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"BY MY SPIRIT"

The missionary to Muslims knows that he is undertaking a difficult service. This is true because he is taking an unpopular message to people who do not like him and who consider that their civilization and their religion are both superior to those which he has to offer. The missionary to the Muslim then must be a person who is adequately trained for his work. For the most part missionaries go to their fields with a satisfactory knowledge of their own beliefs, with an ability to learn the language of the people to whom they go, with a willingness to study the history of the land and its traditions and its theology, and with an appreciation of the position that the Qur'an holds in the minds of those to whom they minister. They are going adequately prepared, or willing to be prepared, to meet the situation inasfar as secondary preparation is concerned.

What is vitally important beyond this is that the missionaries who work among Muslims (and other missionaries as well) should be persons of deep spiritual convictions and of definite spiritual development. We hesitate to talk to one another about our spiritual needs. This is probably because we consider that our spiritual life is a matter between us and the Lord and that it is not a matter in which other people may intrude. Then again, no one of us feels that he has gone so far in his spiritual progress that he can point with pride at his spiritual accomplishments. Again, as we look back at the past from which we have been saved, we realize that such great progress has been made in our own lives, that we are inclined sometimes to say that we should let well enough alone and be satisfied with our spiritual progress. Or, on the other hand, as we look at the possibilities and

realize the accomplishments of the spiritual giants of other ages or of other people in our own age, we say in despair, "What is the use?"

Yet an adequate spiritual equipment is vital and essential to the missionary as he starts out into a life task of seeking to win Muslims to the knowledge of and love of the Lord Jesus Christ. It sounds reasonable. There are certain things of which the Apostle says, "They are spiritually discerned." Unless we have that spiritual discernment, and unless we are in proper contact with the Leader of our work, then surely we cannot expect to accomplish a very great amount for Him.

We go out with one purpose in mind and that is to win people to a knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. There are ways and means of approach. We have to do a great many things that would seem to be side issues rather than fundamental. Our time is often spent in ways that would seem to be less important than the primary job for which we are on the mission field, but despite all of that we consider that the Lord Jesus Christ is so vital and essential to the good of the individuals to whom we go that our first job is to win them to a knowledge of Himself. For that reason we make every effort to make Him attractive to people. We know that we cannot force Him upon them. We know that we cannot force them to accept Him. It is our responsibility to present Him in such a way that people will desire Him and will seek to find Him.

That means that we, His representatives, will make every effort to be the kind of people that will attract others to Him. We do not attract people to the Lord by compromising or by evasion. We do not seek to trim our message to fit the situation in which we find ourselves, but we seek to present our message in such a way that the people to whom we give it will not be offended in that which we say.

We do not want to antagonize the people to whom we go. Doubtless some antagonism becomes inevitable when our motives and our methods are challenged and when the essential thing that we are doing seems to be resented and

opposed. But very often a sympathetic approach will soften even resentment. The obvious love of the missionary for the individual with whom he is in touch may pull down those barriers of opposition which are erected around him.

We do not win people to Christ by debate and argument. It is a simple thing to win a debate. One may win an argument and never have the opportunity of talking again to the person who has less debating ability. Our purpose is to win souls to the Lord Jesus Christ. That does not mean that we avoid open discussion and explanation of difficulties, nor does it mean that we are unprepared to discuss with Muslims problems that will arise as they think about, study about, and hear about the Word of God. We are certainly prepared to give a reason for the hope that is within us, that hope which is of such a type and character that we are glad to explain it to all who come, but we do not let the expression of that hope be in the nature of a debate and argument.

Missionaries are God-conscious persons. It is not sufficient to recognize the sovereignty of God as the great omnipotent Creator of the universe. It is important as well that we know His interest in that individual to whom we are speaking at a given time; or in that situation in which we find ourselves tied with some Muslim. We are spiritual creatures. We must be in such a relationship to the Lord that the consciousness of His presence will be ours continually. Fenelon spoke about "the practice of the presence of God." As our Muslim associates see us actually practicing His presence in our daily lives, it is going to mean that some of them will desire the thing that we have to make them different.

We win our objective by our spiritual approach. The Muslim may ignore or despise our education and our culture. He certainly will hate our "religion" as such. He does not want to be converted. He does not want to change his religion. He does not want to become a despised Christian. But I do not think it is possible for one to deny a Spirit-filled life. That life which is Christ-centered is its own argument. That power which is Christ-originated is the effective

power. That love which is Christ-inspired is penetrating, and as we present Christ to them in self-sacrifice and in self-surrender, some of them are going to see Him and desire Him.

We are sure of success. We know that the Lord Jesus Christ won the complete victory on the cross, and that the possibility of the salvation of the individual was gained at that time. We know that He has had victory in our own lives because He has met us individually and has made us to become new creatures in Christ Jesus. We know that ultimately "every knee shall bow" to Him so that there is absolute certainty of victory. Despite the apparent setback and despite the fact that the present individual who may be sitting opposite us in our guest room does not seem to respond, and despite the fact that the present situation in which we find ourselves seems to be almost insurmountable and unbearable, yet there is the assurance and calm certainty of complete victory ultimately. It is sad to realize that some individuals will reject the possibility of finding a Saviour, but the fact remains that the Church of Jesus Christ is going on, and it is a growing body and will continue to increase.

It is vital that we keep in mind continually the fact that it is God's will to save men. We would not be going out as missionaries to Muslims unless we were satisfied that the Lord is pleased to bring people to a knowledge of Himself, that is, people who are now Muslims. That man before us may not seem to comprehend the love of Christ, or the fact that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son." He may not seem to appreciate a dying Saviour. He may oppose our message. He may appear to hate our Christ. He may claim to think that our Christ has been stolen from him because he accepted Him as a great prophet and that it is we who have made Him to be God. Despite our difficulties with that individual, and despite the fact that he is unable or unwilling to accept our message, yet, we see that man as one for whom Christ died and for whose salvation we have dedicated our life-service; and we are sure of God's will to save men.

As we go out, it must be with a love in our hearts for those to whom we go. We may not approve of his religion, his actions or some of his social ideas; we do not accept his moral standards, but we love the individual, and we want to see him won to a knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The individual before us is not one who has a religion that ought to be changed, but one who has a soul which ought to be saved. We want to get him to see Christ, the Redeemer, the dying and risen Saviour. We want to get his eyes focused upon that One who is altogether lovely. For that reason we present Christ to him. For that reason we live Christ before him. We are spiritual persons, living a life in the spiritual realm in order to accomplish spiritual purposes.

The Muslim, of course, will tell us that he resents our attempting to make a convert of him, but he understands what conversion means. The whole history of his religion is filled with Muslims making converts of people. They may use methods different from ours, but they have used some method over the centuries and across the continents. Probably the writer will never forget the occasion when he met a man from Mecca who saw him as the first Christian that this individual had ever seen. He did not know what a Christian was, what he looked like or how he acted; but, here was one who was dressed much like him and yet admitted that he was a Christian. When the Christian assented to the idea there is "no God but God," the Muslim was pleased. When the Christian refused to say "and Muhammad is the Apostle of God," the Muslim was greatly chagrined. He begged, he pleaded, and finally he wept because the first Christian with whom he had ever been in contact was unwilling to say "and Muhammad is the Apostle of God." Muslims know what it means to make converts. May God grant that many of them shall learn what it means to be converts and to be brought into the fold of the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world!"

It has been men of strong spiritual development who have done the best work on the mission fields in times that

are past. It was men of strong spiritual development who gave us our Book which is our guide and inspiration as we go to the mission fields today. We all agree that the intellectual and technical training is necesary but we all agree too that the intellectual and technical training is insufficient and inadequate to meet the need. The Spirit-filled, God-centered, consecrated, inspired missionary is the only one who can expect to be used to the accomplishing of a spiritual ministry on the mission field.

How do I know whether I am a spiritually-minded person? "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law."

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SUFISM: FROM ITS ORIGINS TO AL-GHAZZALI

"Muhammad was a Sufi when on his way to be a prophet."[1] That statement by Duncan B. Macdonald also represents the judgment of al-Ghazzali, eminent theologian-mystic of the fifth Islamic century. Undoubtedly this pre-eminent thinker of Islam had reasons for reaching such a conclusion. The purpose of the present paper is to uncover those reasons as an explanation for the Sufi emphasis in Islamic history, which al-Ghazzali finally succeeded in making a recognized part of Islam almost five hundred years after Muhammad had been "a Sufi when on his way to be a prophet."

Although some have maintained that there is nothing of the mystic about Muhammad, yet his early religious practices, as recorded in the Qur'ān, contradict that contention. A Quranic sentence is pregnant with meaning: "Of a truth, thy Lord knoweth that thou [Muhammad] prayest almost two-thirds, or half, or a third of the night, as do a part of thy followers."[2] Who but a mystic would pray for such lengths of time at such an inconvenient season? It is not unlikely that Muhammad had cultivated that mystical life of prayer for years before there came to his highly sensitive personality, in his fortieth year, the enkindling flash which revealed the great truth which was ever after to stand at the basis of his religion. There can be no doubt that he prosecuted this intense prayer life for some time after the first revelation came, and that he encouraged similar practices in his disciples. The method which he followed is disclosed in an early Meccan Sura:

O Thou ENFOLDED in thy mantle,
Stand up all night, except a small portion of it, for prayer:
Half; or curtail the half a little,—
Or add to it: And with measured tone intone the Koran,
For we shall devolve on thee weighty words.
Verily, at the coming of night are *devout* impressions strongest, and words are most collected;

[1] Duncan B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, p. 227, N.Y., Scribner's, 1903.
[2] 73:20 *The Koran*, translated by Rodwell.

But in the day time thou hast continual employ—
And commemorate the name of thy Lord, and devote thyself to Him with entire devotion.[3]

Still further evidence is given concerning these mystical procedures in other parts of the Qur'ān:

But the God-fearing *shall dwell* amid gardens and fountains,
Enjoying what their Lord hath given them, because, aforetime they were well-doers:
But little of the night was it that they slept,
And at dawn they prayed for pardon,
And gave due *share* of their wealth to the suppliant and the outcast.[4]

Wait thou patiently the judgment of thy Lord, for thou art in our eye; and celebrate the praise of thy Lord when thou risest up,
And in the night-season: Praise him when the stars are setting.[5]

These extreme practices of prayer Muhammad had probably gained from observing the solitary Christian monks who were scattered throughout Arabia and Syria. These felt that prayer was better than sleep. Often the lights in their cells of a dark night guided some caravan late in arriving at its destination. Desirous of illumination, these ascetic hermits went to great extremes to insure the success of their nightly vigils. They would sit bolt upright in their cells to keep awake, or stand throughout the long hours of darkness, or go to pray on the edge of a precipitous cliff where sleep meant death. Their enthusiasm for the holy life strongly affected the imagination of Muhammad. In his own perusal of the nightly prayer, and in his recommendation of it to his early disciples, we can see the influence of these praying, Christian monks. For a whole year this practice of nightly prayer continued in the early Islamic secret society until, beginning to affect the health of the devotees through causing their feet to swell, it was softened through a revelation:

God measureth the night and the day:—He knoweth that ye cannot count its hours aright, and therefore, turneth to you mercifully. Recite then so much of the Koran as may be easy to you.[6]

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[3] *Ibid.*, 73:1-8.
[4] *Ibid.*, 51:15-19.
[5] *Ibid.*, 52:48-49.
[6] *Ibid.*, 73:20.

But not only in his prayer life was Muhammad a Sufi "when on his way to be a prophet": he also held up before his followers the ideal of renunciation which later played a very important part in Sufism. The idea of renouncing the world and its ways followed quite naturally from Muhammad's emphasis that the Day of Judgment was not far removed, but would soon come upon all men. As a young man he had travelled through Syria with caravans and there had beheld the ruins of deserted cities. Concerning these the Arabs said that God had depopulated and ruined them because of the infidelity of their inhabitants. Muhammad concurred in that judgment, but thundered that a similar fate was to come upon the ungodly, and that not in the distant future. With this conviction firmly rooted in his mind, desire for the goods of this world tended to be negative. Muhammad's attitude toward wealth stands clearly revealed in the two following Quranic passages, the first of which comes from the blush of early Meccan spirituality, while the latter is drawn from the closing years of his life as a law-giver:

The DESIRE of increasing riches occupieth you,
Till ye come to the grave.
Nay! but in the end ye shall know—
Nay! once more, in the end ye shall know *your* folly.
Nay! would that ye knew it with knowledge of certainty!
Surely ye shall see hell-fire.
Then shall ye surely see it with the eye of certainty;
Then shall ye on that day be taken to task concerning pleasures.[7]

O Believers! of a truth, many of the teachers and monks do devour man's substance in vanity, and turn them from the Way of God. But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment.[8]

Muhammad, with his feeling of the approaching judgment, told his disciples to use their wealth to make "loans" to God, to benefit the poor, the orphan, the wayfarer, one's own relatives, the captive, and for the purposes of holy war. In his own life there is evidence that he scrupulously followed this ideal, for he constantly lived frugally, even after the conquests in the last decade of his life would have made

[7] *Ibid.*, 102.
[8] *Ibid.*, 9:34.

it possible for him to enjoy some luxury. Further evidence of such self-denial in early Islam is observable in the dwindling fortune of Abu Bakr and the first Caliphs. It was Omar who, during the years of famine in his reign, refused to partake of milk, butter and meat so long as the people did not have sufficient. Instead he subsisted on coarse fare and olive oil. Such simplicity was typical of this man who had but one garment which he wore for years.

We should bear in mind, however, that with the change of Muhammad from the religious enthusiast of Mecca to the law-giver and conqueror of Medina, the mystical tends to be shoved more and more into the background while the practical and worldly take its place. No longer does Muhammad deal scornfully with wealth; on the contrary, he looks upon it as a necessity for the advance of the faith. He holds conquest and plunder before the eyes of his followers to keep them true to the faith and loyal to the expanding cause. After the prophet's death, the spread of Islam into Iraq Arabier, Iraq Ajami, Syria, and Egypt made possible the amassing of immense fortunes by some of the faithful and brought a marked increment of economic well-being to the whole Islamic community. In 68 A.H. one Muslim noble possessed a horde of one thousand slaves. When the Koreishite al Zubeir ibn al-'Awwam died, a man whom the Prophet had promised certain entrance into Paradise, he left a gigantic fortune ranging between 35,300,000 and 52,000,000 dirhams.[9] Another Companion to whom the Prophet had assured Paradise, one Talha ibn 'Ubaidallah, possessed lands which were valued at 30,000,000 dirhams.[10] These and similar magnificent fortunes had all been created by the spoils drawn from the extensive conquests of Islam immediately following the death of Muhammad.

Nor were the rank and file exempt from the waves of prosperity which covered Islam like a sea during these early years of conquest. Every soldier, foot or horse, had his share

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[9] *Vid.*, I. Goldziher, *Mohammed and Islam,* trans. by Seelye, p. 140, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927.
[10] *Loc. cit.*

in the spoils of war. After the North African Campaign in the days of Othman each horseman received as his share of the booty three thousand mithkals in gold.[11] One fifth of all the plunder of Muslim armies belonged to the ruler and to God. This was distributed by the early Caliphs among the poor and needy of the people, and it was their constant aim to keep the treasury empty by constantly disbursing the inflowing stream of gold. In these ways an unprecedented prosperity came to many Islamic communities.

Furthermore, the Muslims were swiftly changing from desert tribes dwelling in tents to city-dwellers living in settled buildings, many of them of unusual magnificence. In such an environment, it is not likely that even the average Muslim would look with favor upon any who preached a gospel of renunciation of the world and the things thereof. In fact, the acceptance of wealth despite Muhammad's teaching of renunciation, grew so unabashed in the days of the Umayyads that the rulers sought to soften the clear teachings of the Qur'an about wealth. They said that the verse, "But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment," applied not to Muslims, but to the grasping leaders of other religions! It is easy to see that such increasing plenty and opulence on the part of Islamic society would make any preaching about the renunciation of the world and its goods highly distasteful.

