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WHAT IS OUR PURPOSE?

Let us ask ourselves these twelve questions: What do we really want to see happen in the Muslim lands of the world? Are we visualizing a situation in which our Western ways of life and activity shall replace the manners and customs of the East? Do we desire to impose our creeds and dogma upon Eastern minds? Are we concerned even in the slightest degree with trying to fix the modes of expression in which spiritually transformed Muslim lives shall function? Are we dealing with superficial facts or with deep underlying spiritual forces? Are we trusting in conventions or in Christ? Are we willing to lose our denominational life if by that means the supremacy of the life-giving Spirit shall be real in Muslim hearts? What should be our share in the Muslim's future? What should be our purpose in having any relations whatsoever with him? How can we keep our attitudes as Americans at the same time Christian? Dare we be Christ-like in framing our missionary policies where he is involved?

Let us consider at least four answers. We desire for our Muslim friends a spiritual experience which shall open their spiritual eyes and unstop their spiritual ears, an experience which shall put them into possession of Jesus' thought of God, His outlook upon life, His estimate of human personality, and His idea of human destiny, an experience through which they shall come to be new creatures in Christ Jesus. We believe that they are capable of sharing such an experience and that they will find it adequate not only to set them upon the highway of noble individual and national character, but also to sustain them morally in the conflict into which the multiplying contacts with Western life are rapidly thrusting them.

We of the Christian faith desire that our Muslim friends should distinguish between genuine Christianity and West-

ern civilization. It is a matter of controversy between East and West as to how much, if anything, Western civilization, including democracy, owes to Christianity. There are able advocates of both views. Be that as it may, the true Western Christian today should be the last to attempt to defend the unchristian aspects of Western civilization. We know how imperilled the life of the Spirit is in our passion for "ultimate mastership over Nature" and we should stand shoulder to shoulder with devout Muslims in our witness to the reality of spiritual life and the importance of the discovery of the meaning and purpose of life by every individual and every generation and nation.

We believe that Jesus is for Muslims their only sure hope of worthy life and living, just as He is our only hope—Jesus in the fullness of His teachings, His life, His death and His resurrection. The spiritual experience which roots in contact with Him and grows upon communion with Him stands the multiple tests of life and death in unparalleled fashion. We look at the lives of some great non-Christians with deep respect and admiration, but we believe that they would have reached even higher levels if they had consciously based their lives upon Christ. He has done and does more for more people than any other. "In Him was life; and the life was the light of men. . . . We beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." (John 1:4, 14)

In the face of such awful possibilities as we see today, of such colossal disasters on the one hand, and on the other of such supreme triumphs of righteousness if Jesus be taken seriously, it seems petty to urge anything that suggests the ecclesiastical or ceremonial garments of His Western followers. We must not forget that Jesus was born and lived in the Near East, that He can be understood by a Near Easterner far more readily than by an Occidental and that He as Living Lord loves the people of the East as dearly as He loves the people of the West.

FRED FIELD GOODSELL

Boston, Mass.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN IRAN

More than ninety-five percent. of the twelve to fifteen million people who inhabit Iran are Muslims. The non-Muslim groups are composed chiefly of Zoroastrians, Jews, Assyrians and Armenians. The great majority of Muslims are Shī'īs who follow the Twelve Imams, but there are also scattered over Iran numerous Sunnīs, Ṣūfīs, Ismā'īlīs, Bahā'īs, 'Alī Ilāhīs and other Muslim sectarians.

In order to unite the various groups which composed his empire, and so make Iran a strong and progressive country, the former King Reza Shah Pahlevi in 1927 commanded that his subjects should adopt modern dress. So all over the country the various kinds of turbans and hats and the different sorts of coats and robes which distinguished people of different races and classes and religions were abandoned, and suddenly all the men of Iran appeared in Western dress, with the "Pahlevi hat" (resembling the cap of a French army officer) on their heads, and their faces shaven.

Most of the mullas (clergy) of Islam and the priests of other religions had to lay aside their turbans or clerical dress and become like other men, and the number of professional "religious" people greatly decreased. Later the veil was abolished for women, so that only unveiled women were seen in the streets of the cities and towns of Iran. Instruction in the Persian language was made obligatory in all schools in all parts of the land, and it was forbidden for foreigners to conduct schools for Iranian children and young people. In order that less time be wasted by government employees and other workers the number of religious holidays was decreased. The excessive mourning for the martyred Imams, which had been a distinctive feature of Shī'ī Islam in Iran, was forbidden, and it was no longer possible for groups of devotees to go about the streets on the Tenth of Moharram (the martyrdom of the Imam Hosein) and other holy days beating their backs with chains and cutting their heads and chanting dirges while the multitudes lined the streets weeping and beating their breasts. The Month of Fasting (Ramazan) was little observed by the majority of people, and very

few of the faithful attended the mosques or said the prayers in public. Religious instruction was almost eliminated from the curriculum of the government schools. It seemed at this time that the old religions were doomed and that the new religion of Nationalism was going to capture the minds and hearts of the youth of Iran. While many progressive Iranians who were seeking the good of their country were thankful that so many abuses had been abolished, and Iran had been delivered from the control of the reactionary elements, they could not but regret the lack of religious freedom, and hoped for a better day when men could think freely, and could express their opinion without fear of arrest.

