

it came. Practical devotion therefore consists in entering into the stream, identifying ourselves with the perfect sacrifice of the Son to the Father which we plead in the Eucharist, and thus going home to God in and 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'. 'All things are returning to unity in him through whom they took their origin, even our Lord Jesus Christ.'" (W. K. Lowther Clarke in *Liturgy and Worship*, p. 7.)

The Muslim prayer of peace is attributed to the Prophet: "The Apostle of God used to say when he finished the prayer-rite: 'I ask forgiveness of God' (three times) and he said: 'O God Thou art peace and peace is from Thee. Blessed be Thou the Majestic the Revered.'" (*Al-Kalim-al-Ṭayyib*, p. 44, Muslim, Aḥmad.)

These greetings of peace in the prayer-rite will be seen to embrace the thought of God's greeting, of greeting the Prophet, of the greeting of all believers, and of the greeting of the angels.

GOD'S GREETING

The phrases: "Salutations belong to God" and "Greet us, O Lord with peace," rich as they are in spiritual possibilities are not much developed in the manuals. Muslim thought about the joys of the saints in Paradise has included among them a greeting, from God to His Saints, based on Surah xxxvi.58, perhaps like the "Well done good and faithful servant" of the Gospel parable. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī in his *ʿaqidah* sees the Divine *taḥiyyah* as given to the soul of the believer, or perhaps of the mystic only, immediately after death. Of that soul he says: "When it is snatched away to its Lord at its departure from the body, His beginning with it is the greeting." *Majmūʿ ʿaḥzāb wa awrād*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.

Others would believe that in this prayer we dare to ask God's greeting for the believers yet on earth, to whom it must come like the kiss of peace to the sinful prodigal in another Gospel parable. It is probable that the Hebrew worshippers of old, when they sang "The Lord shall bless His people with peace," thought of that "blessing" as a salutation of peace. In any case Muslim worshippers rightly feel that these phrases lift the whole prayer of greeting from earth to heaven: "The worshipper when (in the *taḥiyyah*) he begins with the supernal world is permitted to enter the sanctuary of the Living Deathless One and to have the solace of intimate converse." (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ*, Al-Suyūṭī, p. 41.)

THE GREETING OF THE PROPHET

The sentence just quoted continues: "And he (the worshipper) is aware that this privilege is his through the Prophet of Mercy, and he turns, and lo the Beloved (Prophet) is present, and he goes toward him with the greeting: 'Peace to thee O Prophet.'" (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*)

So the universal "Salve Muḥammad" ascends: "Peace be to Thee

O Prophet, and the Mercy of God and His blessings." It is an offering of love to Muḥammad from his people, sometimes, as here in the prayer-rite addressed directly to him, but often in other devotions sent to him, as it were, by way of God. "O God, bring to the spirit of our Lord Muḥammad a greeting and a *salām* from me." (*Dalā-ʿil al-Khairāt*, p. 41.) "Greet him with the special greeting which Thou dost reserve for him." (*Ṣalāt in Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, p. 40 (Abū-Ḥasan al-Shādhili.) "Greet him and the Family and the Companions with the *salām* of a lover to his loved ones." (*Ḥizb-al-Najāt*, ʿAlī Wafā. In *Majmūʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 171.)

That this greeting sent by way of heaven is felt to be a real communion with the Prophet is shown by the following: "O God cause our *salām* to reach him and cause a *salām* from him to return to us." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. ʿUthmān al-Mirghani, p. 51.) "And it has come down to us that some of the saints used to hear him reply to the *salām* in the prayer-rite." (*Faḥ-al-Karīm-al-Khāliq*, ʿAlī al-Makkī, p. 12.)

The greatest *salām* of a Muslim's lifetime is that which he utters before the Prophet's tomb at Medina. Directions for this by Al-Suyūṭī, who died in 911/1505, show the greatness of the moment and may be compared with those of the modern guidebook issued for Egyptian pilgrims.