Strange as it may seem, one of the factors which drove Muslims into the ascetic life lay precisely in this increasing secularization or worldliness of Islamic society. The truly devout protested against it. The tyrannical and immoral rule characteristic of the Umayyad Caliphs drove many a devout Muslim into the ascetic life as he sought peace for his soul.[12] Abandoning the world with its wealth and pleasures, these men resented even the fine clothes which their fellows wore, claiming them to be a departure from the simplicity

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[11] *Loc. cit.*

[12] John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines*, p. 10, Lucknow, Lucknow Publishing House, 1938.

of life which Islam required. They did not, however, withdraw completely from Islamic society, since they still fought in the holy wars and accepted commissions from the government to act as arbiters and messengers on State business.[13] Their protest lay, at this early stage, not in withdrawal into a complete hermit life, but rather in the refusal to have any part whatsoever in the spoils of war or in wealth and its accompanying luxuries. For them the best man necessarily possessed the least. Illustrative of their ideal of poverty is the report of a dream experienced by one of their number. Therein he saw Malik b. Wasi' and Muhammad b. Wasi' being led into Paradise. The dreamer was astonished to see Malik preceding Muhammad, whom he had always thought superior. When he made his surprise known, a voice replied, "Yes, but Muhammad b. Wasi' possessed two shirts and Malik only one."[14]

A second influence in the first Islamic century which drove men and women into the ascetic way was the Prophet's mystical emphasis and that of the ever-present Christian monks of Arabia and Syria. The character of the first of these influences has been stated in the early pages of this article. As for the monks, from these solitary religious souls the Muslims derived elements not only of asceticism, but also of mysticism. They imitated these hermits in the wearing of a garment of wool, and from this they probably obtain their name of Sufi, for in Arabic the word "suf" means wool. The first reference we find to these wearers of the wool is found in a work dating from 128 A.H., which tells of a fighting ascetic who had some wool on his standards.[15] From these Christian monks the early Islamic mystics also derived many of their prayer practices which we shall discuss shortly.

A third influence in early Islam which led to the ascetic life was the tremendous fear of God which lurked in the hearts of men. "The mainspring of Moslem religious life

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[13] D.S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 140, N.Y., Scribner's, 1914.
[14] Subhan, *op. cit.*, p. 11f.
[15] Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

during the eighth century," says an eminent authority on Sufism, "was fear—fear of God, fear of Hell, fear of death, fear of sin."[16] Oppressive and terrifying, this fear drove many men into the ascetic life in a desperate effort to save their souls, despite the claim of the Qur'ān that God "causeth whom He will to enter into his mercy."[17] Men were filled with that "terror of the Lord," which, according to tradition, caused even the hair of the Prophet to turn white prematurely. Nowhere can we gain a better insight into this "reign of terror" than in an incident from the life of Hasan Basri, a Sufi saint of the eighth century who died in 728. One day he saw a man weeping. Upon asking him what troubled him the man replied, "Today I heard the preacher say that there were a great many among the Moslems who, by reason of their sins would remain several years in hell, and then be taken out." "May God grant," cried Hasan, "that I be one of those who come out of hell at last; may I be even as that man, who, as the prophet of God said, will come out eighty-four years after all the rest."[18]

Despite the fact that the predestination taught by the Qur'ān makes it logically impossible for a man to save himself, thousands, out of fear of God and his wrath, sought release through the life of the wandering ascetic. They fled into the wilderness where they lived as ascetic hermits, or, joining themselves to an honored Shaykh or teacher, formed a fraternal brotherhood which produced a monastery or rest house in which the members could abide in winter and inclement weather. We have records of such a monastery existing at Damascus in 150 A.H. and another at Khurasan about 200 A.H.[19] In such a fellowship the ascetic found a center of interest and help in the common task of salvation, going forth to earn his daily bread by begging.

Now that we have observed the elements which early contributed to the growth of Sufism, let us note its primary

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[16] Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam,* p. 4, London, Bell and Son, 1914.
[17] Qur'an 76:31, *op. cit.*
[18] C. Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam,* p. 21, London, Francis Griffiths, 1910.
[19] *Vid.,* Macdonald, *op. cit.,* p. 177.

religious manifestations. These were two in number; namely worship and dependence upon God. The first of these was a direct inheritance from Muhammad plus an imitation of the Christian monks and solitaries. The Sufis were not satisfied with the five daily prayers nor with the traditional fasts of the faith. Their religious intensity led them to extremes both in prayer and fasting. They prayed far into the night. They evolved prayers to be said when one lay down and when one got up. Moreover, they attempted to make prayer, whether during the prescribed periods or during their *dhikrs* (prayer meetings), a complete abstraction from the world, so that a man could be absolutely alone with God and unconscious of aught save God. "When one of them was saying his *ṣalāt* in the mosque of Baṣrah, a column fell, bringing down with it an erection of four storeys; he continued praying, and when after he had finished the people congratulated him on his escape, he asked from what."[20]

In matters of fasting these early Sufis likewise carried their asceticism to extremes. They looked upon hunger "as a means of grace." Not only did they observe the accepted fasts, but they regulated their partaking of food in various ways. Some fasted on Mondays and Thursdays, others every day, some one or two days out of three, while still others reduced their food to one-third of what it had originally been, or partook of food only once in a certain time variously set up to seventy-two hours. They felt, furthermore, that the coarser the food eaten, the more grace came to the eater. Melodies were employed in these systems of fasting, the theory being that the music would remind the Sufi of his spiritual needs, helping him to overlook those of the body.[21] In these matters of praying and fasting worship was carried to extremes.

In the realm of "dependence upon God" (*tawakkul*), the Sufis were even more fanatical than in the realm of worship. They said that the true believer throws himself abso-

[20] Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

lutely upon the goodness and providence of God. The more fanatical among them carried this idea to its logical conclusion, refusing even to beg for alms, for to do so would be to acknowledge themselves dependent upon someone other than God for their daily bread. The stories of the Muslim saints contain many records of how those who refused to beg for food or to work for it were providentially cared for by God. In support of their position of total dependence the extreme Sufis employed the Christian accounts contained in Matthew and Luke of the birds which sow not, neither reap, nor gather into barns, but yet their heavenly Father provideth for all their needs. When they became sick, these fanatical Sufis refused to have the aid of men, medicines, or physicians, for to call in any of these agencies would be a specific acknowledgment that their trust in God was not absolute. Furthermore, the sick one might feel that some one other than God had cured him. The extremes to which this doctrine of *tawakkul* extended is observed in an incident related about a dervish who happened to fall into the Tigris River. Unable to swim he floundered in the water, whereupon a man on shore called to him, asking if he wished him to get some one to bring him to safety. "No," shouted the dervish. "Then do you wish to be drowned?" "No." "What, then, do you wish?" The dervish replied, "God's will be done! What have I to do with wishing?"[22] It is clear from what has been said that such a view of life results in a violent quietism, to speak in seemingly contradictory terms, in which a man has no desires whatsoever, and accepts everything which happens to him as the will of God.

As time wore on and the ninth century dawned, the Sufi became conscious that mere asceticism was not sufficient for the attainment of the truly religious life. He began to consider ascetic discipline merely as the beginning of the "path" which leads to God. We shall now trace briefly these developments. They may be summed up by saying that they con-

[22] Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

stituted the emergence of the love of God and union with Him as the end of the Sufi's pathway. Various elements contributed to this new interpretation, and we shall see that they marked the dethroning of the God of Islam and the substituting in his place of "One Real Being who dwells and works everywhere, and whose throne is not less, but more, in the human heart than in the heaven of heavens."[23]

The great impetus to making the love of God and union with Him the goal of Sufism came through the introduction of Neo-Platonism into Muslim life. The chief writings which effected this transformation were those falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite and those of a Syrian monk named Stephen Bar Sudhaili, the latter of which were entitled the *Book of Hierotheus on the Hidden Mysteries of the Divinity*. The teachings of these two writers were shot through with Neo-Platonism and hence saturated with the emphasis of love to God. An example of the effects of the new teaching upon the mystical movement in Islam is obvious from the following statement of a Sufi:

> Love came and freed me from all else; it graciously raised me, after it had thrown me on the ground. Thank the Lord that he has dissolved me like sugar in the water of union with Him.[24]

Once the Sufi had come this far, it was easy to take the next step of absorption into the divine, a step which does not belong to Neo-Platonism. Undoubtedly the impetus for this stride came from Indian influence, which poured into Persia, and hence into other Muslim countries through the conquest of Sind and India in the eighth century and later. Buddhist monks, usually in twos, wandered throughout the Muslim empire, and especially in Persia, never spending two nights in the same place. They brought with them the ideal of absorption into the World Soul, of melting one's self into oneness with Atman or Brahman. The import of this view for philosophy and religion is that its proponents deny that there is any separation or distinction between God, nature, and man. That development had come to ful-

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[24] A statement of Jelal-al-din Rumi. Cited by Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

fillment among the Sufis by the end of the third century after Muhammad. One of the earliest Sufi exponents of this view was Abu Yazid Bistami who died in 261 A.H. He was of Persian parentage, his grandfather being a follower of Zarathustra. Bistami was a very well educated man, but one who joined intelligence with severe degrees of mortification. He reached the conception that everything is a unity and that everything is God. Looking beneath his cloak he exclaimed: "Beneath my cloak there is naught else but God!" He is also reported as having exclaimed, "Praise be to Me!" instead of "Praise be to God!" Again he said, "Verily I am God; there is no God beside me, so worship me!" Some of his other statements which show his absolute monism and pantheism were:

> What is the throne of God? I am the throne of God. What is the table on which the divine decrees are written? I am that table. . . . What is Abraham, Moses, and Jesus? I am Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. What are the angels Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl? I am Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, for whatever comes to true being is absorbed into God and this is God.[25]

The most outstanding of these early Sufi absorptionists, however, was a Persian by the name of Husayn b. Mansur, better known by his nickname Hallaj, a wool carder and a pupil of the venerated Shaykh al-Junayd. In 922 A.D. Hallaj was put to death with great cruelty because he taught that man is God and can be an incarnation of God. He proclaimed his position in the famous statement, "I am Truth." Since Allah alone is truth, the force of the statement is at once perceived. For making that declaration in public Hallaj was arrested, tried, imprisoned for eight years, and finally put to death by first having a hand cut off, then a foot, then a hand, then a foot, then his head, and afterwards having his dismembered body burnt to ashes. His followers maintained his divinity after his death. Some asserted that he had never been killed, but that another had suffered in his stead. Still others said he would arise from the grave after forty days. One of his famous statements is:

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[25] Cited in Thomas P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam,* second ed., article "Sufism," p. 620, London, Allen and Co., 1896.

Praise to the Most High who has revealed His humanity and concealed the overpowering splendour of His Diety. Whoso purifies himself by abstinence and purges himself from every trace of fleshiness, into him the Spirit of God enters, as it entered into Jesus. When he has attained to this degree of perfection, whatever he wills happens, and whatever he does is done by God.[26]

Pantheistic Sufism of this type spread fast and far in Islamic lands. It proved attractive not alone to the educated, but also to the humble man who, while he did not feel capable of speculating about the divine, did feel that he could make the attempt of establishing his oneness with God in the mad whirl of the dervish. Hence this group of emotional absorptionists comprised many craftsmen, tradesmen, and people in the humbler stages of life who shouted the cry of Hallaj, "I am Truth," or of Bistami, "Praise be to Me!" A splendid expression of their pantheism is found in the work of a dervish-poet, one Baba Kuhi of Shiraz in Persia, who died in 1050 A.D.:

In the market, in the cloister—only God I saw.
In the valley and on the mountain—only God I saw.
Him I have seen beside me oft in tribulation;
In favour and in fortune—only God I saw.
In prayer and fasting, in praise and contemplation,
In the religion of the Prophet—only God I saw.
Neither soul nor body, accident nor substance,
Qualities nor causes—only God I saw.
I oped mine eyes and by the light of His face around me
In all the eye discovered—only God I saw.
Like a candle I was melting in His fire:
Amidst the flames outflashing—only God I saw.
Myself with mine own eyes I saw most clearly,
But when I looked with God's eyes—only God I saw.
I passed away into nothingness, I vanished,
And lo, I was the All-living—only God I saw.[27]

In the above poem we have the keystone of pantheistic Sufism; namely, the belief that if a man can lose his individual self he will find the Universal Soul. While we have seen this idea is an outgrowth of Hindu influence, yet we should also recognize that it was abetted by the Muslim dogma that it is wrong to associate anything with Allah. When this dogma of non-association is carried to its logical conclusion, it leads to the position that it is absolutely evil to say there is

[26] Cited in C. Field, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[27] Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

anything beside God, for to do so is to associate something with God. The extreme Sufis rigorously carried that proposition through, asserting that the only way one could fulfil the basic requirement of Islam to associate nothing with Allah was to banish from the mind all desires except the desire for God, to reject and condemn all earthly joys, to condemn heavenly joys, and to identify the world, including one's self, with God.

In the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. there was a deterioration of the traditional and philosophical forms of Islam and of Sufism. The traditional system of Islamic thought founded by al-Ash'ari in the beginning of the fourth Islamic century had ossified into a scholasticism that took great pleasure in hair-splitting questions, but which had lost all vitality for life. The theologians themselves were condemned by the people as teaching the truth, but then going out to lead immoral lives, robbing widows of their houses and failing to do righteously. Philosophy, in similar manner, had fallen into disrepute, because the philosophical students likewise had entered into dissolute ways. One 'Abd al-Karim ibn Hawazin al-Qushairi, a Sufi Shaykh, published a work in 1045 A.D., in which he portrays the sorry situation into which Sufism had fallen.

> Know that those of our community who know the truth, have mostly disappeared, only their trace has remained with us. A paralysis has entered our "Way"; one could even say that the "Way" has completely disappeared, for we have no sheikhs as examples, and no successors could allow themselves to be guided by such examples. Gone is renunciation, its carpet is rolled up, in its place worldly desires have gained the upper hand. Hearts have lost respect for religious law, indeed they regard the contempt for the religious ordinances as the strongest bond of union. They cast aside the distinction between permitted and forbidden, . . . care little for the fulfillment of religious duties, of fast, of prayers; they are running on the race course of neglect. . . . Not satisfied with that, they appeal to the highest truths and states, and pretend to have gained freedom from the bonds and chains (of the law) through the truths of the union (with God). The truths of the unity of existence they say have been revealed to them, therefore the laws of the body are not binding upon them.[28]

[28] Cited by Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

In this eleventh century, when all forms of Islam seemed to have lost their vitality and were rapidly decaying, the pious prayed for another al-Ash'ari who should come and give new energy to the faith and new meaning to the religious life. The crisis produced the man in the personage of Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, born at Tus in Khurasan in the middle of the eleventh century and dying there in 1111 A.D. When yet a lad his father died and he was entrusted to a Sufi friend who reared him. As a young man he studied Canon Law and Theology because he felt that wealth and reputation lay in their pursuit. His foresight seemed not to be without cause for in the year 484 A.H. he was appointed by the wazir Nizam al-Mulk to teach in the Nizamite Academy which had just been opened in Baghdad. While his dreams of worldly position seemed here to be realized, al-Ghazzali found that he was not contented. The religious doubt and skepticism which he had known earlier as a youth reasserted themselves. So alarmingly did religious turmoil and utter unbelief affect his mental life that the doctors told him he had a disease of the mind which only peace could heal.

But we are ahead of our story. In an attempt to secure a religious basis for knowledge al-Ghazzali determined to give himself to a thorough and impartial investigation of the four phases of religious expression which then existed in Islam: namely, scholastic theology; *ta'limism,* which held that truth can come only through an infallible human teacher; philosophy with its proofs on logical and rational grounds; and Sufism which maintained that knowledge of God can be reached through the medium of ecstasy. To make a long story short, al-Ghazzali investigated, but did not find a basis for knowledge in scholastic hair-splitting, in an infallible human leader, since such could not be found, nor in the proofs of philosophy. As a last resort he turned to Sufism.

Al-Ghazzali was sharp enough to know that he could never discover the truth the Sufis claimed to possess unless he abandoned himself to their way of life, renouncing the world and seeking truth through ecstatic union with God.

For six months he fought against such a step until, worn-out nervously from the strain, he yielded himself completely to God. Disguised as a pilgrim bound for Mecca, he left all and went forth from Baghdad to live as a Sufi, spending his time in the mosques of Damascus and Jerusalem. His decision to make this experiment and the subsequent discovery "marked the greatest epoch in the church of Islam after the return of al-Ash'ari."[29] After two years in Syria, al-Ghazzali made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, then to the tomb of Abraham at Hebron, and finally to Mecca and Medina. With this pilgrimage his strict seclusion as a Sufi ascetic ended. Fortunately, he returned to the world.