A new day dawned when Reza Shah abdicated and left Iran in 1941, and his son Mohammed Reza Shah came to the throne. For the first time in years it became possible to criticize the government, and newspapers appeared in large numbers eager to make use of this privilege, till liberty was turned into license. From 1941 to 1946 Allied troops were on the soil of Iran, and the Iranian government was so much concerned with important matters of foreign policy that less attention was paid to non-political matters. Hence the various religious communities found that they were free to do as they wished. The Jews, stimulated by Polish Jews who came to Iran as refugees, organized committees to improve the condition of their co-religionists and to promote Zionism. Armenians and Assyrians reopened their schools and taught their children in their own mother tongue. Ismā'īlīs began again to send tribute to the Agha Khan in India. Some Bahā'īs, at the order of their leader Shoghi Effendi in Haifa, left their city homes and moved to small towns and villages to spread their doctrines. Christians distributed considerable literature, and used lantern slides effectively in the churches and in public places in telling to thousands of non-Christians the story of Christ's life. The mullas also made their appearance, and began to incite the people to go back to their old customs. Before long many men began to grow beards and discarded modern dress for the turbans and long garments that Reza Shah had forbidden. Women appeared on the

streets in the veil, and soon the practice of veiling became again almost universal, especially among the uneducated people. Old mosques were repaired, and for the first time in many years numerous new mosques were built, and the number of men who publicly said the prayers increased. The Month of Fasting was observed again, and the government even undertook to enforce the keeping of the fast. When in 1948 the government once more gave permission for pilgrims to go to Mecca, some 20,000 Iranians availed themselves of the opportunity to become Hajis, and the following year 2000 pilgrims went from Teheran to Mecca by plane! Once more the preachers of Islam were allowed to assemble great multitudes in the mosques and in other places to recount for them the stories of the sufferings of the Imams, and breast-beating and head-cutting and mourning began to be widely practiced again. It was disquieting to see how suddenly Iran went back to the conditions prevalent before Reza Shah came to the throne, and the superficiality of some of his reforms soon became evident.

Freedom to carry on propaganda was used effectively not only by the religious groups, but also by the anti-religious party. As a result of the Russian occupation the teachings of Communism began to spread throughout Iran, especially among workers and students. For the first time in this land where all people had professed some religion, open and fanatical propaganda began to be carried on against all religion. Christian colporteurs were criticized in the streets on the ground that they were selling books full of falsehood and superstition. Missionaries from England and America were accused of being agents of Imperialism who were using the teachings of Christianity to enslave people. A Communist newspaper printed in full the Beatitudes, and explained how the representatives of foreign nations were trying to make Iranians "poor" and "weak" and "long-suffering" in order to take away their country from them.

All those opposed to Communism became concerned over the spread of these doctrines in Iran, and it was thought by many that the best way to meet this propaganda was by

promoting a revival of religion. So the influence of government was used to incite the people to religious observances. The amount of religious instruction in schools was increased. Muslim preachers addressed the people over the government radio and the Qur'ān was read both from Teheran and from London. The Teheran radio now gives a translation of the Qur'ān in Persian. The mullas became so aggressive that it was evident they had some powerful backing, and the explanation which one hears everywhere in Iran is that they are paid by the British government. Enlightened Iranian leaders have expressed themselves as being in favor of using religious fanaticism as a defense against Russian propaganda, and the Iranian government has done little to check the excesses of the Moharram celebrations. In the last Moharram (November 1949) there were more parades throughout Iran than had been seen for many years. Even in Teheran where there is less religious interest than in the more backward parts of Iran, the streets were filled with groups of mourners. A missionary thus describes a celebration which she recently observed in a village in Eastern Iran:

"The morning of the 'Tenth' we were invited to the home of a friend to see part of the demonstration. In the court yard where a preacher had just finished speaking and moving the people to tears, a small group of men prepared for their part in the program. They were to be the head-cutters. The front part of their heads was shaved and over their clothes had been draped a piece of new white cloth. For some minutes they chanted responsively—the leader and the rest of the group—lines exclaiming 'Hosein the Martyr of Kerbela!' One by one other boys and men joined the group until about sixteen were taking part, and then as passion ran higher and their chanting took on more urgency, they came to the line, 'Hosein is killed!' And within a few minutes they began cutting their heads until the blood ran fresh upon their white garments and as the knife was taken from their hands they patted their heads spattering the blood in a truly awful fashion. Our hearts were sore within us, and to our minds came the Savior's words, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' "

In order to revive faith and devotion, societies for the "propagation of Islam" have been started all over the country, which hold meetings and publish literature and oppose Christianity and encourage people to perform their religious duties.

The center of all this Islamic activity is the city of Qom (population 80,000), situated about a hundred miles south of Teheran. Qom is a popular shrine city, where Fatima, sister of the Imam Reza of Meshed, is buried. It is now the residence of Ayatullah Haji Agha Hosein Borujerdi, the chief *mujtahid,* or "pope" of the Shī'īs. A number of theological schools are located in Qom in which some 4000 students are now enrolled. It is rumored that many of these men have come to Qom and donned the turban to escape military service. All of them receive salaries, and it is said that the sum of Rials 4,000,000 (about $80,000) is sent to Qom each month for the support of these mullas, and of others like them in other places. Where all this money comes from is not entirely clear. The conduct of this army of turbaned and bearded men, who walk about the streets with big books under their arms, is far from exemplary, and the citizens of Qom are outspoken in their denunciation of them. When the police have attempted to punish some of the mullas who had been guilty of crimes, their spiritual leaders have intervened and secured their release. So great is the power of these men in Qom that radios are forbidden in the vicinity of the Shrine, and most of the barbers of the city do not dare to shave men's faces.

