## 3 CHASING A MIRAGE

THE TRAGIC ILLUSION OF AN ISLAMIC STATE

## TARE FATAH




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& \text { تو }
\end{aligned}
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اسلاكَرياست ك ${ }^{\text {اساب }}$

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\begin{aligned}
& \text { طرق تٌ }
\end{aligned}
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& \text { آر-بִ-5، يكنئفلور، }
\end{aligned}
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\begin{aligned}
& \text { لا لا بور-54600، آكتان } \\
& \text { ؤن , ونكّ: 042-35866859 }
\end{aligned}
$$

Email: mashbks@brain.net.pk
*
حصم اول: وانمـ
-2
حصـوم:بنيا,

$$
-11
$$

$$
-12
$$

بّ لثظ: ديّن تقأف
اظهباتثنر
كصل كام
نوّل

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\end{aligned}
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اقجّال احم
روزنامـوُان، كرإِّ -1998

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& \text { كَوت ( ) }
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& \text { ط }
\end{aligned}
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بنا ليا ب -



ثير

. لنيّ
ان تُام اجزا يّن

 جثثِ جو.













范





















"ا"





 كرانهو انتملمانون ذن جنو










 كـ

تزارو لیاب-

2002 4







 اوركمة"،





 "条



 يـ





 بز, ع ر.






 كنو قامت پَنْوِ











، كم كو معلوم
<

اسلام منى







 پرحْفز














 مطلبوت
اس كتّب پ.





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ان المولو


(
 بنركروينا جا


ونارفـا

رقاصول




 صأُ يا نى


 $-{ }_{6}$


 اس
 - The Murder of History



كَ




اياين،غزن ياكى اورئيرلم سآ



























 **

 هوك




" "اسلاق ريا 6
 عا او.








 ثّل بِ -
,وتر


 وونج






范









طورقون



سَ

صـا:ـ

وانم~


اسملا

 ربَ (范








هِانَّ


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L,











 گُ




 تغ







 كبـت بوُان

 چگُ



.
 ثورو كروي



هاهوثك كا جا با

- ط




 هِانَ گَا


ريا
"








 "
 ك ع عط















ط ط ع"ّ



 ثم


二




.
 سلمانو




 اليك ريا


 كا هوت ن هلا ،وـ خلفا





كي پورى هوكت ب؟؟















שׁ"





اسماقى رياست




 , إبا



 ? , ويح ،و
 هموثز



## ركيّ"





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 ر









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كيا جا سكما_ ان عـالفا طي:





 هقيت الـا



 "ي 1920،
 "ي عبرالراز

 زرار








علي بعراراز


















 ك كنريات براشت iنب
 "ي ن لا



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 ك
. —共 p
 خيفتّا مسلمانو





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 كَ كَ قَ
-
اتبال اور بعباراز


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之




 : كـ
"י"










 انكركَ الت-



 Y ¢-





 ونكِ بِ كه: " گُّ "


; ;









.نْو


 اقبال كهم بِّ:"


 !疗 روطنيت ع زو, هفر" "ووبن" (Hobbes)







 كضروت rوق""


 .
 ج.


 عمهم










انانَ توز










 عقيـ <
屋 6

(i)


 كم ازم ابيك برا زرليج


نْ
















 ك انان اسما
 اظطهر
 , ررثيقت اسمام پينرول كم






 ـ

 ايك ثا

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- 的



جيا كـآيت مباركى ب- تمار













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اورتُ تِ؟






；；آن．．．．．．． ；




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子號


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埌





























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 ذ







 سلمانو كَ

 جا گيررارون اورچچو

 هو


 ثيثرفت ،وكَ







 ذ
 آنج ونو













 ك ? ${ }^{\text {? }}$




 , ريا „













 نانب اورنـل تام هوّ



 (Row Bacon
 جبر بو گُش -














隹



 ريا

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 ب- جنا







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مرك 6نi




















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 ا





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بكى ثّل ب-











انهو





 الساّ





كى روح ع منا
اسلام 6 نا م استعال كيا اور او
 ع عوا
بنُّ وبيث ع تيا مك راه بمواركر بى-

1948 \& "







 جب إكتّ

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الف ليوى التا












ووران پپ.




سـر

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 كيونز







 ثر ثناكُمايتكى

 ـيا










 اتى



 قو



 اكتبر 1958ヶكونج












 حـايت رنى



 - 二号
\%













ط

كى اسلام پن.






-نفاوات عضاتوكا


طثت ازبامْوگيا















كمكا كاسا
جو بات انهو كعلم يّ لا

















 كريّ
إكت


 وت

 1947 \&

























بن بكت ب-






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اكرستورى








قوانين ك ثشان بنايا باتا ب-
 باب كَ

چا
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 2007












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身




سعورك צب: اسلاقى رياستون كا مرپّست







之



































 " " "ان"انهو

















1802 \&




 بي























 كر ليا واب وورمى
















ا" "ا"
















الئؤ












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之 ن











ابن وبرالوإبـ كنز









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 (اكت عظظل وتمَ اص





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1901


 انْون ذنظا


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هُمْزاروى كَ آواز بن كراجم




















هارى تما \%


\%



 - ت ت





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 با


 2005 سَورى




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 بكراثابت






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مقدمكر ب


若










هارىجْ

, و"شر






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86


كمانُوز ن 6









چوث大ا باب

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 رنماوُ

















 ورك بات با











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\end{aligned}
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شيون كَ



















1979 ك6 آتقاب








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 كثّ"




 ; ار روي
 كى هد





 تقم





 وي بات匕 ب كيونكا
 با



 كج , ونا كـ
بي













 عول ولز










 Counter Coup: The Struggle for the control of Iran روز وبلـ

















展


 6 6
 گر:تركر عجبا وطنكر





 - 官








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 با بضوص

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 گَ
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ايك ٪٪فثلط هوگ-"





 كى وهز


场

 بـ






 صحفت كز








 والـ إكتا





 (of Disinherited

















 ان


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 ملاوُ





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 "نْ لكَ




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 , ":
 ان ان لوز اتزارب
 هو ذك بكا





ب٪ جها



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 ستمارب بَ
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ك ك










 جا

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## 

1969،




模 6














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گ\%ناه

華




















 (Bantustan) (










 ط








 حث








 آواز



 -ك


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برسا



ثّ.