"When he enters the Prophet's mosque it is preferable that he shall offer a prayer of two prostrations in the "Garden" (the pillared space west of the tomb). Then he shall approach the Noble Tomb in the direction of its *qiblah* and stand in front of it four cubits from the head of the Tomb, in such a way that the lamp is above his head and the nail in the wall of the noble enclosure is facing the lamp (it is a silver nail driven into red marble); and he who is facing the nail is confronting the face of the Prophet.

Let him stand gazing down at the lower part of the Tomb enclosure opposite to him, his eyes abased, in the station of awe, lowliness and reverence. Then let him say:

"Peace to Thee, Thou Joy of God's creation! Peace to Thee, Thou beloved of God! Peace to Thee, Thou Lord of the divine messengers! Peace to Thee, Thou seal of the Prophets! Peace to Thee, Thou leader of the Festal Band! Peace to Thee, Thou Bearer of glad tidings! Peace to Thee, Thou Warner! Peace to Thee and to the Pure Ones, people of thy house! Peace to Thee and to Thy pure wives, mothers of the faithful! Peace to Thee and to all Thy Companions! Peace to Thee and to all the Prophets and Apostles and to all the righteous worshippers of God!" (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ*, p. 111 f.)

To-day's guidebook says: "Then let him turn to the Noble Tomb in silence and reverence and humility and deep regard, calling to mind the greatness of the Prophet and that he is alive in his Tomb, the hearer of his prayer, and let him greet him saying with a subdued voice: 'Peace be to Thee, O Apostle of God! Peace be to Thee, O Beloved of God! Peace be to Thee O Best of God's creation! Peace be to Thee, O *Imām* of the pious! Peace to be Thee, O mercy of the universe!' " (*Dalīl-al-Ḥajj*, Muḥammad Ḥasanain Makhlūf, p. 58), (for the four Sunni rites, the directions in the Shīʿah guide books are practically the same.)

Shīʿah worshippers, if the pilgrimage to Karbalā³ is not possible,

will climb on to a high rock or a house-top and give the greeting of peace in the direction of Karbalā².

"He is alive in his tomb," says the guide-book of the Prophet, and there is among Muslim worshippers a strong sense of living presence in the tomb at Medina, backed by many a vision and many a tale of sounds heard issuing from the sepulchre. That the *spirit* of Muḥammad is in the heavenly places (and is for many of his people a focal point of the universe) all Muslims will agree. A common form of the *salām* seems to point to the separation of spirit and body: "Peace be upon him and upon them (the Family), upon their spirits and their bodies." (*Du^ā bain Raka^{āt} nawāfil yaum al-Juma^h*) (Shī^{ah}). Yet they cannot think of the body in the tomb as dead. "His body is sanctified, rendered august, purified, illuminated in the House and the sanctuary." (*Durūd Tāj*, p. 2.)

For all men a dim life within the tomb is envisaged, the life of the *nafs* without the spirit. For sinners a life of anguish, constriction and loneliness, relieved by God's mercy for those who are His. Even for the Prophet, then, there is a life within the tomb as well as the heavenly life, though the nature of this and its relationship to his heavenly life is not made clear in the manuals. Many prayers envisage greetings sent to him at Medina as being there received. Sometimes this is thought of as through a momentary return of the spirit to the body. "Our sending of the Greeting, the peace, to him from our country to Medina the enlightened, if it is not possible for us to be there face to face, is by way of our saying a greeting to him in our own city which will reach him, as many traditions and recorded sayings tell us. He said: 'No one greets me without God returning my spirit to me so that I may reply to his greeting.'" ⁵ (*Faḥ-al-Karīm-al-Khāliq*, 'Alī al-Makkī.)

But in the daily prayer-rite the majority of worshippers picture their *salām* as reaching the Prophet's spirit in the heavenly world, and for many it is brought to him by the ministry of angels.

"God has angels wandering over the earth who bring to me the *salām* of my community." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. 'Uthmān al-Mirghanī, p. 61.) "It is related that the Prophet said: No one will greet me after my death without his greeting being brought to me by Gabriel, who will say: 'Muhammad, So and So, the son of So and So greets you with peace.' and I shall say: 'And peace be unto him and the mercy of God and His blessings.'" (*Faḥ-al-Karīm-al-Khāliq*, 'Alī al-Makkī, p. 12.)