What has been the result of all this Islamic activity? Has it benefited the people morally or spiritually? There is no evidence that it has. Many of the mullas who have been so zealous in preaching to others are notoriously bad men, and the people well know that all they want is money and fame, so their words have no effect on the lives of their hearers. Most of the intelligent and progressive people are disgusted by the words and deeds of these men whom they know to be hypocrites. Since the purpose behind all this propaganda is political and worldly, not spiritual, it is impossible that it can produce a moral and spiritual revival.

Has the Islamic awakening turned the tide of Communism? In some of the smaller towns it seems to have done so. I was told in one rather fanatical place that the Communists had been chased away and could not return. But for the most part it has not been effective in preventing the spread of Communism among the classes where Communism usually flourishes. The student class, which has been such a fertile field for Communistic propaganda, on the whole despises the mullas and their ignorant followers, and has been largely untouched by the Islamic revival. The working men on the other hand, who often take an active part in the Moharram celebrations, see nothing inconsistent in being both Muslims and Communists. I was told that all the workers in a certain spinning factory were strongly attached to their religion, and were also fanatically pro-Russian and anti-American, because they believed that Russia was the land of the working man.

The chief result of the policy of reviving Islam has been to bring the mullas back into power as a dangerous reactionary element which will try to block every effort which is made for the development of Iran. Unless their influence is destroyed there can be no freedom of any sort and no true progress in this land. This is clearly recognized not only by non-Muslims but also by the enlightened element of the Muslim population. In condemning thus the mulla class as a whole we do not condemn every individual. There are a few mullas who are enlightened men, who give helpful messages in their sermons in the mosques and over the radio.

One of the bitterest opponents of the mullas and their teachings was Ahmad Kasravi, an educated Muslim and a brilliant writer, who exposed fearlessly the superstitions of all religions, and who gained a considerable following from the educated classes. Kasravi taught that miracles did not occur, and that God never interfered with the course of nature. While he was being tried in a court of justice in Teheran in 1946 on the charge of having attacked the Muslim religion, he was assassinated by a member of the Islamic party. His tragic death made Kasravi a martyr for his fol-

lowers, and he is today revered as a prophet by small groups in various places, who eagerly read his numerous books as their scriptures. The Kasravis call their movement "The Pure Religion." They also have taken the name of the "Freemen's Party," and try to exert a political influence in opposition to the Islamic Party.

In spite of all the "religious" activity in Iran, Iranians everywhere say that there is little real religion to be found in the land. There are no doubt numerous people who have a sincere faith in their religion and who try to follow it faithfully, but for the great majority religion has little influence on character and conduct. The moral condition of the country, which is deplored by all serious people, is a sad commentary on the impotence of the prevalent religion to purify life. Night life in the large cities, demoralizing films, drink, opium, gambling, immorality and other vices are destroying the moral character of the people, and there is no spiritual force at work which is now strong enough to offset the forces of evil. To use the language of the ancient Persians, Ahriman is defeating Ahuramazda!

The influence which has best proved its ability to change individuals and to transform family and community life is the Evangelical Christian movement, which was begun in Iran in 1834 by the American "Mission to Nestorians" (Assyrians), and has been continued chiefly by the American Presbyterian and the Anglican Missions. Christian physicians and educators have set an example of integrity and unselfish service which has been an inspiration to many Iranians, and the graduates of the Christian schools have often been outstanding in character and in public service. The Evangelical Church is not large, but is active in making known to people of all races and religions the Good News of Jesus Christ, and is also helping to meet the physical and social needs of the poor and sick. An extensive Christian literature is being published in Persian including a magazine, "The Light of the World."

Christianity is being recognized and appreciated as never before by people of other religions. The sale of Christian

books to non-Christians is considerable. Christmas is widely observed in the large cities, and the decoration of shops and the large sale of Christmas cards and trees indicate general interest in the birth of Jesus Christ. Last Christmas an article about the Nativity appeared in a secular magazine in Teheran which gave great importance to the coming of the Magi from Iran, and suggested that the Virgin Mary was an Iranian. Sermons have been preached in the mosques and over the radio by the most popular Muslim preachers in praise of Christ, and Muslims have been urged to emulate Christians in attending public worship and in giving to charity. Christian films like "The King of Kings" have been immensely popular. Many thoughtful people are convinced that the only hope for the future lies in Christ.

While the Constitution of Iran has as yet no clause guaranteeing religious freedom, Iran has signed the Declaration of Human Rights, and the attitude of the government is one of tolerance. Though the state religion is that of the Twelve-Imam Shī'ī sect, Christians are able to publish their literature, conduct their schools in which Christian teaching is given to all pupils (foreign schools are forbidden), make evangelistic journeys into all parts of the country, and baptize converts. The Islamic party has in some places vigorously opposed the work of Christians, but on the whole its activity has in no way retarded the Christian advance. On the contrary, the conduct of these fanatical followers of Islam has so disgusted numerous seekers for Truth that they have turned to Christianity. If converts are persecuted it is usually hostile members of their own family who trouble them. There is no regulation for the official registration of the change of religion. The general attitude is that religion is a private matter, and one is free to follow whatever religion he wants. However, only Muslims are permitted to occupy certain positions of importance in the government, and only Muslims can vote for Muslim members of parliament (Armenians, Jews, and Zoroastrians are permitted to elect their own representatives, while the Assyrians have no representative, and converts from Islam have no vote). Unfortunately,