During the next ten years of his religious experience, al-Ghazzali learned that the Sufis were on the right road to the knowledge of God. He became convinced that truth finally comes not through logical proofs and mental processes, but through revelation. He wrote of his own experience:

> I was forced to return to the admission of intellectual notions as the bases of all certitude. This, however, was not by systematic reasoning and accumulation of proofs, but by a flash of light which God sent into my soul! For whoever imagines that truth can only be rendered evident by proofs, places narrow limits to the wide compassion of the Creator.[30]

When al-Ghazzali was through, the ultimate basis for life and knowledge was revelation. The divine unveiling had its roots, first of all, in the experiences of illumination during which the Qur'an was delivered to Muhammad. Hence that book is one of authoritative truth and is to be received as such. Allah, however, spoke not to Muhammad alone; he also speaks to men now, making his truth known with the brilliance of light. In that position al-Ghazzali took his stand beside the Sufis, all of whom held that men gain revelation from God now through ecstatic union with him. By making this latter emphasis acceptable to the Islamic world, al-Ghazzali proved to be the savior of the stultified and corrupt Islam of the eleventh century A.D. Thereby the emphasis of the Sufis became a part of the orthodox

[29] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
[30] Cited in Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

practice of Islam, a thing which it had never been before that day, nor has ceased to be to our day.

Yet we must not be so hasty as to believe that al-Ghazzali accepted Sufism in any hook, line, and sinker fashion. Far too discriminating for that, he condemned the absorptionist view, stressing instead the Neo-Platonic position of union with deity ending in ethical and spiritual fulfillment. Thus he kept his spiritual feet on the ground, never losing sight of the fact that God is God and man is man. His fidelity to this fundamental position of Islam is clearly observed in one of his basic writings the *Ihya'-'Ulum Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn:*

> There is no actor other than God, and all things which exist, creature and provision, giving and withholding, death and life, gain and loss, wealth and poverty and everything for which a name can be found, the Cause, Originator, and Initiator is God who has no partner. When this dawns upon a man then he will not look anywhere else but will be in fear and awe of Him and put utter trust and confidence in Him only. For He alone is the Doer. There is none else.[31]

Standing firmly on that spiritual ground al-Ghazzali had no use for those who, both among the educated and ignorant classes alike, claimed that the wall of separation between man and God had been broken down, allowing them to be fused and absorbed into His being. He knew that such wild claims would quickly cause the creature to lift himself to the level of God as Hallaj had done. With that extreme emphasis, destructive of the God of Muhammad, al-Ghazzali would have nothing to do. But what he did do, and this shall forever remain the glory of his name, was to lead Muslims back to the mystic fountainhead of revelation and communion out of which their religion had sprung in Muhammad, and to make that power an integral part of their faith. Thus did Sufism gain an official reunion with Muhammad who "was a Sufi when on his way to be a prophet."

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[31] Cited in Subhan, *op. cit.*, p. 28f.

AL-SHĀDHILĪ, A NORTH AFRICAN ṢUFĪ, ACCORDING TO IBN AL-ṢABBĀGH

Part I

Sufism in the West before al-Shādhilī (d.A.D. 1248). ʿAlī Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, founder of the Muslim religious order bearing his name, has the distinction of being the Muslim mystic whose influence has been more extensive, more pervasive, and of longer duration than that of any other religious leader of North Africa. The record of his life and teachings was preserved within a century of his death by a comparatively inconspicuous devotee known as Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh in a book written in Arabic entitled *Durrat al-Asrār wa Tuḥfat al-Abrār.*

Before examining this work, however, it may be profitable to consider briefly the cultural and religious trends of that period.

Al-Shādhilī appeared in North Africa toward the end of the twelfth century, a little over five hundred years after Islām had become the established faith of the country. These were five centuries of almost unceasing agitation and revolution in which religious issues were hardly separable from the political. Independence-loving Berbers submitted, not without some struggle, to the new religion, but were slow to comprehend the implications of its doctrines and practice and were reluctant to abandon their autonomy for the sake of the doubtful advantages of a foreign yoke.

The political controversies of the first Muslim century over the rightful successorship of Muḥammad early spread to North Africa. Both the Khārijīs and Shīʿīs were represented in this struggle, the former championing the democratic principles of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and the latter recognizing only ʿAlī, cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, as his legitimate successor. The power of Khārijism was broken in the tenth century, although the sect has not entirely disappeared to this day. Likewise Shīʿism was reduced to impotence when the governor of Ifrīqiyah publicly repudiated

the Fatimid suzerainty in A.D. 1041. Thereafter the prevailing party was the Sunnī, which recognized the first four khalīfahs as rightful successors of the Prophet.

Beneath Sunnī orthodoxy, however, flowed an underground stream of free-thinking Mu'tazilism, springing up here and there, but never strong enough to influence radically the political or religious situation. Theological controversies and political upheavals had not yet subsided when al-Shādhilī came on the scene, and he was not insensible to the issues involved.

The Berbers of North Africa, whether espousing the cause of the Sunnīs or that of heretical sects and schismatics, manifested at times a zeal and fanaticism that their Arab conquerors did not possess. Such were the Almoravids who in the eleventh century arose in southern Morocco, proclaimed what they believed to be a purer form of Islām, and insisted upon blind adherence to the letter of the law as handed down by the Imām Mālik bin Anas (d. 795) and interpreted by canon lawyers of doubtful sincerity and integrity, disregarding the Qur'an and Traditions as basic authority and leaning toward plain anthropomorphisms in theology. They compelled neighboring Berber tribes to conform, until Muslim Spain and North Africa west of Constantine came under their domination. Such also were the Almohads who in the twelfth century took up arms against the Almoravids in the name of Allah's unity (*tawḥīd*), whence their appellation *muwaḥḥidūn,* unitarians, anglicized to Almohads), the Qur'an and the Traditions, and conquered all of North Africa from the Atlantic to the borders of Egypt. This doctrine of *tawḥīd* al-Shādhilī continued to proclaim, but with a deeper mystical significance.

Thorough as were the reforms of the Almohads, they were not durable. Religious fervor cooled and there took place a gradual backward drift to Malikite rites. The hand of central authority weakened, anarchy followed throughout the empire, and in due time petty sovereignties were set up in Fez, Telemcen and Tunis.

During the Almohad dynasty Sufism, the technical term

for Muslim mysticism, flowered among the Berbers and Arabs of North Africa and Spain. Obviously the frigidity and rigidity of Almohad doctrine and practice failed to satisfy the yearning of many pious souls who were seeking the warming experience of drawing nigh to an accessible God. The names of Abū Madyan in North Africa and of Ibnu'l-'Arabī in Spain shine forth amidst a host of lesser lights in this period. Following them came al-Shādhilī, one of the many who were left unsatisfied with what formal Islām had to offer.

In A.D. 1228 Abū Zakarīyā' of the Ḥafṣid family became governor of Ifrīqiyah under Almohad suzereignty. Nine years later he declared himself independent of the Almohads and assumed the title of Amīr. Within the following decade he was able to extend his power by conquest from Tripoli to Tangiers. Tunis became the most important city in North Africa. Abū Zakarīyā' beautified the city, called learned men from Andalusia, constructed palaces, baths, caravansaries, and gathered an important library. He was the first to build a *madrasah* in Tunis. He died at Bône in A.D. 1249.

It was in the year that this Abū Zakarīyā' became governor that al-Shādhilī came to Tunis. The apparent tolerance of Abū Zakarīyā' toward al-Shādhilī was due not to any particular sympathies for the Ṣūfīs, of whom there were many in Tunis, but to the fact that, out of a desire to extend his political power and expand his empire, purely religious questions assumed a place of only secondary importance. This tendency became accentuated with his son and successor, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mustanṣir who sought to favor the two erstwhile enemy factions, the Malikites and the Almohads. In fact, the Hafsid sovereigns, being in a period of transition from the strict Almohad doctrines in matters of religion and legislation back to the Malikism of the Almoravids, which was deeply rooted in the masses, were under obligation to move with caution to avoid the displeasure of their subjects.

For Christian missionaries it is a matter of interest to

learn that during this period an effort was made to bring the Gospel to the Muslims. In 1219 St. Francis of Assisi appointed missionaries for Tunis and Morocco. Brothers Egidius, Electus and others unnamed landed at Tunis. Immediately upon landing they began to preach the Christian faith and to attack Muḥammad and his doctrine. The people, aroused by a "dervish" highly esteemed for his sainthood in the city, were about to massacre them when they were snatched away by Christian merchants, led to the Goulette and most of them put on board ship for Europe. The Dominican Raymond de Pennafort, founder of the "Ordre de Notre-Dame de la Merci," championed the cause of missionary work also. Conscious of the necessity of knowing the Arabic language in order to carry on such activities he proposed to establish a school for the study of this language. This was in 1241. It appears that a school for the study of Hebrew was founded in Murcia for the conversion of the Jews, while a school for the study of Arabic was founded at Tunis. In 1250 the Provincial Chapter of Spain, held at Toledo, appointed the first students upon these terms: "In virtue of the authority of the Minister General and of our own we appoint for the study of Arabic and impose it for the remission of their sins upon the Brothers Arnauld de Guardia, Pierre de Candireta, Raymond Martini, etc."[1] There were eight to begin with; the number of twelve had been fixed by the Master General.

When al-Shādhilī removed from Tunis to Egypt, the Aiyubid dynasty, which had been inaugurated by Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Aiyūbi in A.D. 1169 or 1171, was in power. If we assume that al-Shādhilī left Tunis shortly after 1227, the king reigning over Egypt was al-Malik al-Kāmil, who ruled from 1218 to 1238.

The biographer Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282) related that this sovereign was a man of honorable reputation. In religion he was a strict Sunnī. He delighted in the company of learned men, and every Thursday evening he would meet

[1] J. Mesnage, *Le Christianisme en Afrique,* pp. 72, 73 et passim.

to share in their discussions on various sciences. In Cairo he founded a school for the study of the Traditions and provided endowments for its maintenance. One can readily imagine al-Shādhilī assembled in like manner with his own circle of Ṣūfīs, or even occasionally seated with those whose gathering was graced by the presence of the sovereign.

In 1250 the Mamlūk Sulṭāns replaced the Aiyubids. The Mamlūks were Turkish or Circassian slaves who had served as guards of the Aiyubid court. The first ruler was Queen Shajar al-Durr.

Al-Shādhilī was residing in Egypt during the short reign of this queen and a part of that of her successor, al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn. With the accession of the Mamlūks, the slaves of the masters of Egypt became the masters of the Egyptians. The latter had little to say in the affairs of state; their part was to obey, pay taxes, work the land, provide the judicial and religious leadership for the masses. Between them and the Mamlūk overlords there existed an almost impassable gulf of temperament and culture. Perhaps this fact helps to explain why the biographer of al-Shādhilī limits himself almost entirely to the religious sphere, for the sympathies of al-Shādhilī were undoubtedly with the oppressed class whose consolation was in religion. It is noteworthy that he has nothing to say regarding the political or social conditions under which the Saint lived. No mention is made of the Christian Crusaders in Egypt. Reference is made only indirectly to the Tatars who were threatening the northern border. No allusion is made to the moral laxity, frivolity, wine-drinking, luxuries and intrigues of the court. It is as if he were living in an entirely different world. In reality he was. It was the world of religion.

Upon his arrival in Egypt al-Shādhilī must have found great animation in intellectual and religious circles, for, in spite of turmoil within the realm and strife on the frontiers, among both Fatimid and Aiyubid sovereigns, as among the Mamlūks of a later date, there were some whose concern was the cultural advancement of their people.

In A.D. 972 the Azhar Mosque had been founded and

opened by the Fatimids. In the ensuing year it was endowed with a library and provided with lodgings for students. It appears that since a very early date endowments were available for the stay of Ṣūfīs at the Azhar.

In A.D. 1005 the Fatimid sovereign al-Ḥākim had founded in Cairo the Dār al-Ḥikmah, the House of Wisdom, for the study of all branches of knowledge, which institution was absorbed by the Azhar after the fall of the Fatimid dynasty (1171). The Fatimids had established libraries containing hundreds of thousands of volumes on all subjects.

At the same time the number of *madrasahs* increased, objects of the beneficence of rulers and private individuals alike who vied with one another in the construction of these edifices. *Khanaqāhs* and *zāwiyahs* also arose, buildings set apart for the particular devotional uses of ascetics and Ṣūfīs.

The biographer of al-Shādhilī makes no mention of the Azhar, nor of the Saint's relation to any educational institution in Cairo. Although it is claimed for al-Shādhilī that he was accomplished in all the sciences of his day, his continual insistence was upon the importance of the mystical sciences and upon their superiority over all other branches of knowledge. Canon lawyers and theologians, whose interests were confined to their respective fields to the neglect of the mystical sciences, received scant praise from the Ṣūfī master.

The emergence of al-Shādhilī as mystic and as founder of a great religious order should not be considered as an isolated phenomenon. He was part, but withal a vital part, of the general stream of Sufism whose branches touched the remotest regions of the Muslim world. Eminent among his Ṣūfī contemporaries in the East were Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 1229), Ibnu'l-Fāriḍ (d. 1235), and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273). Other religious orders rising into prominence at this time were the Suhrawardīyah in Baghdād, the Qalandarīyah in Damascus, the Badawīyah and the Dasūqīyah in Egypt.

The origins of Sufism in the West go back to the early years of Muslim Spain. The one to whom is generally attributed the introduction of Sufism into Spain is Ibn Ma-

sarra (d.A.D. 931). He was born in Cordova, and in his early years he was initiated into the life of asceticism and the study of speculative theology. Little is known with certainty regarding his career except that he travelled to North Africa and Mecca, founded a school on the Sierra of Cordova, was suspected of heresy, practised asceticism and exercised a profound influence upon his contemporaries through his esoteric doctrines. Neither he nor his disciples left any known literary works.

In spite of lacunae in our knowledge of the exact development of philosophical thought during the period of Ibn Masarra and the following years, it is certain that Sufism continued to grow, and that Ibn Masarra was to a great extent responsible for this growth. The late Asīn Palacios points out that before Ibn Masarra no mention is made of Ṣūfī schools or societies in Muslim Spain, whereas after his death two others continued to flourish besides his own, namely, those of Seville and Cordova.[2]

The most important of all, however, was Almeria which, in the beginning of the sixth century of the Muslim era, during the Almohad period, became the "spiritual metropolis of all Spanish Muslims." The chief of the Ṣūfīs in Almeria was Abū'l-'Abbās bin al-'Arīf (d. 1143), a Berber of the Sanhāja tribe in Morocco.[3]

At the same time Ibn Barrajān was head of a Ṣūfī school in Seville. Both he and Ibn al-'Arīf were summoned to Marrākush and accused of heresy.

The Ṣūfī movement spread to Portugal. After the death of the Almeria leader, Ibn Qasī of Algarve organized a "religious militia" composed of adepts and constructed a monastery from which emanated both mystical doctrine and political agitation. He left one literary work, the *Khal'u'l Na'layn,* which Ibnu'l-'Arabī read while in Tunis. His death occurred in A.D. 1151 after approximately ten years of rule with intermittent warfare against Christians, Almoravids and Almohads.

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[2] Miguel Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su Escuela,* Madrid, 1914, p. 108.
[3] ibid. p. 108.

In the two centuries between Ibn Masarra and later Ṣūfīs such as those just mentioned, Sufism underwent important changes, chiefly because of the infiltration and dissemination of Greek philosophy. The 10th century *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' were being widely read. Translations of works attributed to Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonists were in circulation. The names of Ibn Bājjah (d. 1138), Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1136), Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) and the Jewish scholar Ibn Maimūn (Maimonides) (d. 1204) of Cordova and Cairo stand out as champions of philosophy in the West, while Ibn Barrajān and other mystics were studying and defending the works of earlier Ṣūfīs such as al-Qushairī (d. 1074), al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111) and al-Tirmidhī (d. 898). These men, from Ibn Masara on, were laying the philosophical foundation and providing the mystical urge for the type of Sufism which we find in al-Shādhilī.

In the latter half of the 12th century two names rise above all others in the field of Sufism in the West. They are Abū Madyan (d. 1198) and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibnu'l-'Arabī (d. 1240). Both were born in Spain, the former near Seville and the latter in Murcia.

Abū Madyan was born between A.D. 1121 and A.D. 1130. After attending school in Seville he went to Fez. The greater part of his life was spent in this city and in Bougie. As al-Shādhilī was born but two years before the death of Abū Madyan, it cannot be said that the latter exercised any personal influence upon the former, but certainly the renown and example of this extraordinary character could not fail to leave its impress upon the fertile mind of the young al-Shādhilī. One of Abū Madyan's disciples was 'Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh who in turn became the spiritual guide of al-Shādhilī.