The question of the Prophet's appearance simultaneously to believers in different places, and his simultaneous answers to innumerable greetings is thus dealt with: "I reply that this is a thing transcending com-

⁵ (Tradition from Abu Dāwūd, *Shifa* 269.) M. 'Uthmān al-Mirghanī explains the return of the spirit to the body as the return of the power of utterance. "For he is ever living and his spirit is never separated from him." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, p. 48.)

mon rules 'As the sun is in the midst of the heavens, yet enlightens the lands to the East and West' — That answers the question to a nicety. And if our lord 'Azrā'il (the angel of death) seizes at one moment a hundred thousand souls, the seizing of one is no deterrent to his seizing another, while all the time he is busied in the worship of his Lord, how much more is this possible to our Prophet, the origin of all existence." (*Al-Fatḥ-al-Rabbāni*, M. ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ṭaṣfāwī, p. 13.)

THE GREETING OF ALL BELIEVERS

The *salām* is a right of every Muslim, living or dead⁶ absent or present, and it is the greeting of the people of Islam, differing from the *salāt* ('alā-al-Nabī) which is the right of the Apostle. And so the worshipper says "Peace be to us and to all the righteous worshippers of God." (*Al-Ḥirz al-Manī*^c, p. 30.) (It is also the right of the man who gives the *salām* to receive a reply, Bukhārī, *Janā'iz*.)

The *salām*, then, whether in the prayer-rite or by the wayside, is the daily greeting of the family of Islam, but it is for the household of Islam only. "The Qādī 'Iyād said: 'In the *tashahhud*, 'Alī used to say: "Peace be to the Prophet of God. Peace be to the prophets and apostles of God. Peace be to us and to the believers, men and women, the absent and the present. O God, forgive Muḥammad and accept intercession and forgive the members of his house, and forgive me and my father." 'Alī only said that by way of instruction for others who were present, for it is established by tradition that his father had died a Kāfir (prayer for such being forbidden).' " (*Al Ḥirz-al-Manī*^c, p. 40.) The prohibition is based on the case of the prayer of Noah, Surah xi, 45, 46.

In those Arabic lands where there are communities other than Muslim, *Al-Salām 'alaikum* is withheld from members of those communities. It is a constant sorrow for those Christians who live amongst Muslims and love them that this greeting which they hear on every side, and which in the Qur'ān is given to Jesus (Surah xix, 15) is denied to His followers. Arabs of Arabia and other Muslims who have never lived where there is a non-Muslim community accord the greeting of peace to non-Muslims. The writer first received it, as a precious benefaction from a penniless man, from an Afghan stowaway on a boat in the Persian Gulf.

The *tahīyyah* in the prayer-rite, is then the greeting of the beloved community. It contains a sort of sketch for what Christians know as the communion of saints, and it looks back possibly to Christian worship, where every ancient liturgy has its exchange of fraternal greeting, whether in the universal: "The Lord be with you" of the minister with the people's reply "And with thy spirit," or in the ancient Kiss of Peace (2 Cor. xiii. 12) (now usually changed into a

⁶ Cf. *Berakh.* 17. a, "May it be Thy will O God to establish peace in the upper family and the lower family."

hand clasp) which still makes so living a moment, for instance, in the Coptic liturgy. This has been revised in some of the churches in India to express the new-found brotherhood in Christ. With the handshake go the words "*Jesu sahay* (Jesus be your helper). "You must picture yourself in a village church after the blessing has been given. The people do not hurry away, but stand in their places, the men on one side, the women on the other. Then there takes place a very orderly procession of the women. Moving up in a long line towards the east end, they go down along the men's side to the west, shaking hands and saluting each man as they go. After the women have gone out, a similar procession takes place amongst the men." (*Worship in Other Lands*, H. P. Thompson, p. 39.)

A companion picture from Islam comes from a visitor to Fez. "When the prayer was over, each of the worshippers shook hands with his neighbour and invoked peace for him and for the whole world." (*Desert Encounter*, Knud Holmsboe, p. 26.)

