, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 16–19, 45–6). Like Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi, Ibn Abu al-Diyaf also appreciated the *Tanzīmāt* and emphasized the establishment of justice and the removal of tyranny and despotism for socioeconomic progress.
 7. At the end of Bayram's *Şafwat al-I'tibār*, volume 5, there is a biography of the author, written by his son. Its pages are unnumbered; here, we give the pages after having counted them.
 8. This has been the tragedy of the Muslim world, whereby rulers paid more attention to building such monuments and spending public money extravagantly. In the sixteenth century, when Great Britain was establishing the likes of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, we were busy constructing the Taj Mahal and Red Forts.

6 The Economic Thinking of Arab *Literati*: Mubarak, al-Nadim, and al-Kawakibi

1. Most Arab scholars of the nineteenth century, including Mubarak, highlighted this, as they aimed at removing any hesitation on the part of Muslims about adopting Western sciences.
2. This is a reference to two verses of the Qur'an (89: 7–8): 'The (city of) Iram, with lofty pillars, the like of which were not produced in (all) the land.'
3. *Kisra* means emperor Khosrau of Iran (known as Chosroes in the West).
4. As noted above, Mubarak's own family had fled from Birinbal to al-Hammadiyah.
5. See note 22 in Chapter 2.
6. For details, see Chapter 2, the section on the Urabi Revolt.

7. Ibn Khaldun (n.d.) presented this thesis in his *Muqaddimah*, Book One, p. 86.
8. Like al-Tunisi, he also emphasized these measures to promote invention and innovation and to develop the economy. See Chapter 5.
9. He is referring to the Qur'anic verses (70: 24–25): 'In their wealth there is a known share for the beggar and deprived'.
10. He is referring to the hadith, which says *zakāh* will be collected from the rich and it will be disbursed on their poor (al-Bukhari, 1987, vol. 2, p. 159).

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