the record of tolerance toward non-Muslims is marred from time to time by the killing of people who are considered infidels. A recent instance is the brutal murder of a Jewish Bahā'ī doctor in the town of Kashan by a group of Muslims who were probably incited to this deed by the mullas of Qom. The murderers all came to the police office with blood on their hands and boasted of what they had done, and when they were arrested numbers of Muslims signed a petition asking for their release. But they were promptly sent to Teheran for trial. In September 1950 a picture of these murderers surrounded by a crowd of mullas was printed in the Teheran papers, and it was stated that they had been acquitted by the courts. The murderer of Kasravi who was not punished for this crime later murdered the Minister of Court while he was attending a Moharram celebration in a mosque, and for this second offense he was hanged. It is encouraging to see that the government is desirous of protecting all its subjects whatever their religion may be.

Friends of Iran have rightly been concerned over the recent reactionary trends in this land, but we do not believe that this backward movement will be permanent. There are many thoughtful people in Iran who desire a pure and spiritual form of religion, and who will never be satisfied by outward forms and empty pretension. They are seeking for the Truth and they want freedom to follow the Truth as they understand it. Our earnest desire is that this country which has in the past shown such a large degree of tolerance to peoples of various beliefs may now boldly take her place among the enlightened nations of the earth by granting full religious liberty to all her subjects.

William McElwee Miller

Teheran, Iran

OF THE TRACTATE OF JOHN OF DAMASCUS ON ISLAM

"The first outstanding scholar to enter the field of polemic against the Moslem was John of Damascus. (He is) known to history as the most honored of the later theologians of the Greek Church. . . . His great dogmatic work on the *Sources of Knowledge* includes an important section 'Concerning Heresies,' and it is one chapter under this heading that deals with Moslems.[1] The topics the author selected and the arguments he used have been constantly repeated by similar champions from the eighth century to the twentieth. . . . Throughout all his controversial work John of Damascus displays a thorough knowledge of Islam. Fully at home in the Arabic tongue, he often cites the Koran word for word and shows his familiarity with the Hadith, or traditions. . . . It is characteristic, in fact, of all the earlier polemic, during the age when Islam and Christendom were in close touch, that the Christian advocate is in full control of his material and knows at first hand what he is talking about."[2]

Dr. Addison is expressing, of course, a typical and not a private estimate. A document held in such high regard and of such wide influence merits careful investigation. Failure some years ago to find Quranic documentation for some of the statements in the Tractate about the "Camel of God" led the present writer to undertake a detailed examination of the entire document. This article embodies the results.

John of Damascus prefixed to his great work *De Fide Orthodoxa* a compendium of one hundred heresies. The idea was that, if one read first an account of the errors into which men had strayed, his mind would be the more ready to accept the truth, when it was presented to him. He added at least two other heresies, the first (101st) being Islam. Let us proceed at once to his description of this late "heresy." It will serve our purpose to itemize his statements. In case a statement can be confirmed from the Qur'ān, the passage is indicated in parenthesis, the verse numbers being those of the Royal Egyptian text; a second number indicates that of the verse in the text of Fluegel, if the two are different.

1. There is One God (*cf.* 3.2/1),
2. Maker of all things (2:117/111),
3. Himself not begotten, nor having begotten (*cf.* 112:3).
4. Christ is God's Word and His Spirit (4:171/169),
5. but created (3:59/52)

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[1] *De Haeresibus,* by John of Damascus. See Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* vol. 94, 1864, cols. 763-73. An English translation by the Reverend John W. Voorhis appeared in The Moslem World for October, 1934, pp. 392-98.

[2] *The Christian Approach to the Moslem,* by James Thayer Addition, p. 26f.

6. and a servant (4:172/170).
7. He was formed, without seed, from Mary (3:47/42),
8. the sister of Moses and Aaron (3:33-35/30:31; 19:27/28-28/29).
9. For the Word of God and the Spirit entered into Mary, and begat Jesus (4:171/169),
10. a prophet (19:30/31),
11. and a servant of God (4:172/170; 19:30/31).
12. The Jews, acting against the Law, determined to crucify him (*cf.* 3:54/47);
13. and when they seized him,
14. they crucified his shadow (4:157/156),
15. but Christ himself was not crucified (4:157/156),
16. nor did he die (4:157/156),
17. for God took him to be with Himself into heaven (4:158)
18. through loving him (*cf.* by contrast 3:57/50).
19. When Christ came into the heavens (*cf.* 4:158; 5:109/108),
20. God asked him, saying (5:116),
21. "O Jesus, did you say, 'I am Son of God, and God?' " (*cf.* 5:116)
22. and Jesus answered (5:116),
23. "Be merciful to me, Lord. Thou knowest that I did not say it, nor do I count myself above being Thy servant, but erring men wrote that I said this word, and spoke falsely against me, and they have been deceived." (*cf.* 5:116-118).
24. God answered and said to him (5:119),
25. "I know you did not say this thing." (*cf.* 5:119).