الإن شِيو 6 6





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ووت





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برك بك







ك





 حاس كَ

 "ن



 برّك انهو


 - ب



 (Vitality)






(Origins)

"of Deception

 ک.جزل
 ............


(Universty
 ¿沙
 كو كيها
1980









之




 ك طاى








 تح
 !








منول كا اندراور بإمرونو



 غ




 "نْ ب، بجهوجهي كَ بجا



نزهابر بار بند كتما


 ز




 الها
 كول 6 ;كركيا ب،

 ارارايّلثّ






隹

















, وونو ا پ ا










 مهابِه جيوا كَ منز, !
 فلـطن كَ











نا م














户

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استعالكركيك ع

















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6اك ك




קاحت

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& \text { ن ن ل! } \\
& \text { يّ ايكـوب بون }
\end{aligned}
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\begin{aligned}
& \text { هي } 8 \text { بي }
\end{aligned}
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\begin{aligned}
& \text { ! } \\
& \text { بي ايكّب بو } \\
& \text { ثيرانا مكى ثناذت عبنير }
\end{aligned}
$$





حضور كَ رحلت

〔（ا） بكَ اثن



人 زاردِ





人U
 ربجّل باتا


 ال山据 بلدخيزت الرول 6 اتثاق را









 بالك كر وا كانهو 之

 ج










 ك



 تبيلم :
 تصويقّ جان: پ夕
 (اور ايكـ ع 9 تكل ع Infinity)
 ،نور رياضن وانو


L انى


 , وونّ پیرپپ


 بإنطيو كَ





،

















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 , فنا






 حק























 ك ،




آنجّق





 ابتراكَ ووربّ تازعات كا وج
"



 ن ن ن




 ليكن اصل يّ وهرفنوروك جوابه با

㞔
















(الترآن:49/3)





















 ب- آ



انكا زك

 i نبَ















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 ك











سزياهبرتَّب"،










پا




،وَثُk-







 تانم


 ناراضَّى6اظهاركيا

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 , الاّقنى
 اغزاف محا



 كران 工





جا＂ثير ك وا









之揞


辰






 چا










" "







 آپ̋
 اس كتاب بيّب















"وورونّ
















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"



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راوك ايآن كـ



因 - الا

2
 ال الٌ ,













اس روز رونما،




























 نجنو .











ت






 كرويابّ"
اسْ

 ح户ت الوبر مريت حكّل مزا. اجتا












 يرك!



 ح户ت تيْراسالم









 هينيّ






 ك ك







ازاراتون گ""










انمصب پرنتج كــة يِّ"،


 ان كا

艮


ان رُبيّ
انكَكركريا-




 بنربــت كيا

"بق "The Heirs of the Prophet"

 آياور آپ عک:









" "








ثشاررت اور . كاس اسル






言








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",
" "





نتْبو 2




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اكرج انصار اور












جوانْ




























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با با..............












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, نيا مُ ع سلمانونوا
ال

 قِبِ ا




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& \text { هِ }
\end{aligned}
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ساتوال!

اسلامكومرن i،




634ء) )،
راشيّن كَ وا

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كتَث




竍
 اورثم




 ک




 ،م مسلمان ها كتّم .نَّ

 ‘نی

 קر ليق

يـ















 انهو ذ خنفا







 اورمنوى|




" "ياه فام قونول" عوا







 را


حزت
وبا




-



Vice-regent


 خيفّ يل -


 هقيت كم وصرن ربول کنا

 "



 مهابرو




لبّن كزن اور رالاربلٍ

 نيّ










 گ6ا




居
: تؤر لي


 كر





 سالارناله بن وليرّ

















 ك




حصون يّ







 بيايمانان
－至调地に









الوبرْ


















之




 الكيّثمن ع با

ا"












 كوَّ مسلمان ها










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会








 كر二
















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"
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 رونو بو سَّ بّ"












ن آ~ ن ,





 ,






اسلام:بول كربـب





 ج




كى كنت ک تنا














 كر وى-ج













كُ


 صاف صاف كهو ويا كو




 Sliding كـ كا Scale









س





 ابازت

























 "ي ملمانو




 1. 1 هِ



 عـا

 رزا كوحزت



ذ6
















تا ثا لت ب




بال
 ثشات
تُن ،
حْ

اكي بار گ/ا انهو


 كر بح تِ،




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ان


كو أح

 ثان





 ; ;ك لتا





 كرב توع انْو


 ن. (3)









 ,






گناهمجما باتا ب-

rتاب، ابيسّن مطالركمتا بك:


بح









 ك طور






خلافت كَابتراكَّروريّ:





انتقال





 كي تاك

ورست راستحrb-













户

















 على















"

برى نجم ـليابّ"










نْ

كـنافُ اور بالاجاز




كرـن وا

 "