The lovely Muslim form of the greeting of the brethren is supported by tradition. "A man came to the Prophet and said: "Peace be to you" and the Prophet having responded to his greeting the man sat down. Then the Prophet said: "Ten!" Another man now came saying: "Peace be to you and the mercy of God!" And his greeting was returned and he sat down. Then the Prophet said: "Twenty!" Next another came who said: "Peace be to you and the mercy of God and His blessings!" And the Prophet said: "Thirty!" (*Al-Kalim-al-Ṭayyib*), p. 80. (Al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd).

This, then, is the daily greeting of the household of Islām, sanctified by its use in the daily worship. Small wonder that it carries its *barakah*. "(Annas said) The Apostle of God said: 'My son when you enter the house of your family, give the greeting of peace. It will be a blessing to you and to the people of your house.'" (*ibid.*, p. 28 Al-Tirmidhī). Even on entering an empty house the greeting should be given: "It is approved that he should give the greeting of peace whether there are human beings in the house or not in accordance with the word of God and when you enter a house *sallim* on yourselves, a greeting from God (from *chez* God) blessed and good." Surah xxiv, 65 (*Adhkār al-Nawāwī*, p. 13.) Here we have the very ancient idea of the *barakah* inherent in the salutation itself. (Cf. Matt. x.12, 13.)

THE GREETING OF THE DEPARTED

In the *tahīyyah* the greeting is for the whole family in heaven as on earth. Special greetings are often sent individually in devotions to the great ones besides Muḥammad. "Blessing and peace be to Thee (Moses) Interlocutor of God! Blessing and peace be to Thee (ʿIsā) Spirit of God! Peace be to all the prophets and apostles! Peace be to the righteous servants of God, inhabitants of heaven and earth!

Unite peace to the people of peace in the abode of peace, a salutation

and greeting of peace." (*Hizb* (unnamed) 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in *Majmū'at-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 40).

Semi-magical prayers have a greeting to Noah and once to Jarjīs, who may be the St. George, beloved and appealed to by Muslims as well as Christians in Jordan and what is now Israel. ⁷

"Peace be to Noah in all the worlds (three times) and Peace be to Jarjīs." (*Du'ā'-al-Ayāt*, 'Uwais al-Qaranī.)

The greeting of peace is the greeting not only of the Prophets and great ones among the departed, but the regular greeting for the visitation of cemeteries. "Buraīda said: 'The Apostle of God used to teach them when they went out to the burial grounds to say: "Peace be to you, people of the houses, believers and Muslims. Verily we, if God will, shall be joined to you. We ask God's pardon for ourselves and for you.'" (*Al-Kalīm-al-Ṭayyib*, p. 62 Muslim, Aḥmad.)

In countries where women are secluded, the Friday visitation of the cemeteries is often for them the one open-air expedition of the week, and they have their own pieties for that visitation. In Egypt, on arrival at the cemeteries the greeting of the older woman is: "Peace be to you, O community of *lā ilāha illā Allāh!* ye are the forerunners and we are those who will come after you. Peace be to you (my son, my father)! May God at my desire soften the bricks under your head!"

THE GREETING OF THE ANGELS

In the final salutation of peace as the worshipper turns his head to right and to left he "makes the intention to close the prayer-rite with the salutation, and in the *salām* he intends the salutation of those angels and Muslims who are on his right, and similarly in the second (those on his left)" *Iḥyā'*, 4. 9.

This salutation of the angels raises the whole question of their place in the life of worship in Islam. The religion came into being at a time when the surrounding Christian churches were much absorbed with the thought of the angelic world and dedications of churches to St. Michael were common. "And the Third (church) he called by the name of Michael, Chief of the Angels, who is the Mediator for the human race, that wrath may be turned away from them and mercy may rest upon them." (*Martyrdom of Simon* trans. by Margaret Dunlop Gibson Cod. 539, Arabic, Mount Sinai. Composition probably contemporaneous with the rise of Islam. Date of MS., 797 A.D.)

This development, far beyond the teaching of Christianity, came into the churches of the lands around Arabia partly through their inheritance of Jewish beliefs and partly through the ferment which the new wine of Christianity created among those who tried to accommodate the Christian teaching to various gnostic systems in which hierarchies of angels, of principalities and powers played their parts. In

⁷ Offerings to St. George are placed by Muslims on the "High Place" at 'Ajlūn and formerly in his ruined church at Al-Ṭayyibah.

a world where these ideas were at work, Islam was born, and the angels have their part in its cosmogony and religious scenery.