Abū Madyan passed away while responding to a summons to the Almohad court at Marrākush and was buried near Tlemcen, of which city he is today the patron saint.

Ibnu'l-'Arabī was born thirty-three years after Abū Madyan. He was a contemporary of al-Shādhilī and his elder by four years. It is not recorded that they ever met. Yet they

must have travelled the same roads between Fez, Bougie, Tunis, Cairo and Mecca.

As a youth he studied Sufism under a number of teachers, both in Spain and in North Africa. It is noteworthy that he spent nearly thirty years of his life in Seville, seat of the Ṣūfī school of Ibn Barrajān of the preceding generation, during a portion of which time he served as secretary for the governor of Seville.

The most important of his numerous writings are the monumental *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* and the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*

The central theme of Ibnu'l-'Arabī's mystical philosophy is the oneness of all being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), a pantheistical monism. It represents the apex in the development of Sufism which began as asceticism, passed through theosophical speculation, and finally yielded to the peril of pantheism which al-Ghazzālī and orthodox Muslims in general strove to avoid.

In view of the fact that Ibnu'l-'Arabī and al-Shādhilī were contemporaneous and subject to similar currents of theological, philosophical and mystical thought, it is only reasonable to discover similarities in mystical expression. Yet there are fundamental differences.

Sufism took root in North Africa during the Almoravid dynasty and flourished during that of the Almohads. Ṣūfī saints wandering over the land exercised their power over men of all classes. It is related that a son of 'Abd al-Mu'min was healed of an apparently incurable ill by a Ṣūfī of the Rif.[4] People of all walks of life joined the Ṣūfī movement. Old men, young men, even women were among those "converted" to the new form of religion. Some were illiterate, but found a place among the lower grades of the system. Others were literate and versed in the sciences of the time; they reached the higher grades and assumed positions of leadership. Some of the "masters" of the Ṣūfī sciences knew

[4] Bel, Alfred, *La Religion Musulmane en Berbérie,* Tome I, Paris 1938, p. 341.

only the Berber language, as, for example, Abū Ya'zā, one of the teachers of Abū Madyan at Fez.[5]

In the latter part of the twelfth century, when the works of al-Ghazzālī became popular again after the Almoravid interdiction, very few traditionists or canon lawyers were drawn into Sufism. Ibnu'l-'Arabī mentioned that it was rare that a legist was also an ascetic.[6] This same Ṣūfī wrote a treatise entitled *Risālat al-Quds* in which he gave brief biographical accounts of fifty-five of his "spiritual masters," most of whom were ascetics and some of whom were illiterate. We know that al-Shādhilī encountered his most bitter opposition in Tunis from the *fuqahā'* group. Before the close of his career, however, Sufism must have won the approbation of at least some of them, for in his correspondence he mentioned a number of canon lawyers who were also commendable Ṣūfīs.

Sufism flourished at first in the cities. The story of the development of Sufism in the West is inseparable from such renowned centers as Almeria, Seville, Cordova, Fez, Bougie, Tlemcen, and Tunis. But beginning with the thirteenth century the movement was transported to rural areas by disciples of eminent teachers. The *zāwiyah,* that is, school, place of prayer, and hostel combined into one, became an established institution connected with the homes of these disciples and by means of which the number of adepts multiplied, spreading Sufism to the countryside. It was to such a *zāwiyah* on Jabal 'Alam in Morocco that young al-Shādhilī went to receive instruction from 'Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh. The diffusion of the Muslim Brotherhoods in succeeding centuries was due in large measure to the Sufism of the Berber population in the rural areas.

During his lifetime al-Shādhilī was renowned primarily as a teacher (*shaikh*) of Ṣūfīs, but after his death he was revered, as he is today, as a saint (*walī*).

The conception of sainthood, the idea that men, by meeting certain requirements of purity, abnegation, and

[5] ibid., pp. 345-347.
[6] ibid., pp. 355, 356.

worship, may approach so near to God as to receive from Him special blessings and powers which in turn may be transmitted to other men, is an integral part of the Ṣūfī system, and has found fertile soil in the mind and heart of the Berber. Veneration of the saints was common among the Berbers long before the days of Islām. It is interesting to note the relationship between the tombs of Muslim saints and the remains of Christian chapels dating from Roman times in North Africa. M. André Berthier, in a recent account of his archaeological discoveries in ancient Numidia, attributes the great number of churches to Donatism, a characteristic of which was veneration of the saints. He indicates certain points of similarity between saint worship of Christian times and that of the present day among the Muslims, especially the use of talismans, the sanctity of articles closely associated with the saint, and the use of high places and of caves for religious purposes. He also observed that saint worship flourished particularly in the rural areas, even as it does today. His conclusion is that saint worship is enrooted in the very soul of the Berber, has always been present in North Africa, even in pre-Christian days, and continues with a firm grip upon the people to the present time.[7] Certainly al-Shādhilī the saint has now for many centuries held a large portion of the people of North Africa within his grasp.

Part II

Al-Shadhili: The Man and His Teachings. The chief source of our information on al-Shādhilī is the work entitled *Durrat al-Asrār wa Tuḥfat al-Abrār* by Muḥammad bin Abī'l-Qāsim al-Ḥimyarī, known as Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh. This person is without renown in the field of Arabic literature.

Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh claimed to have received his information regarding al-Shādhilī from various reliable sources. He was evidently a devotee of the order of al-Shādhilī. Out of a de-

[7] Berthier, André, *Les Vestiges du Christianisme Antique dans la Numidie Centrale,* Alger, 1942, pp. 220-224 et passim.

sire to gather together whatever he could learn of the Shaikh, he travelled far and wide to talk with any person who might have information concerning him. His chief source of information was the recollections of the immediate disciples of al-Shādhilī, such as al-Māḍī who is reported to have died when he was about 116 years old, and the disciples of the Shaikh's disciples. Furthermore, he met one of the sons of al-Shādhilī in Demanhūr, a daughter in Alexandria, and some of his grandchildren. He mentioned a book on Abū Sa'īd al-Bājī by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Futūḥ, which contained information regarding al-Shādhilī. On the basis of internal evidence, the date of his writing is some time before the middle of the fourteenth century.

Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh has divided his work into five chapters. The first deals with the life of al-Shādhilī. Chapter Two contains letters which he supposedly wrote to some of his disciples in distant places. Chapter Three is composed of prayers of various kinds,—*aḥzāb, adhkār, da'awāt*. Chapter Four gives a rather disconnected account of the Shaikh's teachings. It is a compendium of Shādhilīyah doctrine and principles and may safely be considered as a fair picture of Shādhilīyah teachings at the time of the writing. Chapter Five begins with the account of the circumstances attending the death of al-Shādhilī and continues with the story of the attainments of his disciple and successor al-Mursī, together with anecdotes pertaining to other disciples.

The author states that al-Shādhilī was born in Ghumārah. This is a mountainous region in Spanish Morocco south of Ceuta. The Ghumārah were a Berber tribe which inhabited these regions long before the Muslim invasions. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh recorded that at the time of his death in A.H. 646 (A.D. 1248) he was about sixty-three years old. This would place his birth about A.H. 583, or A.D. 1187.

Little information, if any, exists to throw light on the early years of al-Shādhilī. Undoubtedly he pursued the customary Quranic studies in his youth. He is credited with a mastery of both esoteric and exoteric knowledge. It is quite probable that contact with Ṣūfīs early in life contributed to

his formation for his later career as teacher and founder of a Ṣūfī brotherhood. If we may rely upon the account given by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, it was during his formative years that he made a trip as far as 'Irāq in search of religious truth, where he was instructed by al-Wāsiṭī to return to the Maghrib where he would find his spiritual guide.

Before entering public life al-Shādhilī had at least two teachers of the Ṣūfī way. One was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Ḥarzihūm, disciple of the disciple of the renowned Ṣūfī Shaikh Abū Madyan (d. 1198). His second teacher, rendered famous through the superior attainments of his pupil as well as his own merits, was 'Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh, pupil of Abū Madyan, who came originally from the Banī 'Arūs of the Jabal 'Alam near Tetuan in Morocco.

Early in life al-Shādhilī went to 'Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh to take him as his spiritual guide. The venerable teacher recognized the "saintly" qualities of the young man and gave him his final injunction to refrain from men and to depart to Tunisia.

His career may be divided into two periods. The first is that of strict asceticism and the second is that of a renowned theologian and teacher of mystical religion.

During the first period we find him, according to legend, leaving 'Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh and proceeding to Tunis. He went about as a mendicant, trusting in Allāh for his daily bread and dwelling in secluded places. Following the instructions of his spiritual guide, he went to the village called Shādhilah, a short distance from Tunis, in the vicinity of which he remained for an indefinite period, fasting and devoting himself to long seasons of prayer. In the course of his wanderings, according to the account of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, numerous thaumaturgical feats were attributed to him, such as changing spurious coins into good ones, transmuting iron into gold, quelling the growling of wild beasts. These manifestations of extraordinary power were considered to be "divine gifts" (*karāmāt*), special graces with which Allāh protected or assisted his "saints."

The number of his disciples increased, and his renown

grew to such proportions that the canon lawyers of Tunis, incited by one of their numbers named Ibn al-Barā', were aroused to suspicion. Charges of being a Fatimid were laid against him. Al-Shādhilī withdrew with his companions to Egypt.

The sequence of events thereafter, during the second period of his career, cannot be determined with accuracy from available acounts. It is known, however, that he returned at least once to Tunis, that he had many disciples in this place, that in Alexandria he had quarters in one of the wall towers that had been placed at his disposal by the Sultan for him, his family, and his disciples, that he was frequently in Cairo, if he did not actually reside there, and that he had at least three sons and two daughters whom our author mentions by name. His home resembled in every respect a *zāwiyah* in which the Saint exercised full control over the daily conduct of his followers. His gifts of thaumaturgy, his superiority in exoteric and esoteric knowledge, and his piety made him a person to be revered and feared by people of high and low estate. Although he lived in a state of affluence, his heart, so it is claimed, was detached from worldly gain.

Often he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. It was while passing through Upper Egypt in A.D. 1258 for this purpose that he died at Ḥumaithirah at the approximate age of sixty-three. There he was buried by his disciples, after having appointed as his successor Abū'l-'Abbās al-Mursī who had come from Spain in his boyhood and who had been raised as an orphan by al-Shādhilī.

Although al-Shādhilī is reputed to have been versed in all sciences, one should not expect to find an exemplification of his erudition in his teachings as recorded by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh. He was not a philosopher. No clear philosophical system can be deduced from the material at our disposal. It is true that occasionally he used the technical vocabulary familiar to the logicians and likewise employed the terminology of Neoplatonic philosophy to describe the process whereby the soul of man reaches its present human state and

ultimately returns to its origin. But these thought forms were common enough in his day in the West as in the East, and al-Shādhilī adopted them as convenient vehicles of expression for his mystical theology.

In theology he was orthodox. His recognition of the first four *khalīfahs* marked him as a Sunnī. The Sunnah of Muḥammad was coupled with the Qur'ān as basic authority. Personal opinion was condemned. He opposed Mu'tazilī doctrine, and our story relates that a group of Mu'tazilīs with whom he was having a discussion in Alexandria was converted to orthodoxy. He upheld the faith (*īmān*) of Islam and repeatedly emphasized the necessity of strict observance of the ordinances of Allah. It is noteworthy, however, that our account contains nothing regarding almsgiving or the fast.

To his orthodoxy he appended his mysticism. His affirmation of adherence to the six articles of the faith of Islam was followed by an assertion of belief in all the prophets, in conformity with the Quranic statement that no distinction is made between the prophets (2:285). This is illustrative of the Ṣūfī method of interpreting the Qur'ān and the traditions according to their need or fancy in order to bolster their particular principles and doctrines. Behind Scripture and accepted doctrine they, through superior insight, discovered hidden meanings which to them constituted the reality of the matter. The Allah of the Qur'ān, whose qualities, in conformity with the tenets of al-Ash'arī, should be accepted as stated "without asking how," who created all that exists by His command "Be," who wills everything, and who will be seen with the eyes on the Day of Judgment, became to the Ṣūfī the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*), the one metaphysical reality behind all phenomena. Muḥammad the Prophet became the choicest of men, the greatest Ṣūfī, the source of every good thing, the fountain of light and knowledge, the one who has been favored with the "Greatest Name" of Allah, and the Logos. The Day of Judgment, the hour of the great reckoning, became the day of rendezvous with Allah; death was awaited with pleasant anticipation.

Faith meant more than intellectual assent to propositions; it involved viewing one's attributes in the light of Allah's attributes. Religious terms were given deeper content; each one contained a spiritual significance. Real reliance (*tawakkul*) upon Allah meant turning the heart away from everything except Allah and forgetting everything other than Him. Real asceticism (*zuhd*) was more than stripping one's self of earthly pleasures and comforts; it meant emptying the heart of everything except Allah. Real knowledge (*'ilm*) was more extensive than intellectual acquisition; it implied action, dwelling with what one knew to be good and fleeing from what one knew to be evil. Real prostration (*sujūd*) in prayer was more than prostration of the body; it meant prostration of the heart to Allah's judgments. Such were the interpretations of all virtues and obligations pertaining to the religious life.

Allah's unity (*tawḥīd*), especially, took on a mystical significance. This term may mean the doctrine of the unity of Allah, the declaration of this doctrine, the science of theology, or the mystical union of the soul with Allah. It has been difficult, sometimes impossible, to determine from the context which meaning was intended by the writer. *Tawḥīd,* with al-Shādhilī, is not identical with the metaphysical conception of the oneness of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) as expounded by Ibnu'l-'Arabī. It is an experience of witnessing or contemplating Allah, of the soul's uniting in rapture with Allah, of the union of the will with the will of Allah. The real unitarian is he who allows Allah to have complete sway over his life. It is an experience of the inner man which should not be divulged to the uninitiated.

If al-Shādhilī appears to have had pantheistic tendencies, it is because he used the terminology familiar to men of his time, and, it must be admitted, some of his ideas have meaning only when interpreted in the light of concepts of such Ṣūfīs as Ibnu'l-'Arabī and al-Jīlī who were thoroughgoing pantheists. Yet there is nothing in the teaching of al-Shādhilī resembling *ittiḥād,* identification of being, or *ḥulūl,* fusion of being. These considerations, together with his in-

sistence upon a clear distinction between divine and human attributes, his ever-recurring admonition to shun the world and everything pertaining thereto out of the desire for spiritual benefits, following the words of his teacher, "Allah is Allah and men are men," and his dominating interest in the practical problems of the Ṣūfī Way rather than in philosophical speculation, lead to the conclusion that his Unity or Union was mystical and not metaphysical.

Furthermore, in consideration of the lapse of time between al-Shādhilī and the writing by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, which was nearly a century, and because of the uncertainty of traditions, we are justified in questioning the exactitude of some of the sayings attributed to him. The popularity of the pantheistic ideas of Ibnu'l-'Arabī would naturally influence the minds of al-Shādhilī's followers. For this reason caution must be exercised in interpreting al-Shādhilī in the light of later writings on the Shādhilīyah school.

Among his teachings are expressions which are susceptible of an illuministic interpretation. But he cannot be placed in the category of such followers of the philosophy of Illumination (*Ishrāq*) as, for example, Suhrawardī Maqtūl (d. 1191), Abū'l-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī (d. 1477, 8), or Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1640), for whom Allah, the one metaphysical Reality, is Light and the source from which all else radiates. All Ṣūfīs have used the metaphor of light, and have found Quranic justification for it. As early as the ninth century the Neoplatonic metaphysics of light, which came to the Muslims through the so-called "Theology of Aristotle," was taken over by the Ṣūfīs, and in the tenth century the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' incorporated it in their Epistles. Al-Ghazzālī expounded his theory of light in a treatise entitled *mishkāt al-Anwār*. With al-Shādhilī, light is symbolical of mystical knowledge, gnosis (*ma'rifah*), imparted by Allāh to the Ṣūfī while he is in the proper state to receive it. "Anyone whose light takes precedence over his reason (*'aql*) is fortunate," he taught, "but anyone whose reason takes precedence over his light is unfortunate." He urged one of his disciples to "be guided by the light of Allah deposited in

hearts, by which [light] they [i.e. Ṣūfīs] have observed, pondered, studied, and attained unto the Truth." It is a light within the heart which guides or advises the saint aright in matters of daily conduct. "Lights are spiritual insights," he said. In this respect al-Shādhilī resembles the ninth-century mystics al-Muḥāsibī and al-Makkī.