ك ورياي عدم هساوات اورنز










جنْو *



 קز
 ثونا

 تح كِ تواوبا
远














 كر號










 -كال كراياجبا



 rو









كوانگّ




 ,




































 كر (







 اطاوت ع




 ع





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كا



 بنارشك جواز

 سا






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شورونو






كِ




 اورخم





 , شنور جنو

 - 莀


 ونح"ْ





 پَ
之شنيركرايا تّا






之 这









 زورويا

















ليكن بات پيت بـبثيجربىى















 كِيْ پي








 ن خؤ


















ڤ̈ ا- انهو





علاوّ




 جال تِ جمٌ لوپ

 ك ا قتّ اركَ حص ك شاخا | آ غا زُم تكس جُطّ



 إتوّ جنَّه ك وروان ايكِ
 رونو


 קر
 كر二化





 ورُ














!



 كا
 كَ

 كوإنا طامْ امزوروريا







(پ العاص كى بارى آكَ توانهو
 خليفنامْركتا بول


, يمهو
 يّ




كيا
 نا"


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 ابج


ربخ







 , ونح 6 ;

 اساعيلو ن ذ بوي












## آَّوال باب





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 بتا
** اس افوّ ناكَجْ
 تُورُى







-







 -
 طل



 كم تِاهر ج
 گورز --
 ظالـصف آراء وي

























الِّ

 كر二 ک


- \% \%




روايت بڭ



،










 كلَ بناوت




?


















 آ اركّ طاءر كروى-


 تميت 广 "تز ف6" كرو










معاوبيٌ:



 اور انب كـذافت قّارو
 باوجور روزو ابيس وو"


 كَ خابال


 پ.



 630ء ャ

 , وثنموU كوحاج اور الوسفيانٍ
 حاصل «وگ اوراوپ




 ك號










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\end{aligned}
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 وروان ثالام بنا گيا


 60

-











 ضانت و,





















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 كريّ،

عنير ليقن كر 2 بي


 پإ آ


 پر





 بكا二


 كغنيرك بيار بنا ربا تاه































 آنج ملمانو






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 שלّ؟
 ،



 ع بإوبو,

نا نبق


范




























 ك


ذ 28







 , ثق 今,




 بك (

 رحت :وك"
الن

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كر ك








غوبَ





حـ



ن



之أ⿸厂⿱⿱㇒日小心









 -توازى

 كمراذكـ










 كط كِ سزيارْ






















 قحايت عطُوّ اشا


 پ.










 كرواراواكيا







چا






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ثيدحّن زُ



كر二









تك وتّت كرفـ

ק


اتى ورو بي يبوا اقتحرونا يواـ








ليكنثّر









آنـ

 ,






 - تو







 ركن ثورك' پيثال
























 بيت








 6" ${ }^{\text {T" }}$





: كا




روك ريا."



















ج

 پر پ. .
 ثظانٍ ب)








750ء ؛


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-
"ورز كَا با

## زوان!




机 "The Best Days"








No









 رونو
屋





اورُن اور



6 openness












1492 \& 4 .ي جبك


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& \text { ج }
\end{aligned}
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ك كن آ آعَ


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 (Rationalism)


 نضبم












 , واــ


 -

 (光 (Cahnokah)












 آزي
人,


 ا ال~





Pomegranate
 ?








 (Dominican)



 ن رو






اسك وجوروُطانچ ليا



;
ثشم اور










 كه ع
 ايكـت تيكا


 ينَ حبـن نب

 صورتانتياركركئى




 ج



 خالانت يِّ

 كا





中




 اورجزب بين صحارا ع عالون كنقّى

ريونيو اكمّاكر ن


 تنور-تان كَ






 "























 ，وور







 سِا⿰亻⿱丶⿻工二又寸










 نك








 سلط

 $-6$
وبرارجمان كَ ان بربقو





 ساز باز پ.



-"
اس جُو






 اموى بإشات عباّى خلا فت ثي عبا


ظالمان آرصم








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 كُ












 عذ信






 Dynamics of Power اورول צ'








 - 若






 Elgreco
















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27






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 شال ،و گُش






之



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 , بإل تيا ح ح






















1211

之











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6 Albigensian Crusade




 ك

 قيارت گֶ 6


















 ع حـ

 تهِ يكما جا


 ; ; ;




 جقو


 (1086-1153)








 انتاق را


 ק پ..

آخراル إت







 ،


 , وانيون اورورا 6










 با- با

كاركروسكت ب؟؟













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 جاتّا












 انظاريثّن يُيمنا لو.

 r


 اورور ك ك كط


جا


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" "








 بارشات كّل


بات

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 هلمانو كو,


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户 1481

 ،و ايل

ون اب گُ با كُ بَ بِ "،









, واثّل ,












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تكس تيدركا گيا-
































 ;

اب باب بولز

 ،

 اكمراء ع بالزو!
1492 ؛و





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& \text { 之 جـها كركا"" } \\
& \text { " "ne سكت " }
\end{aligned}
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$$
\begin{aligned}
& -4
\end{aligned}
$$



و"وال !اب

750 \&

 قا














لِّرى شَ








范
 مקانَّ كَ ¢
 يّ
 .























 ،و









 تِ

 ر
 " " "














تقيمات بـع كَ

















خالتق قُمُكا











 ها يوي





 نانران 6 اقتّار ارون
 (少





 پا








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## واثى

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59 Even if we are cut to pieces a thousand times: Ibid, 29.
59 The left had been warned of just such an event: Bijan Jazani
was assassinated in 1975, along with six of his fellow Fidayeen members and two from the Mujahideen Khalq in the hills overlooking Evin prison. SAVAK, the Shah's intelligence arm, claimed that the men were killed while trying to escape from prison, but it is widely believed the nine were executed.