The documentations indicated from the Qur'ān show that John of Damascus was not without sources of correct information. However, the textual order in item 3, "begetteth not, . . . is not begotten," is reversed, something of which a Muslim source would seem incapable. "Acting against the Law . . . seized him . . . through loving him" (items 12, 13, 18) are Christian elucidations, and are not found in the Qur'ān. The resemblance of items 19-25 to the text of 5:109/108-119 is evident, but the wording of the supposed conversation differs very considerably from the original. Further, it is to be noted that, except for items 1 and 2, Islam is described as a Christological heresy, an appraisal that is manifestly but partial, and is negative in conception. At the beginning of the Tractate John of Damascus characterizes Islam as a precursor *(prodromos)* of Anti-Christ. The coming of Anti-Christ occupied a prominent place in his own thought, and in that of his times, and seems to have been connected with the Arabs. Mingana describes a Syriac document (Catalogue of Syriac MSS., No. 65) which treats of events at the end of the world, including the apparition of the Arabs from Yathrib and their defeat by the Greeks, and the apparition of Anti-Christ.

The Tractate goes on to tell of discussions between Christians and the adherents of this "heresy." These latter have a prophet who has written a Book. He is said to boast in this Book that the Book was brought down to him from heaven, and his adherents declare his statement to be true. Also they charge Christians with being polytheists, because they say, "Christ is the Son of God, and God," and idolators, because Christians "worship the Cross."

To these assertions the Christians reply. Their answers to the Muslims about their prophet and his Book leave the Muslims confounded. "Who witnessed God's giving of the Book to your prophet?" "What prophet foretold that such a prophet would come?" They are at a loss for a response. "Why did God not provide proofs, as in the case of Moses and of Jesus, so that men could be sure about your prophet?" "God does as He wills," they say. "How was this Book given to your prophet?" "It came down on him in his sleep," they reply. "So the sneering jest has been fulfilled . . . for receiving it in sleep he would not be aware of what happened." (The jest is not reported. Commentators have suggested, "Sleeping, he dreams!" or "Tell me your dreams!") "Your prophet told you not to do anything without witnesses" (2:282), say the Christians. "Why did you not demand of him witnesses about this giving of a Book, and prophecies in support of it?" Ashamed, they have nothing to say. "No transaction whatever is legal for you without witnesses, yet you have accepted without a witness a faith and a Book, a Book received in sleep! There is no verification of any sort."

As to the charge of polytheism, the reply is made to the Muslims that, if the Christians are in error, the responsibility rests on the Hebrew prophets, for the Christians simply repeat what the prophets said, and the Muslims insist stoutly that they accept the prophets (2:136/130). To meet this reply Muslims know enough about the Scriptural passages in question to propose answers. One is that the Christians allegorize, reading into the passages the meanings which they claim to find there about Christ. The other allows that the interpretations made by the Christians are legitimate, but says that the passages were interpolated by the Jews to deceive the Christians, and work their ruin.

A second line of reply to the charge of polytheism makes use of the terms which the Muslims themselves apply to Christ. He is "Word" and "Spirit" of God (4:171/169). In view of this usage, Christians make the apparently axiomatic statement that God's Word and God's Spirit are inseparable from God Himself. Either conclusion from this premise is against the Muslims. If they allow the premise to be true, they must accept that Christ is God; if they deny its truth, they declare God to be "without-Word" and "without-Spirit," and so "mutilate" Him, which is worse than to "associate."

As to the charge of idolatry, "What about the stone in your *Kabatha* (i.e., *Ka'ba*) that you kiss and embrace?" Some Muslims reply that it was used as a bed by Abraham and Hagar; others that Abraham tied his camel to it, when he went to sacrifice Isaac *(sic)*. To this second explanation Christians retort that, according to the Scriptures, the mountain of Abraham's sacrifice was wooded, and not like

Mecca; that there was wood there to burn that Abraham split, and in Mecca there is little fire-wood; that Abraham left behind asses, not camels, and that asses do not come as far south as Mecca (*cf.* Genesis 22:13, 3, 5). The Muslims are ashamed; yet they insist that the stone is the Stone of Abraham.

Turning then to the first explanation, the Muslims are ridiculed. And they are told, "Are you not ashamed, in either case, to kiss the stone for such reasons? Yet you blame Christians for worshipping the Cross, through which the power of demons and the deceit of the Devil have been destroyed."

In this account of Christian-Muslim discussions we are introduced to a situation in Syria in which three points of divergence in religious matters have become clearly defined, one maintained by Christians regarding Muslims and two by Muslims regarding Christians. We see in the discussions reflections of the characteristic mentalities of the two groups. The Muslims have their tradition about the giving of the Qur'ān, their solution for unanswerable questions in "the will of God," their professed acceptance of all the prophets, their requirement of witnesses for all transactions, their "Stone of Abraham" at Mecca and the stories told about it. The Christians appear as skilled disputants. They demand evidence for asserted statements of fact, from eye-witnesses or from Scripture. They rely on the Old Testament, and argue from the prophets. The Muslims know enough about Christian belief and practice to strike at what Christians say of Jesus, and at their reverence for the Cross; enough also about the Old Testament prophecies urged by the Christians to venture explanations of this phase of Christian apologetic, though in these they are not agreed. The Christians know enough about the Qur'ān to cite statements made there about Jesus, and a law requiring witnesses. They know that Mecca is treeless and fire-wood scarce, and that asses are not used. They know of the Ka'ba, of a Stone that is reverenced there, and of customs in veneration of the Stone. Making use of the Quranic designations for Jesus which they know, they apply a very simple logic which balks the Muslims completely.