The Sufism of al-Shādhilī lies between the two extremes of a rigid asceticism on the one hand and an unbridled pantheistic theosophy on the other. "Sufism," he said, "is training the lower self (*nafs*) in servantship and returning it to the judgments of lordship." Again he taught, "This way is neither one of monasticism, nor of the eating of barley and bran, nor one of the other devices. It is only a matter of patient endurance and firm belief in guidance."

The real Ṣūfī, he explained, is one whose mind and heart are God-centered. He is "one who does not pay attention to mankind and who has leaned toward nothing except the promises of Allah." The true Ṣūfī has four characteristics: "being characterized by the characteristics of Allah, abiding closely by the commands of Allah, relinquishing of the defense of one's self out of respect for Allah, continuing to sit upon the carpet [of mystical practices] by truly passing away with Allah." The first implies moral integrity; the second implies orthodox belief and action; the third implies "quietism"; the fourth implies ecstatic experiences.

Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh dwells at length upon al-Shādhilī's views and recommendations with regard to the practical aspects of the life of Ṣūfīs as they pursue the Path of mystical experience. Early Ṣūfīs were accustomed to observe certain rules for the development of the spiritual life and to follow a well-defined Way (*ṭarīqah*) through various psychological stages in order to enjoy the exalted religious experience of direct access to Allah which was quite unknown to the ordinary believer and follower of the religious law. Examples of the early exponents of the mystical stages and states experienced by Ṣūfīs are Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d.A.D. 988)[8] and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d.A.D. 996).[9]

[8] R. A. Nicholson, *Kitāb al Luma' fī'l-Taṣawwuf, of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj,* in "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series Vol. XXII, London, Luzac & Co., 1914, pp. 12-21.
[9] Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb,* Cairo, 1932, II p. 65.

The passing of time brought modifications in the structure of the system, without, however, changing its basic content. Al-Shādhilī said that "the Ṣūfī Way is the holding of one's course toward Allāh by four things: the recital of the *dhikr,* meditation, poverty and love." He taught that the Way has five virtues: patience, piety, scrupulousness, certainty, mystical knowledge.

Since men are endowed with various capacities, all Ṣūfīs could not be expected to attain to the same degree of excellence. God had ordained that some tread the path of the "commonality" while others ascend to spiritual heights on the path of the "elect." Some engaged in daily occupations while others devoted themselves entirely to religious practices. Yet even those in the lower category should maintain certain ethical standards and be zealous in religious works, even to the extent of five prayers daily with the congregation.

The religious retreat (*khalwah*) played an important role in Ṣūfī life. But if there were definite advantages in this practice, he warned, there were perils also. Satan, involuntary thoughts, and man's own lower nature were ever ready to profit by one's heedlessness. Watchfulness and continual awareness of one's inner state, as well as knowledge of the correct measures to take in times of temptation, were necessary.

Man was subject to passing states of spiritual well-being and spiritual depression, mystical intoxication and sobriety, union with Allah and separation from Him, presence and absence, in all of which he should know how to act with propriety to the pleasure of Allah.

Al-Shādhilī made much of the use of the *dhikr* as a form of worship supplementary to the canonical prayers. The word *dhikr* means "remembrance" or "mentioning," that is, of Allah. It may be vocal or silent; it may be recited after canonical prayers, in complete isolation, or in company with other Ṣūfīs. It may consist of one word, "Allah" or *"huwa"* (he), for example, repeated continually, or it may consist of short phrases, or it may be a long prayer. The most excellent

dhikr, in any case, is that in which one loses his own consciousness in mystical union with Allah.

In all phases of life, he insisted, whether in seclusion or in the company of others, in worship or common acts, in joy or sorrow, good fortune or adversity, the Ṣūfī must always hold his own personal volition in abeyance out of deference for the supreme will of Allah. If he does this, a sense of satisfaction will pervade his being, and he may be assured of the satisfaction of Allah. Love for Allah, to the exclusion of love for every other thing, should be the dominating motive.

In the teachings of al-Shādhilī the Way involves the question of moral principles. The Ṣūfī should strive to be free from creaturely attributes and to possess those that are approved by Allah. He should suffer injury with patience and refrain from injuring others. Retribution is the right of Allah. One should be reluctant to imprecate evil-doers, though this be within his power, for Allah will be their judge. Even the followers of Muḥammad offered imprecations only by special permission of Allah. After all, everything that happens, of good or of ill, has its source in Allah. Therefore the proper course in adversity is to turn to Him with resignation and commitment.

Toward those in places of authority al-Shādhilī advised submission and resignation. Although they be evil-doers and enemies of Allah, the proper attitude is to allow the will of Allah to take its course. He urged his followers to remain aloof from temporal affairs.

He taught that the responsibility for personal debts should be placed directly upon Allah. When one removes from his heart the love for material rewards and remuneration, Allah in a wondrous way makes provision for him.

The temptations that arise from man's lower nature cannot, according to al-Shādhilī, be vanquished by man's own striving. Self-discipline avails little. The repetition of the *dhikr,* constant watching over the inner states, thanksgiving, and repentance are means to employ for the effectual working of Allah, but in reality only Allah has power to bring

on good or evil. Man's lower self, his *nafs,* the active principle in him which pulls him down and distracts him from Allah, cannot be conquered by fighting against it. It can be subdued only by Allah who knows all about man. Knowledge, both exoteric and esoteric, and fidelity to the religious law and to the Sunnah of Muḥammad are aids to this end.

In the field of epistemology al-Shādhilī follows the theory traditionally advanced by mystical thinkers. There are two kinds of knowledge. One is knowledge received through the intellectual processes, and this is called *'ilm.* The higher type of knowledge, however, that by which the Ṣūfīs are characterized, is mystical knowledge, called *ma'rifah.* This latter leads to an apprehension of the ultimate reality of all that is, and in this sphere of learning a place of preeminence was reserved for al-Shādhilī by his followers. The apprehension of realities without a shadow of a doubt and with no intervening veil is called *yaqīn,* a term denoting absolute certainty. This occurs in the state of ecstasy. By means of mystical knowledge man may know Allah. This truth al-Shādhilī affirmed in reply to those who denied that Ṣūfīs possessed this ability. Men spiritually blind cannot discern Allah's secrets; yet the hidden mysteries are clear to those Ṣūfīs who have insight into the Realities.

Proof is of three kinds. The first is intellectual, and is employed by the theologians and scholars who rely upon their reasoning. The second is that which comes as a special grace (*karāmah*) from Allah, and is the property of the saints. The third is that which comes through the inner soul, and is the property of the prophets and most advanced saints. Ṣūfīs have no need of the first kind. Their faith and ability to apprehend hidden realities make them to dispense with proof and argument.

Al-Shādhilī counseled caution in the matter of forming judgments. Both the intellect and personal opinion should be distrusted. The only firm basis consists in a clear proof from the Qur'ān, a Sunnah of the Prophet, a consensus of opinion, or the opinion of one of the authoritative Imāms.

The influence of al-Shādhilī and his teachings radiated

in all directions. Isolated groups of adepts sprang up here and there, which, although more or less autonomous, were bound together at heart by the teachings of al-Shādhilī. His doctrines spread with the development of Ṣūfī brotherhoods to Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Roumania, and even as far away as Sumatra. His teachings became the source of inspiration for the Azhar University in Cairo. The same may be said with regard to the Djāmi' al-Zaitūnah in Tunis. Pilgrims still flock by the thousands to the shrine, the Mosque of Sidi Belhassen, erected in his honor in Tunis over a cave where he was wont to practise asceticism in the early days of his career. The vast "Djellaz" cemetery about this mosque preserves his memory. Of the sixteen principal North African religious orders listed by Rinn in his *Marabouts et Khouan,* eleven are branches of the Shādhilīyah, and it is safe to say that the influence of al-Shādhilī may be traced in the remainder, either in doctrine, ritual, moral principles, or political attitude. Without exaggeration it may be claimed that the influence of the young Seeker of the Ghumārah has reached the confines of the Muslim world.

It is furthermore possible that the Christian world has come under his influence in a way and to an extent that we have hitherto little suspected. The striking resemblances between Muslim and Christian mysticism lead to conjectures as to the close relationship between the two. The eminent Spanish Arabic scholar Miguel Asín Palacios, who made a profound study of Muslim as well as Christian mysticism, has pointed out the close connection that existed between the mysticism of the Shādhilīyah school and that of the Christian mystics of Spain, especially of St. John of the Cross. In his work entitled *El Islam cristianizado*[10] he has intimated the great surprise that awaits the historian who will compare these two currents of mystical thought, observing that, as the brilliancy of the last followers of the school of al-Shādhilī wanes in Spain, an unexpected, unprecedented, and unexplained outburst of spirituality occurs

[10] Miguel Asín Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado,* Madrid, 1931, pp. 272-274.

among the Christians. The parallelisms of the two currents may be traced in both their favorable and unfavorable aspects. Although there has been much discussion over the nebulous origin of the Spanish "illuminati," Miguel Asín Palacios has insisted, the fact that not a few of the Spanish adepts were converts from Islam is a factor that should not be underestimated.

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THE STRUCTURE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

IV. SUFISM

The efficient principle of Sufism is the organized cultivation of religious experience. Like theology, it arises at an advanced stage in religious development. In the first century of Islam, when the Muslim religious community constituted a kind of ethical society based upon the concrete doctrines about God and the Last Judgment and the concrete religious duties laid down in the Qur'ān, there were neither theologians nor Sufis. But as the increasing range of intellectual activity and the introduction of philosophical discussion produced first an organized system of law and eventually a systematic theology, so by parallel stages and by a natural, and indeed necessary, reaction against the external rationalization of Islam, the intuitive religious perception became increasingly sensitive and self-conscious. The effort of the earlier ascetics to attain to ethical perfection was not indeed given up, but was gradually refined and transformed. The ethical ideal proclaimed in the injunction *takhallaqū bi'akhlāqi'llāh* could no longer be satisfied by mere acceptance of a rule imposed from without, but demanded conformity with the content of a deep and real spiritual experience, the external rule becoming as it were imposed on oneself by one's own higher nature and insight into a true relationship with God.

The parallel with the development of theology can be pursued even further. As theology was stimulated by contact with Greek philosophy and rationalism, so Sufism was stimulated by contact with Christian mysticism and Gnosticism. Since the spirit and expression of Quranic piety had from the first been closely related to the mystical-ascetic attitudes of the Eastern Christian church, there were in this case even fewer barriers to intercommunication. But as it is demonstrably false to say that Islamic theology was simply Greek philosophy in an Islamic dress, so also it is false to as-

sume that Sufism was simply Christian or Gnostic mysticism in an Islamic dress. Islamic theology utilized Greek philosophy and logic to elaborate its rational system on the basis of Quranic postulates; in the same way Sufism, basing itself firmly upon the intuitive insights of the Qur'ān, admitted so much of Christian experience and Gnostic imagery into its forms of expression as could be accommodated to its fundamental religious attitudes.

In this function Sufism served as the complement of orthodox *tawḥīd*. When the sufis accepted the scholastic theology and law as defining the rational and moral imperatives of Islam in external terms and set themselves to seek out and to practise their inner content, they raised the whole level of religious thought and action in Islam to a higher plane of consciousness and purpose. The combination of the intuitive reason with the speculative reason is at all times difficult to achieve and few, even in Sufism, achieved it fully; but it cannot be denied that in some sufis the religious life and thought attained some of their highest manifestations.

At first, then, between orthodox theology and Sufism there was a divergence of emphasis rather than of content: theology emphasizing rational knowledge and appealing to the head, Sufism stressing intuitive perception and experience and appealing to the heart. But the rift was bound to widen, since theology, being a rational and scientific discipline, produced a stable and uniform structure of ideas, whereas Sufism was an attitude rather than a doctrine. Its personal, imaginative and experiential character meant that, in contrast to theology, it could not remain one and the same thing, finding expression at all times and in all places in the same formulas. On the contrary, it was bound to differ even from individual to individual, and to express the widest variety of reactions to stimuli of widely differing kinds.

Later Sufism, in particular, with its endless range of emotional manifestations and imaginative attitudes, eludes every attempt to tie it down by classifications and defini-

tions. Everything is relative and personal, and one would be as hard put to it to find a professed sufi in whose thought there was not some antinomian or gnostic elements, as to find one whose thought was completely divorced from the Quranic system of ideas.

With these limitations, however, we may distinguish three main tendencies. One is "orthodox" Sufism, a mystical-ascetic attitude in which contemplation and the pursuit of religious experience is controlled by the acceptance of Quranic transcendental monotheism and the Quranic doctrine of duties. Thus Sarī as-Saqaṭī defined *taṣawwuf* as "a name including three ideas. The sufi is he whose light of divine knowledge does not extinguish the light of his piety; he does not utter esoteric doctrine which is contradicted by the exterior sense of the Qur'ān and the Sunna; and the miracles vouchsafed to him do not cause him to violate the holy ordinances of God."

As this quotation itself shows, however, Sufism, being essentially the affirmation of a direct relation between God and man, had already encouraged a tendency to brush aside the intermediate authority of the established religious institution. There were those who regarded it as an obstacle, to be got around by reinterpretation, or even by more or less overt opposition to its formulas. This sense of opposition, perhaps sharpened by the inevitable conflict with the 'ulamā', threw certain groups into attitudes dictated by emotional rejection of the demand for external conformity to the Sharī'a on the one hand, and of the intellectual categories of *tawḥīd* on the other.

The former tendency is seen amongst those who practised and preached a doctrine of "blame" (*malāma*), setting themselves to the external performance of acts which were legally disapproved, or which even violated the Law, in the belief that by incurring the censure of those whom they called "the vulgar" they could become independent of them and devote themselves wholly to God. More profound and more serious was the reaction against the absoluteness with which the theologians had formulated the logical conse-

quences of the doctrine of "difference," so separating man entirely from God.

In its extreme form this protest was voiced by al-Ḥallāj, whose execution made of him a symbol of self-sacrifice and death for the love of God, and for whose followers, in consequence, the "mullas" became impious ministers of evil. It may only have been small groups who maintained an extreme Hallajism, combining with it in some cases theosophical and incarnational doctrines; and the inner contradictions between such exaggerated reactions and the fundamental positions of Islam rendered them sterile in the long run, in spite of some literary remains of undeniable beauty. Yet some of these elements, like those of *malamism,* survived into sufi thought of later times, and fostered a tendency to relegate the formulas of the orthodox institution to a secondary place. In addition they opened up channels through which older beliefs which had been opposed or inhibited by orthodoxy were able to gain entrance into the Muslim community, and some of these, like the hermetic "sciences," penetrated its imaginative universe to an extent which baffles the modern student.

The sufi movement, therefore, so far from presenting a common body of doctrine, formed a complex association of imaginative and emotional attitudes, which are still very far from having been studied and analyzed at all fully. At bottom, it asserted the rights of the imaginative reason in religion and the claim of the intuitive aesthetic impulse to seek an outlet in the face of its repression by the orthodox system. In all other religions these demands have found satisfaction in religious art. In Islam, denied this visual expression, they took their revenge by assuming characteristic forms of behaviour and discourse. It is not a coincidence that, at a time when the formal literatures of the Arabs and Persians had become completely dissociated from the popular literary arts, precisely these, and particularly the wine-song, the short story and the romance, were taken up and recast as the main vehicles of sufi experience. Rūmī's *Mathnawī* may justly be called a religious picture-book.

This aesthetic element in Sufism plays a part which can hardly be overemphasized in its later expansion. Indeed, the nearest western parallel for the inner development of later Sufism is to be found not in the development of the Christian monastic orders, but rather in the history of western painting. With widening range and expanding powers it seemed to release the imaginative faculties from almost all controls and to allow them free play within the religious field, until at last the strength of the natural imaginative impulses and popular religious appetites exerted a pull on the whole range of religious attitudes in Islam.

In the higher levels of the movement, the revival of naturalism found expression in the two sufi philosophies, the illuminationist deriving from the ancient Asiatic beliefs, and the monist deriving from Hellenistic popular philosophy. In spite of the popularity of these, either individually or in combination with one another or with the hermetic "sciences," and of the great mystical poetry which they inspired, their importance lies less in themselves than in their influence and effects. Viewed as philosophies, they offer only a convincing proof of the incoherence of the religious imagination when it is not disciplined either by the vision of a prophet or the logic of the reasoning faculty. Their chief attraction lay not in their reasonableness, but in that they allowed unlimited scope to immanentist feeling and expression, and above all to the marked tendency towards pantheism which is to be found in all the greater poetical exponents of Sufism.