64 forklift trucks were used to make it easier for prisoners to be hanged from cranes: "Khomeini Fatwa 'Led to Killing of 30,000 in Iran,'" Christina Lamb, The Telegraph, June 19, 2001.
64 "The execution of several thousand prisoners in a few days will not have positive repercussions': Ibid.
64 'False comparisons are frequently made": Samir Amin, "Political Islam," CovertAction Quarterly 71 (Winter 2001): 3-6, Washington, DC.
64 'The club of the pen and the club of the tongue is the worst of clubs': Shaul Bakhash, The Reign of the Ayatollahs (1984), p.
146.

67 the offi ce of the President is purely for Iran.: "Bani-Sadr saga shows up the loopholes," The Crescent International, Toronto, July 16-31, 1981.


73 'homosexuals and lesbians, [are] a minority of perverts': Zahar was interviewed by cnn's Wolf Blitzer on January 29, 2006. www.edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0601/29/le.01.html.
75 Those secularists who support dictators and colonizers are mainly interested in living the good life: Joseph Massad as quoted by Hussein Ibish in "Sense, Nonsense and Strategy in the New Palestinian Political Landscape," American Task Force on Palestine. ww.americantaskforce.org/policy_and_analysis.
75 'The position of Mahmud Darwish on Oslo": As'ad AbuKhalil, The Angry Arab News Service, Monday, June 18, 2007. www.angryarab.blogspot.com/2007_06_01_archive.html.
75 'I want Nobel. Please give me Nobel.': Ibid. Saturday, July 21, 2007. www.angryarab.blogspot.com/2007_07_01_archive.html.

75 'These hyperbolic, hyper-personalized and low-blow attacks':
Hussein Ibish, "Sense, Nonsense and Strategy in the New
Palestinian Political Landscape," American Task Force on
Palestine, September 7, 2007.
www.americantaskforce.org/policy_and_analysis.
76 opposed establishing any state on the basis of religion, "even if it's done by Hamas.' : Adonis was interviewed on Dubai TV on March 11, 2006.
77 "And if the Mossad could arrange for Hamas . . . to take over
the Palestinian streets from the PLO,'": Victor Ostrovsky, The Other Side of Deception, 196.
77 "The Muslim Brotherhood leadership urged Fatah to purge its ranks'": Ziad Abu-Amr, Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza, 49.
77 the Israel secret service gave covert support to Hamas: Robert Dreyfuss, Devil's Game, 208.
77 acting ' with the direct support of reactionary Arab re-gimes...': Corriere Della Sera, December 11, 2001, as quoted in Robert Dreyfuss, Devil's Game, 209.
78 "Can you blame Palestinians for now asking for a one-state solution?": Jehad Aliweiwi in conversation with the author.
78 'wrapping such organisations in the fl ag of Islam': Samir Amin, "Political Islam,"CovertAction Weekly 71 (Winter 2001): 3-6, Washington, DC.
82 "Certainly Palestinian-Americans and their allies have to recognize that their traditional approaches have failed.': Hussein Ibish, "Sense, Nonsense and Strategy in the New Palestinian Political Landscape."
82 'Those liberals and leftists presently inclined to be sympathetic to Hamas need to step back": Ibid.
82 This scarred, marred brightness: Faiz Ahmad Faiz, "The Dawn of Freedom," a poem written in August 1947 (translated by the author).
83 Record!/ I am an Arab: Mahmoud Darwish, "Identity Card," a poem written in 1964.


88 'out of their love for him, took an oath of allegiance.': Abul Ala Maudoodi, Khilafat o malooqiat, 83.
89 both accounts could be true, according to some sources: Ali's claim came in a speech at the battle of Siffi n ("Nasr Muzahim al-Minqari, Waqat Siffi, " ed. Abd al-Salam Muhammad Harun, Cairo 1962). For more on Aisha's claim, see Ibn Ishaq, The Life of Muhammad. Most historians and scholars of Islam side with Aisha's version of the death of Muhammad, but some suggest that both accounts could be true (e.g., Barnaby Rogerson, The Heirs of Muhammad, 31).

90 immediately after his death his companions started feuding over power: Wilfred Madelung, The Succession to Muhammad, 43.

91 ambition for the leadership replaced zeal for the religion: Ali
Dashti, Twenty-Three Years: A Study of the Prophetic Career of Mohammad, 167.
92 the tendency to treat the religion as a means, rather than as an end in itself: Ibid.
92 'I know not if ever I shall meet you in this place after this year.'": Martin Lings, Muhammad, 334.
92 "An Arab is superior to a non-Arab in nothing, but devotion.": Maxime Rodinson, Muhammad, 286, from Jahiz, kitab al-bayan wa-t-tabyin, ed. Harun, Cairo.
93 "We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female,":
A. Yusuf Ali, trans. and commentator, The Holy Quran, verse 49.011, 1406.