One is impressed by the reported inability of the Muslims to make replies to the Christian charges, whereas they certainly could have done so, if they had known certain passages in the Qur'ān. For example, in sura 6 alone we find that the preaching of Muḥammad was not accepted without protest (verse 37), that there were demands for proof (109), that there were charges of falsehood (66), that proofs were cited (104), that there were Jews who accepted Muḥammad (20). As it is, the Muslims are simply nonplussed and browbeaten by the intelligence and astuteness of the Christians. On the other hand, the Christian replies are on the *tu quoque* order. The

Christians speak as though putting to rout ignorant people, on a lower level of culture. There is no serious religious discussion, no attempt to present Christian faith, no thoughtful consideration of Islam. Let it not pass unnoticed, also, that the Christians are as unaware as the Muslims of the Quranic passages which the Muslims might have brought forward.

John of Damascus goes on to inform us about the Book of the Muslims. It consists of chapters, each with a title. He makes reference to four.

The chapter "Concerning the Women" (sura 4) legalizes polygamy: four wives, and female slaves in addition (4:3). Divorce is authorized at will, and then further marriages (2:229). The story is recited of Zaid, who had a beautiful wife, of how the prophet made him divorce her and then married her himself, asserting a command of God as the reason. If a man after divorcing his wife wants to take her back, she must be married first to another man; it may be to the man's own brother, if he is willing. In the Book he tells, "Till the ground which God has given to you, and beautify it" (*cf.* 2:223), "not to say as he does things altogether shameful."

The chapter "Concerning the Camel of God" tells of a camel from God that drank up a whole river, and then could not pass between two mountains for lack of room. The camel and the people of the place were to have drunk the water of the river on alternate days. However, after the camel had drunk up the water, the camel fed the people with milk instead. Some evil men killed the camel. Now the camel had a foal, and when the mother was killed, the little camel cried to God, and God took her up to Himself. About this story the Christians say to the Muslims, "Where did that foal come from?" "From God," they reply. "Was there not a sire?" They say, "No." "Then how was it born?" "We see your foal without sire, mother, or pedigree; also after the foal was born the mother-camel was killed, but nothing appears about someone who had mated her; and the foal was taken up! You say God spoke to your prophet. Why did not your prophet find out about the foal—who fed it, milked it, took the milk? Was it, too, killed by evil men, or did it enter Paradise as your forerunner? Is the river of milk that you foolishly talk about from this foal? For you tell of three rivers in Paradise—of water, of wine, and of milk. If the foal is outside Paradise, it must have died, or else someone now has its milk. And if the foal is in Paradise, it will drink up the water there, and you will have none. Then, if you would drink wine instead, there will be no water to mix with the wine, and drinking unmixed wine you will become drunken and go to sleep, and so you will miss the pleasures of Paradise! How is it that your prophet did not think of these matters, or that you

did not ask him to tell you about the three rivers? John of Damascus ends with further ridicule of the story, and bitter reviling of those who believe such stories, "brutish as you are."

The chapter "Concerning the Table" (sura 5) says that Christ asked a "Table" from God, and it was granted to him, God saying, "I have given you and yours an incorruptible table" (*cf.* 5:112-115). As for the quotation, it is quite incomplete, and the reference should be consulted. The passage concerns the Eucharist. It is not at once clear whether the intention here is a simple statement of fact, or whether attention is being drawn to another example of absurd notions in the Book, as though a meal of imperishable foods were sent down from heaven!

In the chapter "Concerning a Heifer" (sura 2) "he says many other things, foolish and ridiculous, but they may be omitted, they are so many," says the author.

The Tractate closes with mention of some Muslim regulations. Men and women are to be circumcised; Muslims are not to keep the Sabbath; they are not to be baptized; some things forbidden by the Mosaic Law are to be eaten by them, and others not (2:172/167, 173/168); no wine is to be drunk (5:90/92). With or without Quranic documentation, these would be customs well known to the Christians from Muslim practice. Circumcision and prohibition of baptism cannot be documented from the Qur'ān. Prohibition of observance of the Sabbath is inferential only (*cf.* 16:124/125; 62:9). One cannot but note the tendency in this description of the Qur'ān to discredit everything Muslim. It is as though the author had formed an unfavorable opinion in advance, and now brought exhibits in proof.

As to this material many things must be said. Matters that can be documented from the Qur'ān have been indicated already.

Of the items enumerated under "Concerning the Woman" (sura 4) only the first, concerning polygamy, is from that sura. "Ye may divorce your wives twice" is the law about divorce, and it is found in sura 2:229. An intervening marriage to another man (to make it repugnant?) is prescribed after a thrice-repeated divorce statement only (2:230). The law regarding remarriage after a first or second divorce is found in 58:3, 4. A man must free a captive, and men are warned to conform. If a man cannot find a captive to release, he must fast two months in succession, before the two can come together. If unable to do this, he must feed sixty poor men. Of these things our author could not have been aware.

The matter of Zaid is referred to in 33:37 only, and without mention of a personal name. He is spoken of, however, as an adopted son. If the author had known of this relationship, would he not have

used it to give added force to what he says? The law promulgated in view of this incident is given in 33:37, but it is not about divorce. Evidently this, too, was not understood.