The prayer manuals make great use of the Quranic data concerning the angelic world and the names of angels, as well as of numerous traditions. Such texts as "Appointing the angels messengers with wings, two and three and four" (Surah xxxv.1) are often introduced into passages of praise.

For Islam the angelic world is not essentially superior to the human world. It was created from light (Muslim vii,221, Baiḍāwī 1.52) generally now interpreted (as in most of our manuals) as the Nūr Muḥammadī: in the Ghauthiyyah, however, as *Nūr-al-Insān*.

"Then I asked: 'O Lord of what didst Thou create the angels?' He said to me: 'O help from the Almighty, I created the angels from the light of mankind, and I created mankind from My light.'" (*Al-Ghauthiyyah*, °Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.)

But the angelic beings live in a world of light inaccessible to the earthbound, and are known to be obedient to their Lord. Certain of them are distinguished as the *muqarrabūn* (angels of access) and of these Al-Baiḍāwī says (Surah iv.170) that they are "the Cherubim who surround the throne or even more exalted angels." Angels played their great part in the story of Muḥammad's revelation, and in general the devotions regard them with awe and reverence. "O God, bless Thine angels and the *muqarrabūn* who praise Thee night and day unceasingly and do not disobey the commands of God to them, but execute His orders.... O God, as Thou didst choose them to be ambassadors to Thy Prophet and faithful agents of Thine Inspiration and witnesses of Thy creation, and has rent for them the enclosure of Thy veils ... so call down blessing upon them." (*Dalā'il-al-Khairāt*, p. 165.)

They are constantly mentioned in prayer as examples of the fear of God and of obedience. "O God Thine angels are on their guard from fear of Thee, attentive, obeying Thee, carrying out Thy command, and they cease not night or day from Thy praise." (*Shī'ah prayer for the Day of °Arafāt*.)

We learn however of cases of disobedience other than the great rebellion of Satan. "God has an angel whom He, Most High, commanded to root out a city against the will of its inhabitants, and that angel was merciful to them and did not proceed to root it out. And God Most High was angry with him and broke his wings. Now when Gabriel passed by him that angel complained to him of his plight. And Gabriel petitioned God for him and ordered him to call down blessing on the Prophet, and God forgave him and restored his wings to him by the *barakah* of that blessing on the Apostle of God."⁸ (*Fatḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. °Uthmān al-Mirghānī, p. 62) (Al-Mustatrif and Al-Shifā).

⁸ An echo of Surah xxiii.58.

The world into which Islam was born was instinct with angels, as with *jinn* — a man might start one from any bush; and this sense of angelic presence, as of the presence of the *jinn*, is still vividly alive in folk religion. "The Prophet said: 'When you hear a cock crow, ask God for a favour, for the cock saw an angel.'" *Al-Kalim-al-Ṭayyib*, p. 88.) (The Mutāwila in Syria say the *shahādah* when the cock crows at dawn and connect it in some dim way with the denial of St. Peter) "It is necessary to end the gathering with sweet incense because of the angels and the *jinn*, and to cut off any disturbing connections." (*Al-Faḥ-al-Rabbānī*, p. 14.)

GREAT ANGELS

Much use is made in devotions of the names of the archangels named in the Qurʾān, Jibrīl and Mikhāʾil and two more great angels mentioned but not by name, the Angel of Death (ʿAzrāʾil) and the Angel of the Last Trump (Isrāfīl). "O God, Lord of Jibrīl and Mikhāʾil and Isrāfīl, Creator of the heavens and the earth, deliver me from the heat of the Fire and the sufferings of the grave." (*Riyāḍ-al-Jānna*, Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (traditional, traced to ʿAʾishah by Al-Ṭabarānī.)