93 'I perfected your religion for you, completed.': Ibid, chapter 5, verse 3, 240.
95 'Dissensions have come like waves of darkness': Hadith, or saying of the Prophet,
as translated by Sir John Glubb, The Life and Times of Muhammad, 360.
95 "Subversive attacks are falling one after another like waves of
darkness'": Muhammad Husayn Haykal, The Life of
Muhammad, 495.
95 'Go, therefore and ask him if this affair [that is the caliphate] shall be ours": Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 8, quoting Bin Qutaybah.
95 'Stretch out your hand that I may pledge allegiance (ba'yah)
to you': Ibid.
96 only Ali, his trusted lieutenant and son-in-law: Martin Lings, Muhammad, 339.
96 "Carry out the expedition to the Syrian border," he ordered.:
Ibn Ishaq, The Life of Muhammad, 173.
97 'close them all save those which lead to the house of Abu-Bakr': Ibid.
97 "And this Ali is the guardian of all those for whom I am a guardian.': Masnad
Ahmad ibn-e-Hambal, vol. 4, 372, Ibn Kathir, Al Bidaya wa nnihayah, 209.

98 "I have allowed only what the Quran allows': Ibn Ishaq, The

Life of Muhammad, 173.
98 'a major contemporary Occidental work on the Prophet':
Edward Said, review of Muhammad by Maxime Rodinson, back cover.
98 Those present were at fi rst astonished, and then began arguing amongst themselves: Ali Dashti, Twenty-Three Years, 174.

98 Those present were much perplexed at this, wondering whether they ought to trust the abstractedness of a sick man.: Maxime Rodinson, Muhammad, 288.
99 However, Umar 'held fi rmly to his judgment': Muhammad Husayn Haykal, The Life of Muhammad, 500.
100 "Oh men, if anyone worships Muhammad, Muhammad is dead.' ': Ibn Ishaq, The Life of Muhammad, 651.
100 Muhammad is only a messenger: Ahmed Ali, trans. Al-Quran,
64.

101 'everyone had forgotten the body still lying in Aisha's little hut.': Maxime Rodinson, Muhammad, 291.
102 'Strengthen your hold on this affair': Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 9. Ayoub quotes from an early account of the Saqifah debate attributed to Abd Allah b. Muslim bin Qutaybah al Dinwari.
103 'Nonetheless, a group of you have gone to the extreme of seeking to deprive us of our natural leadership': Muhammad Husayn Haykal, The Life of Muhammad, 509.
103 he was "ready to put an end to this situation once and for all by the sword.'": Ibid, 509.
103 "We are therefore the chiefs (Umara) and you (the people of Medina) are the subordinates (Wuzura).': Mahmoud M.
Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 11. Ayoub quotes from Bin Qutaybah again.
103 "The Arabs do not and will not recognize any sovereignty": Muhammad Husayn Haykal, The Life of Muhammad, 509.
103 they should recognize the Meccan Arabs as the 'leaders" and consider themselves as no more than the "helpers.'": Tabari,
The History of al-Tabari, vol. 10, 4-5.
104 "delegate the management of their affairs to those among whom prophethood appears': Ibid.
104 "If the men of Khazraj were to show their ambitions concerning this affair': Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of

Muslim History, 11-12. Ayoub is quoting from Uthman bin Bahr al-Jahiz.
105 "O Abu-Bakr, stretch forth your hand": Muhammad Husayn Haykal, 510.
105 Umar cursing the old man, 'Kill Sa'ad, may God kill Sa'ad.'':
Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 15.
105 'By God, if you remove a single hair from it': Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 10, 8-9.
105 'Pre-Islamic mode of authority surfaced immediately after Muhammad's death': Liyakat N. Takim, The Heirs of the Prophet, 6.
106 "Islam came to be identifi ed with the Arabs.": Ibid, 7.
106 At his public ceremony in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina,
Abu-Bakr gave a stirring speech,: To this day, Abu-Bakr's
speech is considered the standard that Muslim heads of government claim to aspire to. Few, if any, have met that threshold.
106 'I am appointed to govern you, although I'm not the best of you.' : Ibn Ishaq, The Life of Muhammad, 175.
106 Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) was a Tunisian Berber. As a historian, sociologist, and philosopher, his reputation rests on The Book of
Exemplaries and the Collection of Origins and Information
Respecting the History of the Arabs, Foreigners and Berbers and Others
Who Possess Great Power. Just the introduction to this
seven-volume work is considered a masterpiece. Titled
"Muqaddima," it is a systematic analysis of the development of
history and society, and one of the earliest rational philosophies of history.
107 Islamic scholars have discussed the qualities required in a caliph: Abd-al Aziz Abd-al-Qadir Kamil, Islam and the Race Question, 40.
108 only the ailing Saad bin Ubadah refusing to acknowledge
Abu-Bakr's caliphate.: Saad bin Ubadah later left Medina and migrated to Syria, where he died in mysterious circumstances many years later, some say, at the instigation of Umar.
108 "Abu-Bakr, leading the funeral procession would appear as the Prophet's appointed successor.'": Maxime Rodinson, Muhammad, 292.
108 only when she heard Ali and his Uncle Abbas digging the grave in the middle of the night.: Ibn Ishaq, The Life of

Muhammad, 177.
108 approached the tribal leaders of Medina, seeking their support in his dispute with Abu-Bakr.: Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 19, from Bin Qutaybah, v. 1, 29-30.

108 'Should I have left the Messenger of God in his house unburied and gone to quarrel with men over his authority?': Ibid, 19.
109 'You would then have killed the brother of the Messenger of God.' ${ }^{\prime}$ : Ibid, 20.
109 "That you are the servant of God, yes we agree": Ibid.
109 Peshawar Nights is a book written by one Sultanu'l-Wa'izin Shirazi.
It claims to be an account of a public debate between Shias and
Sunnis on January 27, 1927, in the city of Peshawar. The
dialogue was held in Farsi and the transcript, made by four reporters and published in the newspapers, was published in book form in Tehran in 1971, the year Sultanu'l-Wa'izin died at the age of seventy-five.
109 'We prophets do not give any inheritance.': Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 21.
110 "You have defrauded us of our right and did not heed it."
Quoted in Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History,
23.