In my view, this quasi-Islamic pantheism attempts the very opposite of what Muhammad set out to do. He, faced with Arab animism, attempted to destroy it by setting a transcendental God over against the material world which He had created and prohibiting the worship of any creature. At the same time, from his own mystical experience he knew that in some mysterious and inexpressible way God was also *in* His world. The orthodox theology, exaggerating the first aspect, repressed the second. Sufism began by asserting the truth also of the second, and in its philosophies attempted

to find a formulation of this dual truth. But gradually, and especially in its popular forms, it came more and more to equate God's indwelling in the world with the animistic idea of divine powers and qualities inherent in material objects and persons; and then attempted to square this with the existence of a transcendent Creator God by substituting for the indwelling of God in the world the indwelling of the world in God and by asserting that all material things are manifestations of Him.

The extremism of the orthodox denial of the immanence of God thus led in Sufism to an equal extremism in its assertion. But just as the great body of Muslims respected the theological dogmas without allowing them to affect very greatly their ordinary working beliefs, so these pantheistic or panentheistic speculations, though they were read and admired by the educated and produced a deeply affecting poetry, were not taken very seriously by the large body of affiliates to the sufi orders. The great majority succeeded somehow or other in maintaining alongside the vaguely pantheistic ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī the fundamental positions of Quranic monotheism, in a kind of syncretism without assimilation.

This had both good and bad results. Whereas orthodox theology numbered no outstanding original thinkers after the fifth century, except perhaps Ibn Taimīya, the problem of reconciling orthodox transcendentalism and rigidity with sufi immanentism and experience exercised the minds of sufi leaders and thinkers generation after generation. In their writings, consequently, is most faithfully reflected the continuing effort of Muslim religious thought in the later centuries.

On the other side, these doctrines threw open the door to a number of ideas and practices which were destructive of the religious values of orthodox Islam. Sufism, as a religious movement, showed many faces, and it is impossible to separate these from one another. If it is to be judged partly by the spiritual and ethical insights which were attained by its highest exponents, and partly by its success in

setting and maintaining high general standards of religious living in the Muslim community, yet its virtues cannot be viewed in isolation from the exaggerations and eccentricities in religious thought which the sufis patronized, or from the exploitation of human weaknesses, not only by the minor and irregular orders and by a host of charlatans, but also at times by some of the major orders.

For the same circumstances which released the imaginative powers of the elites also released, at a second remove, the inherited religious instincts of the masses, when Sufism became a mass-movement and its adherents organized themselves in corporations and orders. The instrument by which this was affected, and the root-cause of the deviations, exaggerations and social weaknesses which became increasingly prominent in the new popular Sufism, was the revival of saint-worship, the veneration accorded by devotees to men who displayed outstanding gifts as seers and teachers, and their canonization as saints, whose blessed power (*baraka*) continued to be effective even after death.

The system of *pīrī-murīdī* offers a striking example of the way in which a principle entirely natural and healthy in its original setting can be perverted by changing conditions. No criticism can be pressed against the sufis for accepting the authority of men of marked spiritual character and insight. In its original function the system served to train the imaginative and intuitive powers of the neophyte and to restrain him from the dangers of excessive self-reliance. But it also perpetuated erratic tendencies, and while these were relatively unimportant so long as sufis were found only in small dispersed groups, they were of necessity intensified as Sufism developed on a mass scale. In the long run it undermined the structure of sufi ethics, both through its excessive assertion of spiritual authority, rationalized by a doctrine of secret knowledge possessed and transmitted only by the *pīr*, and through the spiritual presumption which it fostered in the *pīr* himself.

A system of this kind constitutes an open invitation to

the instincts which predispose the ordinary man to attach himself to persons rather than to doctrines and ideas. Its chief effect was to relax the hold of Islamic orthodoxy on the inner circle of adepts, by binding them to follow implicitly the precept and example of a single individual wherever it might lead, even in such matters as observance of the canonical prayers and other doctrines and practices of Islam. "Blessing" could be acquired only through obedience to the directions of the *pīr;* salvation in the future life could be assured only through the *pīr's* intercession for his faithful disciples; and the service of the preceptor usurped the term *'ibāda,* properly applied to the worship of God alone.

Not only, then, did the later institutional Sufism reintroduce that intermediate authority between God and man which early Sufism had protested against and repudiated, but reintroduced it on a lower level. For now both worship and authority were no longer concentrated on a universal and rationally intelligible object. Instead of this they were thrown into confusion at the dictates of a vast number of individuals of an enthusiastic or ecstatic nature, whose teachings, based upon an unstable and subjective intuitionism, often differed widely from one another and from the affirmations of the Qur'ān.

What constitutes sainthood? How can the true be distinguished from the false, the genuinely God-intoxicated from the sanctimonious swindler? Since everything depended upon the character and attainments of the men who set themselves up, or were regarded by the people as *pīrs,* these were the crucial questions for later Islam. But they were burked. Or rather, because Sufism was swept on by a great tide breaking through the dykes that had held back the flood of animism still contained in the subconsciousness, a tide that the orthodox sufis themselves were unable to control, the answer was taken out of their hands.

By a fatal reversion, the great body of Muslims found it in the doctrine of saintly miracles (*karāmāt*). The greatest saints, it is true, might and did disavow for themselves any power to work miracles; but their very acceptance of the

fact that such miracles were wrought through other saints by the power and grace of God confirmed the popular belief, and their very disclaimers strengthened the evil consequences of that belief. For if all *karāmāt* are the gifts of God to His elect, then any person of whom *karāmāt* were credibly reported could not but be one of the elect, no matter how much his teachings might challenge or be challenged by the orthodox, no matter what his personal conduct might seem outwardly to be.

Thus, under cover of Sufism, saint-worship re-introduced into Islam the old association of religion with magic. Once re-established, it could not be prevented from penetrating to ever lower levels, until divination, charms, and all the other paraphernalia of imposture provided a means of livelihood for vast numbers of darwishes, self-deceived or consciously deceiving. It is sometimes difficult to see, indeed, wherein later popular darwishism differs from pre-Islamic animism except in mere externals.

Yet the ideals of the more reputable Sufi orders were not entirely swept under by the flood. Though forced into grave compromises, they still clung to the Qur'ān and its ordinances, and still served their object of stimulating and enriching the spiritual life of their adherents within the framework of the orthodox institutions. Some of them may have overdone the whipping-up of emotional excitement, but it would go against most of the evidence at our disposal to assert that their effect upon the main body of their members was morally or spiritually injurious. On the contrary, the encouragement which the regular orders gave to charity, compassion, honesty, and the other social virtues left an enduring impress on Muslim society.

As often happens, the general sobriety of the major orders attracts the eye of the student less than the vast range of superstitions that flourished in every region of the Muslim world and every level of Muslim society. But superstition is the fringe of the garment of belief, or the pulp that surrounds its self-renewing kernel. Every living faith—and not only religious faiths, but political, economic and scien-

tific faiths as well—creates around its nucleus an outer ring of superstitions, broader or narrower according to its intensity and the range of its influence. Sufism spread too rapidly, over too vast an area and too great a variety of peoples, to escape from illustrating this general tendency of the human mind in an extreme degree.

But however many and confusing the superstitions that linked themselves up with Sufism, the important thing is that it prepared the soil for the living seed of faith. In all the territories under Muslim dominion, their peoples, whether Muslims by profession or converts brought within the fold of Islam by the labours of the sufis, were led, through the attraction of the sufi appeal to their instinctive religious attitudes, into the range of influence of the orthodox institution, with its mosques, preachers and madrasas. Side by side with their still superstitious practices and beliefs the doctrines of the Qur'ān were slowly taking root over the centuries.

The slowness of this process, especially among the remoter and rural populations, was due not so much, as it might be supposed, to their ignorance as to the static structure of Muslim society during this period. The greatest achievement of Sufism was that the orders succeeded, deliberately or not, in creating a religious organization parallel to and identified with the units of which Muslim society was composed. Each village community, each guild association in the towns, each regiment of troops, in India even each caste group, had its sufi "lodge," which linked its members together in a common religious allegiance, and gave to its religious ceremonies a fraternal and communal appeal.

To this organic integration of the sufi orders with the basic units of society saint-worship added a still closer sense of intimacy. As the lodge system took root, the need began to be felt of having "saints"—alive or dead—within reach of every village community and in every quarter of the towns. Tombs and shrines and the mawlids associated with them not only constituted the self-renewing link between the orders and the people, but also preserved a permanent revival-

ist element in popular religion. The ever-felt and almost physical presence of the supernatural in close relation to the activities and circumstances of daily life maintained, even if in crude and rudimentary forms, the conviction of the unseen life; and the sense of personal relationship with the saint endowed the rites and practices of such communal religion with a warmth and intensity which was lacking in the rituals of the official institution.

In this, then, lay the ultimate justification of the sufi movement. At a time when the orthodox institution had, partly because of its rigidity, partly also because of its uneasy alliance with the secular authorities, lost much of its power to touch the hearts and wills of the ordinary Muslim, the sufis offered not only the warmth of personal participation in communal worship, but also gave power and depth to Islamic teachings which, without this, would too often have remained inert and external. One might assert, with every justification from the historical angle, that outside of a relatively narrow circle the survival of official Islam as a religion in any true sense between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries was due to the nourishment which it drew from the sufi brotherhoods.

The orthodox 'ulamā,' in fact, must bear much of the responsibility for the weaknesses of which advantage was taken by the extremer and more antinomian practitioners of Sufism. In the measure of their aloofness they threw the strain of holding the balance between orthodoxy and the popular religious appetites upon the leaders of the regular orders. The latter, indeed, served their generations with a loyalty and zeal which have never received their due appreciation from the modern Muslim world; but the task was beyond the range of anything they could have expected to achieve unaided.

The reaction in the last century was salutary up to a point. But it was swelled by the confluence of two currents. One was represented chiefly by the puritan reformers, shocked into action by a realization of the gulf between the principles of orthodoxy and the practices of the great body

of professed Muslims. The other arose in the military class and the new urban middle classes who by training and inclination were gradually divorced from the Muslim tradition, and through whom the process of inner drying-up, already far advanced in the West, began to spread to the Muslim world.

The former aimed at a reformation which would maintain the Islamic religious values intact; the latter resented the survival of superstitions which seemed to be a mark of cultural backwardness. In these, the inability to distinguish superstitions from religious values can be understood; but in those, a literalist dogmatism and narrowness of outlook, neglectful both of the precious heritage of early orthodox Sufism and of the lessons of history, seemed bent on eliminating the expression of authentic religious experience. Both, in ploughing up good and bad together, have cooperated to clear the field for the seed of a secular culture which has only, alas, produced a crop of new and deadlier superstitions. Herein lies the danger; for if, in uprooting the rituals and practices of Sufism, the reformers destroy on the one hand the sufi vision of the Love of God and on the other dry up the springs of religion itself, what will it profit Islam and the religious life of mankind?

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BOOK REVIEWS

Egypt, An Economic And Social Analysis. By Charles Issawi. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. pp. 219. $4.50.

It is unfortunate that exigencies of war delayed the publication of this meaty book, so that, although written in 1943, it did not appear until four years later. But since Egypt's basic economy and social forms have not radically changed because of the war, the voluminous statistics, mostly pre-war, will continue to serve as a yardstick for post-war years.

Mr. Issawi briefly sketches historic developments in Egypt as background, then launches into studies of population and wealth, agriculture, industry, transport, commerce, finance, social, political and educational patterns and then suggests some remedies. Each chapter is replete with tables of figures covering almost every phase of life. There is a good bibliography and an index, which is of value to the researcher.

The author is very critical of the slowness of the ruling class to adopt reforms. Cultivable land is quite limited while the population grows apace. A landless share-cropping peasantry cannot support industry so the vicious spiral witnesses increasing poverty for the peasant. Mr. Issawi suggests the breakup of the large estates into family farms of about four acres and prohibition of further subdivision in order to create a more prosperous farming community; the organization of co-operatives and then with a higher internal consumers market, the development of some industry to absorb surplus rural population combined with large scale emigration to relieve the pressure of an excess population on the land.

The book paints a somber picture but because of its early writing, it fails to mention the constructive efforts recently formulated by the government in organizing a Ministry for Social Affairs. Also small beginnings have been made in co-operatives. Regardless of whether or not one agrees with the analyses and reforms suggested by the author, the book serves as a sort of encyclopedia on the topics covered by the title.

E. M. WRIGHT

Washington, D. C.

Bible Translating: An Analysis of Principles and Procedures, with special reference to Aboriginal Languages. By Eugene A. Nida, Ph.D., Secretary of Versions, American Bible Society. New York, American Bible Society, 1948. pp. viii, 362. $1.75.

This is a difficult book to review. This does not mean that it is uninteresting, for the sources are not only "files" but "experiences," both the author's and others'. It deals with methods employed in presenting the Gospel through the printed page; the difficulties encountered; the care and scholarship and the language demanded; the need for knowing the background of the people whom the translator desires to serve. Even if the reader stops short at Chapter 2, which concerns the "Principles of Translation" he

will be a humbler man. How rejoiced the present reviewer is with the sentence:

> "Any translation which does not speak the language of the masses generally fails to reach the masses. The principal objective in style should be towards dignity and simplicity. The combination of the two is the highest art."

But the mines in this and other chapters must be worked. There can be hardly anything omitted from the armoury of the translator-missionary. If there is, it cannot be laid at the door of Dr. Nida.

After "Principles" there is a discussion of the "Languages and Dialects into which Translations should be made, the texts of the Bible to be used, preparation for translation and Translation Procedure. Here the Reviewer remembers words of Dr. Kilgour of the British and Foreign Bible Society that in undertaking any translation of the New Testament care would be needed in combating the unconscious tendency of helpers to interpret rather than translate. Chapters 8 and following, 13 in particular, will repay an odd quarter of an hour that any "picker up of learning's crumbs" may have to spare. Twenty-seven questions are listed for those who would seek to find the right "native" word for God. Gratitude here should be a characteristic of the reader whether in Anglo-Saxon or Semitic worlds.

Dr. Nida seems to have omitted nothing. We are told how to proof-read properly. There is a lengthy Appendix dealing with the Biblical Terms for Weights, Measures, Distances, Money etc. In addition to the Biblical Index, there is a general one of nearly ten pages. Dr. Nida in this labour of detailed scholarship and love has made the next generation of missionaries besides his own in his debt.

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

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Religion in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York, Philosophical Library, 1948. pp. xxi, 470, $5.00.

This is an important and interesting volume. Its importance lies in the fact that it seeks to acquaint us with the dominant religions and religious movements in our world at a time when we are more and more under the necessity of discovering the universal factors in religion and how a world faith can emerge to meet the modern man's need for unity. It is interesting because of the wide range of religious expressions covered as well as the representatives or students of the various religions who write about them. Beginning with Hinduism, the volume proceeds to acquaint us with Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Roman Catholicism, Shinto, Islam, the Eastern Orthodox Church, Sikhism, Conservative Protestantism, Anglo-Catholicism, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the Bahai Cause, Reform Judaism, Conservative Judaism, Ethical Culture, the Salvation Army, Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Ramakrishna Movement, Naturalistic Humanism, and Reconstructionism. For the most part the contributors are members of the respective faiths or students who have a first-

hand acquaintance with the religions whereof they write. For some years to come, therefore, this should prove a representative volume on the religious life of our generation.

It is not possible to say that one who reads this single volume will be well acquainted with the twenty-seven religions and religious movements described therein. Certainly that would not be the claim of the editor who recognizes the limits of a volume of this character, pointing out that not every brand of twentieth-century religious belief could be considered between the covers of one book. His endeavor is simply to present a cross-section of the more important historic religions along with those religious movements which are vigorous and aggressive in the modern world. Obviously, within 470 pages none of these faiths and movements can be dealt with exhaustively. What is intended is that something of the history, beliefs, and values of each religious expression be presented so that the true union of mankind, "the union which comes by the recognition of . . . fundamental values, the common spirit which reveals the common God" may be advanced. The student desiring fuller information is encouraged to study the books listed in the bibliography at the end of each chapter, thus broadening his comprehension of those faiths which seem to him to be especially significant.

For the majority of the readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD there will be particular interest in the chapters which deal with Islam, Sikhism, and the Bahai Cause. These are written respectively by Salma Bishlaway, Hilda Wierum Boulter, and Mirza Ahmad Sohrab.