Regarding "Concerning the Camel of God," there is no such chapter in the Qur'ān. The Quranic versions of this story are found in 91:13; 26:155-157; 54:27, 28; 17:61/59; 11:64-66/67, 68; 7:73/71. The she-camel, "the Camel of God" (96:13), was a sign, given to test the people of Thamūd (Petra). She and the people were to drink from the river on alternate days. The people were to let the camel feed, and not harm her, lest punishment fall on them. Certain men maltreated her, and hamstrung her, and destruction followed. Other features of the story as given by our author are oral tradition. Also, instead of three rivers in Paradise there are four—of water, wine, milk, and honey (47:15/16, 17), and that men should become drunken from drinking unmixed wine in Paradise is impossible, for the wine of Paradise does not intoxicate (37:47/46).

Having reviewed in detail the description of this "heresy," let us consult the preliminary orientation with which the Tractate begins. The "heresy" is said to have arisen among the Ishmaelites, or Hagarenes, names indicating descent from Abraham through his son Ishmael, and from Ishmael's mother, Hagar. It is said that these Ishmaelites, however, call themselves "Saracens," and that they explain the name as signifying that they are descended from Hagar, "whom *Sara* sent away empty (in Greek, *kenē*)." So far as the etymology is concerned, Christians of widely different backgrounds, e.g., Jerome (*cir.* 400), Sozomen (*cir.* 440), and much later Bar-Salibi (*d.* 1171), upheld derivation from the name of Sara. To imagine Arabs who could give to themselves such a name of Greek derivation, we must think of Arabs long under Roman rule, Christianized, Hellenized, acquainted with the Old Testament stories in Greek, who might fabricate such an explanation. This could be true only of Arabs living in Syria or Mesopotamia. However, identification of the name "Saracen" with a Nabataean locality to the east of the Dead Sea, from which the appellation spread, would confirm the statement of the author that the Ishmaelites apply the name "Saracen" to themselves. This name is not found in the Qur'ān. Instead the appellation used is "Arabs" *(al-'arab);* compare 9:90/91, and repeatedly in this sura, and elsewhere. Why did not John of Damascus use this name, or even mention it? Incidentally, the question arises whether John of Damascus did not think of the Arabs of the Hijaz as a southern branch of the Arabs of the north. If so, what was true of the latter might be supposed to be true of the former.

It is said that till the time of Heraclius (610-41) these people "served idols openly," and "worshipped the morning star and Aph-

rodite." Paganism was outlawed by Theodosius I (390). People who still practised pagan rites openly must have lived outside the empire, as indeed the Arabs south of the border did. That these Arabs worshipped idols is correct, as is the worship of the morning star, i.e., of al-Uzza (53:19, 20). But in this Quranic passage al-Lat and Manat are mentioned also; Djibt and Thagout are spoken of in 4:51/54, and Thagout repeatedly (2:257/258; 5:60/65; 4:60/63; 4:76/78). One wonders at the mention of "the morning star *and* Aphrodite." The morning star was Venus-Aphrodite. In another place our author says that the Stone of Abraham at Mecca bears a likeness of Aphrodite. There was once at al-Hirah in Iraq an image of gold of Venus, which was worshipped by the Arabs, and was destroyed when their king accepted Christianity. Many Arab tribesmen who worshipped Venus were converted to Christianity under the preaching of St. Simeon Stylites, whose pillar was not far from Antioch. Does the author have in mind a star-worship, and also a goddess-worship once prevalent among the Arabs of Syria?

Aphrodite is called *khabar* "in their own tongue," we are told, "which signifies 'great.'" This is, of course, the Arabic adjective. Whether merely adjectival use or use as a proper name is to be understood is not clear.

This brief historical introduction is followed by a paragraph about the founder of the "heresy." Again, it will be convenient to itemize the statement.

1. Since the days of Heraclius until now
2. a pseudo-prophet, named Mamed, has sprung up for them.
3. Happening upon the Old and New Testaments,
4. in likelihood perhaps conversing afterwards with an Arian,
5. he set up a heresy of his own.
6. As a pretense, having adopted toward the people the appearance of being religious,
7. he gives out that a writing has descended on him from heaven.
8. Inscribing in the book with him some things worthy of laughter,
9. he presents to them the revered object.

We note that the time element is correct. "Mamed" (item 2) may represent colloquial non-Muslim pronunciation. It is not a transcript of the written Arabic name, for the four consonants *m-ḥ-m-d* would be unmistakable. "Happening on the Old and New Testaments" ignores the circumstances involved, the questions of language, and MS. copies, and ability to read. Or should the custom of targuming from Greek or Syriac be understood implicitly, and considered a sufficient explanation? He may have had a Christian friend (item 4); indeed the Qur'ān reports charges that he had a teacher (44:14), a foreigner (16:103). The Nestorian tradition is definite that a Nestorian monk named Sergius was his teacher. Had John of Damascus, a Greek Or-

thodox adherent in Syria, heard of this tradition current among the Nestorian "heretics" in Iraq, but was not able to make a positive statement? Why an Arian? Was it more than the author's inference from his view of Islam as a Christological heresy, with teachings resembling those of the Arians? "Set up a heresy (or a sect?) of his own." One would gladly have details. Why brand the religious practices of Muhammad as pretense (item 6)?