110 'I wish I had not searched the house of Fatima': Quoted in Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 29.
111 "The conquest . . . intoxicated the Arabs with pride.': Ali Dashti, Twenty-Three Years, 179.


112 "The period of the 'Right-going' Caliphate": Abul Ala Maudoodi, "Political Thought in Early Islam," in M.M. Sharif, ed., A History of Muslim Philosophy, 665.
113 'the complete and perfect model of an Islamic political system does not exist today.": Jamal Badawi, "The Nature of the Islamic Political System," IslamOnline.Net, October 10, 2004, published online at
www.islamonline.net/English/introducingislam/politics/Politics/article05.shtml. 115 "the Negro nations are, as a rule, submissive to slavery": Ibn

Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, 117.
115 writes in glowing terms about the time of the first four Muslim caliphs: Abul Ala Maudoodi, in M.M. Sharif, ed., A History of Muslim Philosophy, p. 665.
115 'slave with a mutilated ear.': Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 14, 43.
116 'I am not the caliph of God': Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, 389.

116 'O People, I have been given authority over you; yet, I am not the best of you.' : Barnaby Rogerson, The Heirs of Muhammad, 129.
117 the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only.: Verses $3: 72,3: 90-91,16: 106,4: 137$, and 5:54 of the Quran deal with apostasy directly and do not prescribe death or any earthly punishment.
118 'There is no compulsion and coercion': Abul Ala Maududi, trans., The Holy Quran, verse 2:256, 63.
118 Malik's head was struck off: Ali Abd al-Razik, Islam and the Fundamentals of Authority, 520.
119 There is no god, but God: Ibid, 522.
119 "Cover not Truth with falsehood": A. Yusuf Ali, trans., The Holy Quran, verse 2:42.
120 Abu-Bakr's injunction that the Quraysh Arabs of Mecca were
divinely ordained to rule: Mahmoud M. Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 11, citing Bin Qutaybah.
120 obedience to the Imams is . . . obedience to God: Ali Abd al-Razik, Islam and the Fundamentals of Authority, 526-27.
122 dirhams: The silver dirham was the currency of early Islam, adopted from the name the Greek coin, the Drachm. The silver dirham and the Islamic gold dinar continued to be the dominant international currencies until the 13th century.
122 Abu Bakr's allowance: Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam, 412.
123 O guide of the way, it is either the light of dawn or evil!:
Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 11, 148.
125 Mawali is an Arabic word used to address non-Arab Muslims. In the early years of Islam, after the Prophet's death, the Mawali
were considered second class in Arabian society, even beneath
freed Arab slaves. After Umar set the rules of sabiqa, the term gained wide usage and was widely applied to many non-Arabs
such as Persians, Egyptians, Indians, and Turks who had converted to Islam after Arab armies conquered these territories. Whereas the Quran and Muhammad spoke of the equality of all, irrespective of race, these new Muslim converts were treated as second-class citizens by the ruling Arab elite of the Umayyad dynasty.
125 'Messenger of God was frugal': Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 12, 206.
126 'I will follow the example of the Messenger of God and Abu-Bakr.'': Al-Yaqubi. The History of Al-Yaqubi. vol. 2,
152-54.
127 'Stoning is a duty laid down in Allah's Book': Sahih Muslim, Book 17: 4194.
127 "a goat ate the piece of paper while we were mourning.': Sunan Ibn Maja, vol. 2, 39.
128 'The messenger of God permitted it at a time of necessity.': Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 14, 140.
128 triggered the assassination: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 14, 90.
129 had Ali ibn Abu Talib in mind as one of his targets: Wilfred Madelung, The Succession to Muhammad, 69.
129 'I commend to the caliph after my death the Arabs': Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 14, 92.
130 "The Bedouins, who are the original Arabs": Ibid, 142.
130 Speaking ill of the Companions of the Prophet: Shaikh Faraz Rabbani, SunniPath.com, as seen on May 14, 2007.
131 Abu-Bakr and Umar-carried on with his mission
successfully.: Abul Ala Maudoodi, A Short History of the
Revivalist Movement in Islam, 26-27.
131 weakened the Caliphate.: Ibid.
132 "What prevents you from appointing him': Al-Baladhuri, The Origins of the Islamic State, vol. 2, 501.
132 "When I am dead, hold your consultations for three days.':
Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 14, 146.
132 "How eager you both are to get hold of the caliphate.": Ibid,
93.

132 "I do not like dissension in the family.": Ibid, 145.
133 "Umar had prepared the gesture for me.": Mahmoud M.
Ayoub, The Crisis of Muslim History, 51.
133 'Today evil was born.': Ibid.

134 God has commanded the Imans to be shepherds.: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 15, 7.
134 "I have decided to be generous towards my next of kin.":
Al-Baladhuri, vol. 2, 512.
134 "O you who believe, obey God and the Prophet and those in authority among you," Ahmed Ali, trans., Al-Quran, chapter 4, verse 59 .
136 his exhortations against the wealthy elites: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 15,65.
138 blames the unrest: Tabari, The History of Islam, vol. 2, 22.
141 Ya'la bin Umayyah, stepped forward with a donation: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 14, 41-42.
142 'I will seek revenge for his blood.' : Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 16, 52.
147 "Authority belongs to God": Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol.
17, 218.