Reared in the Islamic faith in Egypt and still confessing it, Salma Bishlawy paints a rather rosy picture of the 250,000,000 Muslims found from Morroco to Zanzibar, from Sierra Leone to China, and from the Balkans to the Philippines. She even finds enough Muslims in Japan to mention them, an observation which some will want to subject to further investigation. Stressing the three chief features of Muhammad's teaching; namely, the Unity of God, the moral responsibility of man to God, and the judgment on resurrection day, Miss Bishlawy proceeds to describe Muhammad as an inspired Prophet who, during his Medina years, was also "a brilliant political genius." With that latter judgment many will feel unable to concur. After noting the situation of Islam under the Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties (erroneously rendered Ummayad and 'Abbassid), the tenets and prescribed duties of Islam are considered. The former are belief in God, in his Angels, his divine Books, his Messengers, in Muhammad as the last of his Prophets, and in the Judgment Day; the latter are the profession of faith, ritual prayer, the alms-tax, fasting during Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. This list of tenets omits belief in the decree of good and evil and makes "Muhammad as the last of his Prophets" a separate article of faith. Some evidence of a desire to protect Islam is seen in Miss Bishlawy's contention that "the *Qur'ān* forbids forced conversion." Her statement is not qualified as it should be with the words *of people with a revealed religion*. Others, of course, have no protection from the *Qur'an*. The account concludes with a laudatory statement praising Islam for its "completely unprejudiced attitude towards race distinction," a necessary attitude, of course, in one world.

The chapter on Sikhism by Hilda Wierum Boulter, written in consultation with Dr. Anup Singh, is an especially profitable one for those desiring an introduction to this interesting and virile religion. The Sikh devotion to Truth is emphasized. "The Sikh's greeting to his fellow is *Sat Siri Akal*—Truth is Eternal!" The high moral character of the Sikh is praised. Indeed, Sikhism is described as "essentially character training." The Sikh has five enemies within which he must conquer: Lust, Anger, Greed, Attachment to things of this world, False Pride. But more than that he is an enemy to falsehood in the world, considering himself to be God's soldier in the service of righteousness. The equality and democracy of Sikhism are noted as values pertinent to the modern world. The practice of the Sikhs of never reaching a decision if there is unfriendliness among them is noted as a practice which might be adopted for use in contemporary international deliberations with considerable profit! Yes, even this religion of 6,000,000 adherents has values to suggest to the emerging world community.

The Bahai Cause is portrayed for us by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, who has done considerable work for the Bahai movement in this country and elsewhere in the world. He calls our attention to the international-or-humanity-mind of the Bahaists. As Baha-O-Llah, the one from whom the movement derives its name, put the matter: "Let not a man glory in this, that he loves his country; let him rather glory in this, that he loves his kind." Hence a basic principle of Bahaism is the Oneness of the world of humanity. Bahaism seeks to lead mankind into the United States of the World. In 1946 it was estimated that there were 4,489 Bahais in the United States. While a religious movement of the periphery, the Bahai Cause presents an idealism which the world must have if it is to become one.

Building this book on what he calls "the horizontal approach to world religions," the editor seeks to give modern man a look around. Perhaps it would be well to conclude our review with his words: "The *horizontal* view means that no one religion can claim monopoly of truth, either the truth of man or of God. The Divine communication has not been confined to one religious group, nor even to the particular field called religion. No universal truth or value can be circumscribed to one people unless God be a tribal deity. The values that are eternal in character are found in diverse places and on many tongues and in many traditions. It is this 'look around' (the *horizontal*) rather than the 'look to the past,' that will bring to man his crowning religious achievement in his spiritual struggle to understand himself and all men and even his God." The hope is that this review will have brought the reader to the point where he will want to look around into the religions of mankind.

GEORGE W. DAVIS

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Muslim Theology. By A. S. Tritton, M.A., D.Litt. London, Luzac & Co., 1947. pp. 218. 12s.6d.

In this volume the author has set down, in more or less chronological order, statements drawn from a wide range of Arabic works,

thus forming a history of Muslim theology up to a point somewhat beyond al-Ash'arī and his school of "orthodoxy." In a short final chapter entitled "Last Phase" brief mention is made of 'Abd al-Jabbār, Abū 'l-Ḥusain al-Baṣri, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Tumart and then, jumping two centuries, a few sentences are devoted to Ibn Taimiya.

Out of a broad acquaintance with Arabic writings Professor Tritton has garnered a collection of references illustrative of the subjects pertinent to early Islamic theology. He has presented this material in connection with individual theologians and with little consideration of relationships to the broader currents of thought, either within Islam or in contemporary non-Muslim systems. The book deals with those topics which were discussed by early Muslim theologians; e.g., time and space, atoms, accidents, bodies, etc., and is not to be taken by the average reader for an exposition of the principal tenets of Islam.

After consideration of the early sects the author seeks to give the general content of early theological thought by grouping summary statements around various Muslim thinkers under such sub-topics as "God," "Reason," "Physics," "Man," and "Religion." Following this general plan, some two score men are presented. The material used to reconstruct the teachings of these men is given in summary form rather than as direct quotation, a fact which is disturbing at times when the distinction between the original and the editorial comment is difficult to determine. The beliefs of these theologians are presented with little reference to the development of thought other than a general chronological progression. We are given such chapter titles as "Interlude" and "Second Stage" but with virtually no indication of the significance of these periods. One wishes that Professor Tritton, out of his knowledge of the Arabic documents, had attempted to analyze the trends of Islamic thought and to indicate more definitely the lines of development. Weakness is occasionally displayed by the method of collecting statements from widely varying sources to interpret the views of individual theologians. For example, the teachings of al-Muḥāsibī, which have been preserved for us in at least eighteen carefully written treatises, can hardly be dispensed with by two or three scattered references taken from al-Subkī or al-Baghdādī.

The book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of Islamic thought in its early development. It will be of great assistance to the student who desires a knowledge of the doctrines of these early theologians and is yet unable to go to the Arabic sources. We can thank Professor Tritton for sharing with us his rich scholarship in these Arabic works and his acquaintance with these men from the first centuries of the Muslim era.

KERMIT SCHOONOVER

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Notes on Islam: a Bulletin of Information about Islam, with special reference to India. Calcutta, The Oriental Institute, 1946 ff.

Readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD will be interested to learn of the publication by the Jesuit Fathers at their Oriental Institute in Cal-

cutta of a monthly magazine of 12-16 pp. intended as "a help to Social Workers, Teachers and Missionaries, for a better appraisement of Islamic Culture and Modern movements." Its first six numbers were marked "For private Circulation only," but since then it has become a registered publication and may be subscribed for both in India and abroad.

It is a well designed and carefully edited little paper. Part of each issue is normally devoted to giving reliable information about the history, theology and culture of Islam, and frequently contains quotations in English from some of the more noteworthy thinkers or books of Islam. Part of each number is a "Digest of News," setting forth material from the Press of the world that is of especial concern both to Islam in India and those interested in world wide Islam. A third part is concerned with Islam as a living religion in India.

Readers abroad are of course mostly interested in the information each issue contains about the affairs of Indian Islam. Very many things of Islamic interest are reported in the Indian Press which do not get into the papers in other lands, yet about which we are interested to hear. Also there are movements and developments within Indian Islam of which we occasionally hear in the West, and others of which we hear nothing. Thus these *Notes on Islam* serve us in a very special way. For instance, one occasionally hears of the apotheosis of the Prophet Muḥammad in popular Indian Islam, but seeks in vain for actual evidence of it. In these *Notes* for November 1946, however, we find reproduced a little poem which was composed in English by one Zeb-el-Nissa Hamidullah for the 'Id Mubārak, in which the Prophet is very definitely addressed in prayer. Information such as this on local developments of Islam is invaluable, and we hope the *Notes* will long continue to provide such a useful service as they have begun.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

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Rencontre de la theologie musulmane et de la pensee patristique. Par Louis Gardet. Extrait de la Revue Thomiste, 1947. pp. 67.

Louis Gardet and M. Anawati are at work on an *Introduction à la Théologie musulmane,* from which this paper in the *Revue Thomiste* gives us a preliminary study. Every student of Islam is aware that the problems discussed by the early Muslim theological writers were for the most part those questions forced into prominence by their contact with the thought of the People of the Book—the question of revelation with its accompanying doctrine of Scripture, the question of the attributes of God, the problem of free will and destiny, the problem of reason and faith, etc. It is also well known that once theological thought had crystallized in the Ash'arite and Maturidite systems, there was no significant development, at least in Sunnite Islam, till the modern School of Muḥammad 'Abduh in Egypt, with its repercussions in India.

The thesis of the paper before us is that the *form* of the theological development in Islam was also largely determined by the form of patristic thought its theologians found in their environment

when they were working out their systems, and which we can see fairly accurately reflected in the works of John of Damascus. In some detail he discusses how patristic thought developed into the form in which we find it in John of Damascus, and then he brings out the parallels between the work of the Muslim theologians and this patristic work in the way they make use of their Scriptures, the manner in which they employ the techniques of Greek logic and argumentation, the method by which the various problems are attacked and worked out, showing at the same time the very different perspective of the two religions.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

La propriete en Islam. Par Louis Gardet. Extrait de la Revue IBLA, No. 38, 1947. pp. 26.

The importance of this essay of Louis Gardet is out of all proportion to its size. The question of *waqfs* poses a grave problem for every modern Muslim government, so that jurists in Islamic lands are increasingly urgent in their demand that some practical solution to the problem be found. Part of the problem, of course, arises from the fact that in our modern world Muslim communities, in spite of themselves, are being forced by the pressures of industrialization and the demands of modern social and economic life, into new groupings such as were not contemplated when the juristic system of Islam crystallized. There are not wanting those who desire to see Muslim communities return to the conditions of life under which those juristic systems grew up, but it seems inevitable that the life of Islamic countries will develop along the lines laid down by the conditions of our closely knit modern world, so that solutions in terms of that life will have to be found for many of these problems arising out of the fact that the old wine skins of the Islamic system are inadequate to hold the new fermenting wine of modern life.

In this essay M. Gardet discusses in brief the whole question of private property as conceived by the Islamic theologians and jurists, with particular reference to the problem of inalienable property, in which category the institution of *waqf* falls. His mind is for the most part on conditions in North Africa, but most of what he says is relevant to conditions in Muslim lands as far east as Indonesia. His concluding paragraphs discuss possible lines of reform which may be attempted in view of the new situation in which Islam finds itself in our days.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Arabian Days: An Autobiography. By H. St. John B. Philby. London, Robert Hale Lim. 1948. pp. 356. Illustrated. 21s.

Among all those who have penetrated and explored the Arabian peninsula, none has written more extensively than the author of this volume. He has to his credit six others, beginning with "The Heart of Arabia" (2 vols.) 1922; "Arabia of the Wahhabis" 1928; "The Empty Quarter" 1933; "Sheba's Daughters" 1939; and "A Pilgrim in Arabia" 1946, not to speak of three other books of a more general

character. In addition we are told that two volumes on "Arabian Highlands" are awaiting publication.

Burckhardt and Burton were content with one pilgrimage to Mecca at the risk of their lives; Abdullah Philby tells of his "eighth consecutive pilgrimage" in 1945. No wonder he was "able to correct Sir Richard Burton's map of his famous journey from Medina to Mecca in 1853."

The earlier books of the author were geographical, this is biographical. In those we saw Arabia and the Arabs; in this we have a self-portrait and vivid descriptions of the statesmen, politicians, military leaders and ruling Shaikhs whose lives and doings are woven into this narrative. We discover very early that Philby is in his own words like "most of the giants of Arabian adventure—at least the British ones—who have displayed a tendency to fall foul of their own folk in one way or another." And he cites Burton, Wilfred Blunt and Lawrence as examples. "My own case was similar in some respects but was marked by certain unique features." It was. There was deportation and imprisonment. And that was one of the tragedies of his life due to war misunderstanding and diplomacy. The other was, that in the midst of his heroic career as explorer he deserted the faith of his distinguished ancestors and embraced Islam. The Chapter entitled "The Peace of Islam" which tells the reasons for this decision with a photograph of the Ka'ba at Mecca entitled "the author's spiritual home," give one furiously to think. He made the irrevocable decision at Jiddah in August, 1930, after a sunstroke, and telephoned his entrance into the fold of Islam to the King of Arabia then at Taif. It is only one instance of the author's eccentric career. As a review in the *London Times* puts it, "One can hardly close this strong, fascinating oddity of a book without recognizing the touch of a strange [Arabian] sun which infects it."

Dedicated to his mother and full of solicitude for his wife and children on his frequent solitary journeys, with deserved tribute to his distinguished clerical and military forebears—this is a genuine autobiography. Of the numerous excellent illustrations, fourteen are of the author himself, fifteen of his family and the remaining twenty-nine of Arabian people and places. The earlier chapters deal with Philby's childhood and education, then two on his years in the Indian Civil service and in Mesopotamia. The remainder of the book deals with his life spent in Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan and at the court of his great friend Ibn Sa'ud in Riadh. This has now become a spacious capital of 80,000 people with palaces and garden suburbs —the center of power. The King is proud of his "thirty-nine sons and innumerable princesses." The house of Sa'ud is indeed in the ascendant. Nobody knows Arabia better than Philby. "When I first came to Riyadh nearly thirty years ago, the only feature of Arabian life which would have seemed strange to the patriarchs of old was the high-velocity rifle. Within my experience the motor-car and wireless communication, electric lighting, machine-driven pumps and even lifts, machine-guns and armoured cars, have contributed to the transformation of the desert. Even aeroplanes had made a tentative appearance in the desert air, though it seemed that many years must elapse before their use for ordinary travel could be contemplated.

Yet on this most recent of my journeys to Riyadh it was the King's private aeroplane, the gift of President Roosevelt, that brought me thither from Cairo in nine hours' flying time, broken by a single short halt at Jidda. So the fabulous flying machine of the Arabian Nights is at last a sober fact in the repertoire of Arabian Days."

There are two outstanding characters amid the long procession of worthies and unworthies described in these pages. It could not be otherwise. They are the foci of the great ellipse narrative and always stand in the limelight. First the monarch of Arabia, "the absolute arbiter of his country's destiny." "For years I have watched the operation of this unique administrative machine, and my judgment of its results may be biassed by friendship, but it was no less a person than Sir Percy Cox, who declared that he had never known Ibn Sa'ud to make a mistake. He probably has made mistakes, but they have been so few and far between as to be negligible against the background of his achievement." The second is Abdullah Philby. Because one gains the same impression from the self-portrait of this intrepid explorer, observant traveller, bold diplomat and devoted friend of the Arab people. With utter sincerity, at the age of sixty (chapter X is called *Sittin*), he declares, "Whatever I may have missed of the good things that my contemporaries have enjoyed in full measure and with evident satisfaction, I have no reason to regret it, and I have never for a moment regretted it, when I look back on the unique career that I have fashioned for myself. And it is not for myself alone that I have lived. If knowledge is of any value or account in these days of fudge and propaganda, the world owes me more than it is ever likely to realize or repay, but man cannot live on bad debts alone, and I have been wise in my generation." The title of this concluding "Sittin" chapter points out a serious lack of all care in the transliteration of Arabic words which mar the typography of this book. Everywhere we read *calif* for the anglicized caliph or Arabic *Khalīfa*; the sign for the Arabic guttural *ayn* is never correctly inserted. So we have Ibn Sa'ud instead of Ibn Sa'ud. But the author is severely critical of others' knowledge of Arabic, except his casual tribute (p. 96) to "the fluent Arabic sermons of John Van Ess" at Basra. Philby seems to be utterly ignorant of the half century's work of American missionaries in East Arabia with their medical staff in six hospitals as well as frequent visits to Riadh and Taif as royal physicians of the King himself. They first created reservoirs of good will among a fanatic people for the explorers who followed later and for the oil-men who exploited Bahrain and Sa'udi Arabia. It was Sir Arnold T. Wilson in his book on Mesopotamia who gave a chapter to this Christian venture and declared that "the American Mission had changed the moral climate of the Persian Gulf."

S. M. Zwemer

New York City

The Middle East 1948. London, Europa Publications Limited, 1948. pp. 377. Price 50s or $10.