"I beseech Thee O God by virtue of Jibrīl who was entrusted with them (i.e. the two names Al-Raḥmān-al-Raḥīm at the inspiration of the Qurʾān), and by mystery of Mikhāʾil and Isrāfīl and ʿAzrāʾil and every angel in heaven and earth." (*Manbaʿ al-Saʿādāh*, p. 6.) "The faithful one Jibrīl on my right, the faithful one Mikhāʾil on my left, the faithful one Isrāfīl before me and the faithful one ʿAzrāʾil behind me, and God behind them enclosing all." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. ʿUthmān al-Mirghanī, p. 54.)

This often-recurring quartette of names is constantly written at the four corners of charms. It occurs again in an initiatory catechism of the weaver's craft in answer to the question "Who are the four *pirs* of reality?"⁹ It brings to mind the English nursery rhyme (perhaps a descendant of an ancient charm).

Four corners to my bed.

Four angels to my head.

Other angels besides these four are individualized in the prayers. "Bless Jibrīl and Mikhāʾil and Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death, and Riḍwān, Keeper of Paradise, and Mālik (Surah xliii.37), Keeper of the Fire and the Spirit of Holiness, and the Faithful Spirit, and the Bearers of Thy Throne, and the angels of Access, and my two Guardian angels." (*Mukhtaṣar adʿiyat Ramaḍān*, p. 98.)

GUARDIAN ANGELS

Of the Qurānic data concerning guardian angels Professor Mar-

⁹ *Les corps de metiers en Asie Centrale*. R.E.I. 1927, p. 254. (Catechism in Turkish.)

goliouth wrote: "According to another text (Surah xiii.11): 'He (a man) has successors before him and behind him, guarding him by Allāh's order' i.e. angels who relieve each other; different, it would seem, from those who are employed in taking notes of his actions (Surah lxxxii.11). These are described as seated one on his left hand and one on his right hand taking down the words that he utters (Surah l.17). On Judgment Day the two will accompany the soul, the one driving, the other testifying. Thus each one is in charge of four angels, who are relieved at the end of the day.'" (*What did they teach?* — *Muhammad*. D. S. Margoliouth.)

The prayers in the popular manuals, however, do not seem to know any distinction between the recording and the guardian angels. Of two angels for these duties they are vividly aware. "Peace be to the two noble recording and guardian angels and the mercy of God and His blessing!" (*Ḥizb li ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī* (by inspiration of *Al-Khīḍr Majmūʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 196.)

(Of a New Year's prayer): "He who offers this petition on the first day of Muḥarram will be entrusted by God to two angels who will guard him from Satan." (*Manbaʿ-*al-saʿādāt**, p. 266.) "Welcome! Welcome! to the new morning and the happy day and the two noble recording, just and guardian angels! Write, in the bright dawn of this our Day!" (*Ḥizb Shaikh Ḥamīd al-ʿArīf*, *Majmūʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 310.)

THE ANGELS AND HUMAN WORSHIP

Endless traditions of encouragement are quoted in the prayer manuals to show the deep interest of the angelic world in the worship of human beings, their love for its varied phases, their participation in it and their prayer on behalf of the worshippers. All human worship is overshadowed with the rustling of wings. (Friday, the day of prayer). "It is a day witnessed, a day which the angels witness." (*Tahārat-al-Qulūb*, *Al-Dīrīnī*, p. 126.) "(From Abū Huraira) The Apostle of God said: 'God has wandering angels who, when they pass by a *dhikr* circle say to one another: 'Sit down here.' And when the people offer a petition they say *Amen* to their prayer. And when the worshippers call down blessing on the Prophet those angels join in the blessing till they finish; then the angels say to one another: 'Blessed are they, they will not go away unforgiven.'" (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ*, *Al-Suyūṭī*, p. 90.)

If the night of mid-Shaʿbān is All Souls' Day for the Muslim world, the still more famous Night of Power (feast of the Inspiration of the Qurʾān) is Michaelmas Day. Then "the angels and the spirit descend," and there is "peace till break of day." (Surah xcvi.4, 5.) "Ibn ʿAbbās said: 'When *lailat-al-qadr* comes, God commands Gabriel to descend with seventy thousand angels, inhabitants of the Lotus Tree of the Boundary. And with them are aloe-sticks (torches) of light and they