149 Ali should not have become the fourth caliph of Islam: Akbar Shah Najeebabadi, The History of Islam, vol. 2, 24. This book was originally written in the Urdu language in 1922.
150 "cannot co-exist in our family.": Ibid.
153 When this ruse failed: Wilfred Madelung, The Succession to Muhammad, 320.
154 'He decreed that that there would be differences between Ali and Amir Muawiyah and the opportunities that followed.'
Akbar S. Najeebabadi, The History of Islam, vol. 2, 53.
154 "tyrant kingdom,": Abul Ala Maudoodi, A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam, 26-27.
154 "Whoever enters the house of Abu Sufyan shall be secure":
Husayn Haykal, The Life of Muhammad, 403.
155 Arab sense of pride of Arab identity reasserted itself: Liyakat N. Takim, Heirs of the Prophet, 7.

155 the Umayyad government took on the colours of an Arab government: Abul Ala Maudoodi, Khilafat o malookiyat (Caliphate and Monarchy), 169-70. Under the Umayyads, non-Arab non-Muslims would fi rst be invited to enter Islam.

Then the non-Muslim tax would be imposed on them because they were not Arabs. And if they wanted to revert back to their original faith, they faced the death penalty, which, contrary to the Quran, was instituted as the punishment for Muslims leaving Islam.
156 the Berber African Muslims staged a rebellion: Maribel Fierro, Abd al-Rahman III, 8-9.
156 executed the Sindhi Muslim ruler: Khalid Yahya Blankinship, The End of the Jihad State, 132.
156 when Sind was invaded by Muhammad bin Qassim: Andre Wink, Al-Hindi: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, 172.
157 Chroniclers write that Qassim brought back ' $120,000,000$ dirhams.' : Ibid, 174.
157 " $120,000,000$ dirhams.": To this day, Muslims in Sind and the rest of Pakistan are taught to respect and eulogize the invading Umayyad army and to understand the plunder of their own land as a tribute to Islam. Textbooks in Pakistan don't mention that Sind already had a Muslim population and that many Muslims served as advisers to Rajah Dahir against Muhammad bin Qassim. It is little wonder that Umayyad rule in India did not last long and left little impact on the culture, cuisine, and language of the Sindhi Muslims. In fact, the Islam that gripped Sind, Baluchistan, and Punjab was deeply infl uenced by Persian and Turkish Sufi s, and this is true even today.
158 'you will give birth to a king': Akbar S. Najeebabadi, The History of Islam, vol. 2, 27.
158 'Jibril came to me and said, 'O Muhammad','": Aisha Bewly, Muawiyah, 5.
158 'Consult Muawiyah in your affairs': Ibid, 5.
159 'Do not refrain from abusing Ali and criticizing him':
Tabari, The History ofal-Tabari, vol. 18, 123.
159 'the instruction that in sermons from the pulpit, Ali should be reviled and insulted.' : Abul Ala Maudoodi, Khilafat o
malookiyat, 174.
162 He wrote a secret letter to the governor of Medina: Tabari, The
History of al-Tabari, vol. 19, 2-3.
163 "Do not attack Mecca.' ': Ibid, 12.
164 "let us attack him in the heart of the Ka'aba': Ibid, 12.
164 asking him to come to Kufa to lead the challenge to Yazid.:

Ibid, 24-25.
164 'The janab has grown green": Ibid, 26.
165 urging him to make the move to Kufa, where an army waited for him to lead: Ibid, 57.
166 Both Muslim and Mani were beheaded: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 19, 74-75, 89.
166 "By God! We will not go back until we have taken our vengeance": Ibid, 94.
167 "A ballista with which we bombard the pillars of the mosque": Ibid, 224.
169 The caravans should not be set out except for three mosques:
Ahmad b. Ab Ya'qub, Ibn Wadih al-Ya'qubi, Tarikh al-Yakubi, vol. 2, 271, Darul Sadr, Beirut. Translation from
http://wwwislamic-awareness.org/History//slamDome_Of_The_Rockhajidome.html, as seen on July 12, 2007.
170 The reason for its construction: Chase F. Robinson, Makers of the Muslim World: Abd al-Malik, 6.
170 end of institutional discrimination against non-Arabs: During the earlier caliphates, while non-Muslim Arabs were permitted to convert to Islam, non-Arabs were discouraged and even when they did convert, they could only do so through the sponsorship of an Arab mawla, hence the term Mawalis.
171 Islam 'as the property of the conquering aristocracy.'": G.R. Hawting, The First Dynasty of Islam, 4.
172 Another nephew of his had a hand and foot chopped off:
Reinhart Dozy, Spanish Islam, 161.


173 The rich synthesis of learning and culture nurtured in Muslim Spain: Erna Paris, The End of Days, 46-47.
174 'the very idea of pluralism was perceived as a threat: Ibid, 47.
174 "The arrival of the Almohads': Ibid, 49.
176 Attempts to move south towards the fabled Wangara: Marq de Villiers and Sheila Hirtle, Timbuktu, 10.
176 "Ye Muslims whither can you flee?': Seed Azizur Rahman, The Story of Islamic Spain, 22.
178 there was no religious stipulation: Linda Zagzebski, Philosophy of Religion: An Historical Introduction, 217.

178 clerics publicly burned many of Averroes' books: Centuries later, the works of Averroes would again be tossed into mountains of burning books by conquering Christian armies who set fi re to all Jewish or Muslim texts as they captured Grenada in 1492.

178 'If one has the means to provide either the [Sabbath] lamp': Moses Maimonides (Ibn-Maimon), Misneh Torah.
180 "What is the point of life without our books of learning?" he cried through scorching lungs.: Tariq Ali, Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree, 4-5.
181 'not a tax-collector.': Reinhart Dozy, Spanish Islam, 123.
181 "God sent Mohammad to call men to the true Faith": Ibid,
130.