This new reference book, which aims to give all the data relevant to the purposes of officials, businessmen, journalists and others about

the countries of the Middle East, will be scanned with particular interest by readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD. No one who has attempted to collect the kind of information that it sets out is likely to underestimate the difficulties of the editors, or to criticize too severely the defects which were inevitable in a first issue. They have been unable to include Yemen, Muscat and the Persian Gulf Principalities, and in some other instances have had to make do with very insufficient material. On the other hand, the statistical tables, lists of official, educational and other institutions, commercial notes and bibliographies, relating to the principal countries are for the most part full and exceedingly useful for their purposes. Documents printed in full include the constitution of the Arab League, the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement on the Sudan, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, the Anglo-Soviet-Iran Treaty of 1942, and the Constitutions of Transjordan and Turkey.

The best section in this reviewer's opinion is that on 'Iraq. Geographical and irrigation data are clear and precise. The section on peoples and religions omits, however, to specify the proportions of Sunni and Shi'ah Arabs. The historical summary is outstandingly good, whereas in most other countries it is uneven and sometimes childish. There is an admirable essay on the Constitution, which might well serve as a model for the corresponding sections in the other countries. In the economic section, some additional details and tables could be desired, but the accounts of agriculture and oil production are again of the same high standard.

A few points have been noted in the sections on the other countries. Under Aden, no mention is made of the Kathiri Sultanate of Saiyun. Of Egypt we are told that the population "is roughly divided into the Pasha (ruling) and Effendi (middle) classes, and the peasantry, the Bedouins, the Nubians, and the foreign element," and the list of publications under the heading of The Press is very far from complete. The section on Palestine is written predominantly from a Zionist angle and contains the usual half-concealed propaganda. Saudi Arabia includes an account of the religion of Islam, which is scrappy, ill-balanced and badly in need of revision.

A particularly valuable section is "Who's Who in the Middle East," containing between 500 and 600 short biographical notices, though here too there is room for improvement. Most of the entries have no doubt been supplied by the persons concerned, but it would be interesting to know who wrote that on "Husseini, Haj Amin El." The Regent of 'Iraq appears under "Al Hashimiyah" and has no particulars of parentage; a few entries are excessively bare and one or two incoherent, e.g. "Ebeid, Makram, Pasha."

In spite of such points of insufficiency, the venture deserves to be welcomed and encouraged. It is to be expected from so competent a directorate as that of Europa Publications that future issues will see an over-all improvement, and it may be hoped that they will include some proper maps in place of the rough outline sketches of the present issue.

H. A. R. GIBB

Oxford

CURRENT TOPICS

An American Near East Organization

A new educational organization, the American Near East Society, is being organized by the Near East College Association, according to Wm. W. Patton, American Director. "Its purpose is to bring Americans accurate, up-to-date information of all kinds," Dr. Patton said, "about the Near East and to strengthen and develop cultural relations between the United States and the Near Eastern world."

For more than eighty years member colleges of the Near East College Association have served seven nations in the western Mediterranean area. As a result the Association has access to special sources of information.

The American Near East Society will at all times present strictly non-political, non-partisan and non-sectarian views. One service the Society already has begun is the publication and distribution of a bulletin. This magazine will publish news and feature stories of the Near East. At least a fourth of each issue will be devoted to recent and timely photographs. Periodically, specialized monographs by Near East experts will be issued to members.

The national office of the society will aid chapters throughout the country in engaging speakers, booking motion pictures and arranging exhibits.

Lebanon and the American University of Beirut

The American University of Beirut, Lebanon, will receive from the Republic of Lebanon a grant of land in the fertile Bekaa valley for the establishment of an agricultural institute to be named for Dr. Bayard Dodge, retiring president of the University. The gift was announced at a reception held recently in Beirut in honor of Dr. Dodge, according to a cable received by Harold B. Hoskins, chairman of the Board of Directors of the University.

Dr. Dodge, who has served the University since 1913 and has completed 25 years as president, was further honored by President Bechara El-Khouri of the Republic of Lebanon, who awarded him Lebanon's highest recognition, the medal of Grand Officer of the Order of Cedars. Mrs. Dodge received the Lebanese Medal of Merit, First Class. Also in recognition of Dr. Dodge's long service, a prominent thoroughfare in Beirut will be named for him. Egypt made him Commander of the Order of Ismailia, the highest honor which that country accords to non-governmental officials. Other countries represented at the reception were Syria, Trans-Jordan, and Saudi Arabia.

The 250 dunums (75 acres) of land to be donated to the University, which has provided American education to the youth of the Near East for over 80 years, lie in one of the richest valleys of the

whole Near Eastern area. Situated between mountains that tower 10,000 feet, and watered by two rivers, the Bekaa was appropriated by Sultan Selim I in 1516, and did not revert to Lebanon until the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War I.

Qadiani Islam in America

From *The Moslem Sunrise,* First Quarter, 1948, we learn that Sufi M. R. Bengalee, the former editor, has left for Pakistan after devoting nineteen years of his life to the cause of Islam in this country. From an article on "Peace Can Be Saved through Islam," by the new editor, Khalil Ahmad Nasir, we quote the following paragraphs:

"If all people acted upon the teachings of Islam, war would automatically be abolished. Primarily, Islam has laid stress upon peace more than any other religion. The very word, Islam, means 'peace.' The Moslems have been commanded time and again to strive for peace. The Holy Quran says: "And be not slack so as to cry for peace and you have the upper hand, and God is with you, and He will not bring your deeds to nought." (47:35). Standing positively for peace, the Quran emphasizes that "there is much good in agreement" (4:128) and enjoins upon the Faithfuls to "live peacefully with one another" (8:1).

"It may perhaps be easy to talk of peace but the real test lies in facing the actual problems. In spite of earnest efforts, disputes still may arise which may disturb peace and harmony of the world. Islam, going further than other religions in mere preaching the maintenance of peace, hits at the very roots which cause these disputes. The main causes of wars are mostly, vicious competition, diffidence and lust of glory. Islam strikes at all of them. To stop these motives, it teaches "Do not covet that in which God has made some of you excell others." "Do not lift thy eyes to those worldly benefits which we have bestowed upon others to try them in their actions. That which thy Lord has bestowed on thee is best for thee and most lasting," says the Holy Quran.

"Apart from this, Islam also forbids interest, which supplies the sinews of war. Interest leads to the accumulation of wealth in a few hands and still facilitates war. The two World Wars were made possible only by the institutions of interest. If huge loans on interest had not been possible, the conflicts would have ended long before these wars actually terminated. The system of loans makes it possible for the Governments to carry on a ruinous struggle much longer.

"On the other hand when one nation becomes aggressor, Islam does not believe in merely becoming pacifists. It teaches that in self defense, one has to take resort to war. The Holy Quran says, 'Permission is granted to those against whom war is made that they may defend themselves, for they have been unjustly persecuted.' Not for gain or glory, but for the freedom of conscience, are the Moslems allowed to go to war."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Arabic Mints of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. N. G. Nassar. (In *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine,* Jerusalem. Vol. 13, part 3-4, 1948. pp. 121-127).

Comment and tables of coins minted during A.H. 97 to A.H. 460.

The British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara. John Garstang. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1948. pp. 200-202).

Inaugurated in January 1948, with the approval of the Turkish Government, the Institute is not a teaching body but a center for research.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 203-223).

Covers December 1 1947 to February 29 1948.

Plaster Balustrades from Khirbat Al Mafjar. R. W. Hamilton. (In *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine,* Jerusalem. Vol. 13, part 1-2, 1947. pp. 1-58).

A sumptuously illustrated account of work brought to its perfection under the Umayyad rulers.

II. ARABIA

A Journey through the Tihama, the 'Asir and the Hijaz Mountains. W. Thesiger. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. April, 1948. pp. 188-200).

Describes the inhabitants and the terrain encountered in this part of Arabia in 1946.

A Short Tour of Southern Arabia, British Somaliland, and the Northern Sudan. V. H. W. Dowson. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1948. pp. 105-115).

Gives an account of the countries visited and of the living conditions of their inhabitants.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Algerian Uprising of 1945. Manfred Halpern. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 191-202).

An historical account.

The Arab Communities of the Americas. (In the *Eastern Churches Quarterly,* London. January-March, 1948. pp. 339-341).

Whether Moslem or Christian, a great pride of race unites the New World Arabs; yet they are loyal and devoted citizens to the countries of their adoption.

ARAB NATIONALISM AND ISLAM. S. A. Morrison. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 147-159).

Surveys Arab thought and progress during the past century and concludes that the main issue for the future is whether Islam's democratic spirit can be extended to non-Muslims.

L'HISTOIRE DU MAZANDARAN. H. L. Rabino di Borgomale. (In *Le Journal Asiatique,* Paris. Vol. 234, 1943-45. pp. 211-244).

A well-documented study of this Iranian province and its rulers.

IV. QUR'AN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

LES RELIGIONS PRÉISLAMIQUES D'APRÈS UNE PUBLICATION RÉCENTE. E. Dhorme. (In *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* Paris. Vol. 133, Janvier-Juin, 1947-48. pp. 34-48).

A discussion of the contribution of le Père G. Ryckmans, of the University of Louvain, in volume four of *l'Histoire Générale des Religions,* Paris, 1947.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AFGHANISTAN TO-DAY. Joel de Croze. (In the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs,* New Delhi. January, 1947. pp. 29-49).

The author finds the country peaceful and progressive and the people friendly and coöperative.

L'ÉCOLE FRANCAISE S'ADAPTE AUX MASSES MUSULMANES EN ALGERIE. Pierre Mesnard. (In *Études,* Paris. Juin 1948. pp. 346-363).

Gives a history of education from 1930 to date.

"THE NEW DOMINION." Major N. L. D. McLean. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1948. pp. 131-143).

An account of present-day conditions in Sinkiang.

PEASANTS OF ANATOLIA. Alfred Marchionini. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. July, 1948. pp. 57-72).

A doctor writes his impressions of village life and his colored photographs stress costume.

STERLING AREA CURRENCIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Raymond F. Mikesell. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 160-174).

Although the Arab countries have gained a great degree of political independence, economic problems still must be solved and currency reserves offer a most difficult one.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Elizabeth Monroe. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 129-146).

Commercially and economically Great Britain is still ahead of her American and Russian rivals in the Levant.

FASHODA. A. L. Kennedy. (In *The Quarterly Review,* London. April, 1948. pp. 145-161).

A retrospect of fifty years of Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan, emphasizing its outstanding accomplishments.

IRANIAN OIL. Raj Narain Gupta. (In the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs,* New Delhi. January, 1947. pp. 11-28).

A survey of the financial, economic and international aspects of the situation.

RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Jon Kimche. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. April, 1948. pp. 198-207).

Suspicion of England and America is undoubtedly favoring Russia in the Levant and may lead to her gaining a foothold there.

SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM OF THE TURKISH STRAITS. Norman J. Padelford. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 175-190).

An improvement in relations among the Great Powers, permitting a possible revision of the Montreux Convention, might help solve this knotty international problem.

TROUBLED IRAQ: KEYSTONE OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Jon Kimche. (In *Commentary,* New York. July, 1948. pp. 40-45).

Believing British prestige to be waning, the United States and Russia are striving for control of this vitally important region.

VII. INDIA

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION. Bharatan Kumarappa. (In *The Indian Journal of Social Work,* Bombay. September, 1947. pp. 99-108).

A plea for the nation to revolutionize its economic and social outlook and practice as a prelude to a more unified India.

THE IDYLLIC VALE OF KASHMIR. Volkmar Wentzel. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. April, 1948. pp. 523-550).

A finely illustrated description of a trip made under the auspices of the National Geographic Society.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF PARTITION. Sir Arthur Waugh. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1948. pp. 113-127).

"The two sections must coöperate or perish."

INDIA. PAKISTAN. (In *The Round Table,* London. March, 1948. pp. 588-596; June, 1948. pp. 690-696).

Presents the two divergent points of view.

VILLAGE BETTERMENT IN THE NEW INDIA AND PAKISTAN. Dr. Harold Mann. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1948. pp. 154-169).

Exploitation and apathy must be overcome and Government opinion must be brought to realize that improvement of the countryside is a vital need.

VIII. PALESTINE

AMERICA AND THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE. John Earle Uhler. (In *The Catholic World,* New York. March, 1948. pp. 493-501).

Lays the onus of the whole situation squarely on the United States.

BREAKING THE PALESTINE DEADLOCK. (In *Commentary,* New York. April, 1948. pp. 317-323).

Contains "How to deal with Arab nationalism" by John Marlowe and "Above all, avert war" by Robert Weltsch.

PALESTINE IN ASIA. (In *The Round Table,* London. June, 1948. pp. 643-648).

With the public opinion of all Asia against them, the Jews should relinquish the idea of sovereignty in the Holy Land and be content with local autonomy.

PALESTINE NOTE-BOOK. Bevil John Rudd. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. May, 1948. pp. 278-288).

A depressing picture of violence and terrorism fomented by fanatical Jews and occurring even before the withdrawal of the British.

PARTAGE DE LA PALESTINE. Ernest Teilhac. (In *Études,* Paris. Mai, 1948. pp. 178-193).

Another indictment of the policies of the United States.

PROPOS POLITIQUES SUR LA PALESTINE. Charles Guillon. (In *Cahiers Protestants,* Lausanne. Avril-Mai, 1948. pp. 160-168).

In the interests of world peace, Jews and Arabs must live side by side amicably as they have done for centuries.

TO SAVE THE JEWISH HOMELAND. Hannah Arendt. (In *Commentary,* New York. May, 1948. pp. 398-406).

Urges Arab-Jewish coöperation, the suppression and punishment of all terrorist groups and very limited immigration.

IX. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

L'AFRIQUE CHRÉTIENNE ET L'ISLAM. Carlo Gasbarri. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Lyons. 4e Trimestre 1947. pp. 247-263).

An historical review covering the years 642-1500.

ATTITUDE DU CHRÉTIEN ENVERS L'ISLAM. A.-M. Goichon. (In *Études,* Paris. Avril, 1948. pp. 38-51).

The modern cultural point of view permits mutual coöperation.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE STORM CENTRES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Mabel C. Warburton. (In *The East and West Review,* London. January, 1948. pp. 17-21).

Constructive action is needed to provide superior scholastic training in Christian studies and good Christian literature to combat communist propaganda and the prejudices of nationalism.

JERUSALEM TO-MORROW. Eric F. F. Bishop. (In *World Dominion and the World To-Day,* London. March-April, 1948. pp. 91-93).

Looks forward to peace in the Holy City through the ministries of reconciliation, teaching and prophecy.

MISSION WORK UNDER DIFFICULTIES IN THE HOLY LAND. Andrew S. Morrison. (In *World Dominion and the World To-Day,* London. May-June, 1948. pp. 175-179).

Tells of progress in medical work and evangelization still advancing in the face of sniping and bombing in the vicinity of the missions.

MISSIONI PROTESTANTI TRA I MUSULMANI. C. Crivelli, S.I. (In *La Civilità Cattolica,* Roma. 5 Giugno 1948. pp. 466-480).

An historical survey.

X. EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

EGYPT, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SUDAN. Mohamed Awad. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. July, 1947. pp. 281-291).

A thorough survey, from the Egyptian point of view, of a question soon to be submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations.

EGYPT, THE SUDAN AND THE TREATY. Lt.-Col. Hon. C. B. Birdwood. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After, London.* April, 1947. pp. 198-203).

Treaty revision and absorption of the Sudan are political platforms for many Egyptian ministries supported by the Ashigga party in the Sudan but opposed by the Umma party led by Abdel Rahman el Mahdi.

THE POSITION OF EGYPT. Vincent Sheean. (In *The United Nations World,* New York. June, 1947. pp. 23-25).

The Arab world, united in the defence of Palestine against the Jews, turns to Egypt for leadership.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SUDAN. S. S. Butler. (In *The World Review,* London. March, 1947. pp. 18-24).

A strong plea for the continuance of British rule because of Egypt's unfitness for the job and because of the Sudan's incapability for self-government.

XI. PERSIA

MY VISIT TO THE PERSIAN OILFIELDS. J. H. Jones. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1947. pp. 56-68).

The author, a Labor M.P., found evidences of strong Russian influence among the workers and in the labor organizations.

PERSIA REVISITED. A. C. Edwards. (In *International Affairs,* London. January, 1947. pp. 52-60).

The country's economic condition is deplorable, but the astute and experienced statesman, Qavam, may be able to steer his country through the crisis.

RECENT MOVES IN PERSIA. A.K.S.L. (In *The World To-day,* London. January, 1947. pp. 29-32).

A discussion of Azerbaijan and the recent election.

SOUTH-WEST PERSIA. J. V. Harrison. (In the *Geographical Journal,* London. July-September, 1946. pp. 55-71).

A survey of the Pish-i-Kuh in Luristan.