182 "its van will be upon them before the rear has left Damascus.'": Ibid, 133.
182 'behead all that fell into his hands': Ibid, 133.
185 The Umayyad emirs of al-Andalus were: Abd al-Rahman I (756-88),
Hisham I (788-96), al-Hakam I (796-822), Abd al-Rahman II (822-52),
Muhammad I of Cordoba (852-86), Al-Mundhir (886-88), and Abdallah ibn Muhammad (888-912).
185 '"The Golden Age of the Umayyad Caliphate,": Hugh
Kennedy, Muslim Spain and Portugal, 82.
186 Hisham III was the last of the Umayyad caliphs, who included: Al-Hakam II (961-76), Hisham II (976-1008),
Mohammed II (1008-9), Suleiman (1009-10), Hisham II again
(1010-12), Suleiman again (1012-17), Abd al-Rahman IV
(1021-22), Abd al-Rahman V (1022-23), Muhammad III
(1023-24), and Hisham III (1027-31).
188 The Spanish term Taifa in the history of Iberia refers to an independent Muslim ruled principality, an emirate or petty kingdom, of which a number were formed in Andalusia after the fi nal collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba in 1031.
190 'Kill them all. God will recognise His own.': Sumption, The Albigensian Crusade, 93, as quoted by Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh in The Inquistion, 12.
191 'Islamic issue which brought about more bloodshed": Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 139.

192 'make raids on our neighbour': Ibid, 25.
195 "The mints of Granada": William Prescott, History of the

Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. 1, 317.
196 "The ruins of Zahara': Ibid, 318.
197 the importance of Malaga: William Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. 2, 25.
197 "decreed the fall of Granada": Ibid, 70.
198 "Y weep like a woman': Ibid, 99.
وسوال !اب: بغراو -ـــاسلام اورايانيولكطلا٪

199 The Abbasid caliphs based their claim to the caliphate on their descent from Abbas ibn Abd al-Mutalib (566-662), the youngest uncle of Prophet Muhammad, by virtue of which descent they regarded themselves as the rightful heirs of Muhammad as opposed to the Umayyads. The Umayyads were descended from Umayyah, and were a clan separate from Muhammad's in the Quraysh tribe.
200 'largely of the old desert type.': De Lacy O'Leary, How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs, 146.
201 Abu Muslim was the leader of the Abbasid revolt. Born in Balkh (now in Afghanistan) of Tajik ancestry, he established Abu al-Abbas as-Saffah as the head of the Abbasid family in 749 and subsequently as the caliph of Islam. He led the charge against Damascus and was instrumental in the defeat of the Ummayads. Abu Muslim later became governor of Khurasan, but because of his immense popularity and power, Caliph Mansoor had him murdered.
201 no job more interesting and enjoyable: Akbar Shah Najeebabadi, The History of Islam, vol. 2, 275.
203 Anbar is the province in Iraq where US troops faced large-scale resistance until the local sheikhs and tribal leaders were enlisted to fight the Al-Qaeda units.
206 You have laid claim to this office: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 28, 167-69.
207 'Muhammad was not the father of anyone": Quran, 33:40.
207 We, not you, are the heirs: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 28,169-76.
208 refuge and protection with a Hindu prince: John Glubb, The Empire of the Arabs, 243.
209 "This is a good place for an army camp.': Tabari, The History
of al-Tabari, vol. 28, 238.
211 My good fortune: John Glubb, The Empire of the Arabs, 262.
211 smothered by two slaves.: Hugh Kennedy, The Court of the Caliphs, 62.
213 "Here I am": Philip Kennedy, Abu Nuwas, 20-21.
213 the most momentous intellectual awakening: Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, 306.
213 Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi (780-850) was an Uzbek mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, and geographer. Born in Khiva, Uzbekistan, he worked most of his life as a scholar in the House of Wisdom in Baghdad. His Algebra was the first book on the systematic solution of linear and quadratic equations.
213 Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Fazari (d. 796) was a Persian philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer who is credited with building the fi rst astrolabe instrument.
214 adding his own contribution.: Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, 307.

218 'For naphtha and shavings for burning the boy': Robert Payne, A History of Islam, 168.
218 when Harun Rashid died: Tabari, The History of al-Tabari, vol. 30, 335.
222 Harun Nasution begins his treatise: Dwi S. Atmaja, Richard C. Martin, and Mark R. Woodward, Defenders of Reason in Islam, 9.

223 "We confess that God has two eyes, without asking how": Ian Almond, Sufism and Deconstruction, 11 .
223 'saved orthodoxy": Quoted in Pervez Hoodbhoy, Islam and Science, 104.
223 'reckon as unbelievers": Hasan Dilshad, Islam: Philosophy and Ideology, 59.
224 'there is no cause but God.': Quoted by Averroes (Ibn-Rush) in Tahafut al-Tahafut (The Incoherence of the Incoherence), 316-17.
224 "My teacher": Mohamed Elmasry, The Quran: 365 Selections for Daily Reading: 226 the right to the wealth : "And those in whose wealth is a recognised right. For the (needy) who asks and him who is prevented (for some reason from asking)," Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an.
227 rivers were clogged: Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, 468.
228 Maalouf's account: Amin Maalouf, The Crusades through Arab Eyes, 52.

229 'How dare you slumber': Ibid, xiii.
229 'Man's meanest weapon,'": Amin Maalouf, The Crusades
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