As the items of this statements are studied, one is struck by the absence of clear-cut, definite, circumstantial detail. In particular, what about the history of long opposition to Muhammad at Mecca, the migration to Yathrib, the establishment of the Islamic community, its defense against the Meccans, its growth to political supremacy over Arabia, the acceptance by the Meccans and the Arabs in general of Islam? There is no hint that the Book as a unified whole did not come into being till after Muhammad's death, or that the text had to be standardized twice because reciters differed. The Nestorian al-Kindi, an Arab from the Banu Kinda of Central Arabia, who wrote at Baghdad a century later, gives such information. Can John of Damascus have thought these matters unessential to his purpose? Or may it be that he was ignorant of them? Evidently, among the Arab Christians in Iraq there were traditions about Muhammad and the rise of Islam. Should we conclude that no comparable tradition existed among the Christians in Syria?

Finally, let us look once more at the Tractate as a whole.

In several connections it has been noted that the information of John of Damascus must have been limited. In the summary of Muslim belief it is said of Jesus, "He did not die" (item 16), and this is documented from the Qur'ān. But the author can hardly have been aware of the existence of two contrary statements: "the day I shall die" (19:33/34), and "I will cause thee to die" (3:55/48). Unawareness of this statement in sura 19 must call in question any documentation from that sura (cf. items 8, 10, 11, involving 19:27/28-28/29, 30/31). In the case of several other suras we have seen reason for questioning whether their contents were known: 33 (Zaid), 58 (first and second divorce), 47 (rivers in Paradise), 37 (wine in Paradise), 53 (objects adored by the Arabs). Nor can there have been knowledge, as has been noted, of the passages which the Muslims themselves failed to adduce in rebuttal, e.g., those in sura 6 already indicated; and passages which tell of methods of revelation (42:51, 52/50-52), of prophecy (7:157/156; 61:6), of Muhammad's visions (53:1-18; 81:15-23), of the Qur'ān as a confirmation of the earlier Scriptures (12:111; 46:12/11; 46:30/29; 6:92; 10:37/38; 3:3/2; 2:41/38, 89/83, 91/85, 97/91, 101/95), of Jewish approval (26:196,197; 46:10/9).

How explain the idea that the story of the Camel is a sura in the

Qur'ān, and the giving to it of a formal name? The story and its discussion occupy one-fifth of the entire Tractate, more space than is devoted to the introductory information about the Ishmaelites, the information about Muḥammad, and the outline of Islamic belief, all together.

As we review the statements which we have found it possible to document from the Qur'ān, we come upon a further matter of surprise. Documentation has been made practically entirely through verses from the second, third, fourth, and fifth suras. Exceptions might be 112:3, which is textually inexact; 19:27,28,30/28,29,31, on knowledge of which doubt is cast by the author's ignorance of 19:33/34; references for not keeping the Sabbath, of inferential bearing only at best. That is, acquaintance with these four suras alone would have been sufficient to account for the statements that are made.

Confining attention, then, to these four suras, detailed study brings to light in them a whole series of passages that would have changed the statements and the argumentation of John of Damascus, had he known them. These passages tell of pre-Islamic worships, of protests against Muḥammad and his message, of proofs, of prophecy, of Gabriel and the impartation of the Qur'ān, of the Qur'ān as confirming the previous Scriptures, of Jewish testimony. (Compare 2:41/38,89/83, 91/85, 97/91, 99/93, 101/95, 118/112, 121/115, 146/141; 3:4/3, 13/11, 70/63, 79/73, 81/75, 86/80, 183/179; 4:47/50, 51/54, 60/63, 76/78, 153/152, 174; 5:48/52, 60/65.) No other conclusion seems possible but that our author was not acquainted with even these four suras of the Qur'ān in detail.

JOHN ERNEST MERRILL

Beacon, N. Y.

TRADITION: INVESTIGATION AND CLASSIFICATION

Having considered the collections of Tradition which are recognized as authoritative, we must now consider the nature of the material from which these and other works were compiled and note the grades of reliability assigned to traditions. Tradition, unlike Minerva who sprang fully armed from the head of Jove, cannot be regarded as a possession of the community from the time of the Prophet. It is presented as if it were, but it is something which grew rather than something which was preserved. To begin with the community had the Qur'ān as guide, but as it developed this was found to be insufficient. New situations arose on which the Qur'ān gave no guidance or insufficient guidance, and so something else had to be found. And it is not surprising that men should have felt that, next to the Qur'ān, the example of the Prophet must supply all that was needed. Al-Shāfi'ī argues very ingeniously in favor of the establishment of the *sunna* in the Prophet's lifetime by referring to the Quranic phrase "the Book and the Wisdom."[1] He says that the Book is the Qur'ān and the Wisdom is the Prophet's *sunna*. He then quotes views on the nature of the *sunna*. While some said that God had laid down that Muḥammad should establish the *sunna* in matters about which there is no text in the Qur'ān, others said that he never laid down a *sunna* without there being a basis for it in the Qur'ān. Some said a message came from God; others that he found all he laid down in his heart, it being put there by God. He holds that, whichever is correct, there is no doubt that God made obedience to the Prophet obligatory in every circumstance.[2]

Unquestionably men came to believe that the *sunna* really was handed down by the Prophet and therefore very naturally formulated their theories regarding its nature; but what in fact took place was that men in different districts settled down to the study and, one must add, the invention of traditions. But this invention commonly had a good purpose behind it, and it served to establish the law. We have something similar in the Old Testament, where a law which was gradually developed is presented as if it came from Moses, as by that means it would more readily be acceptable. So also in Islām men found that the best way of establishing the law was to represent it as coming from the Prophet.

Schools of traditionists grew up in different districts, and at first, no doubt, the traditions would remain largely local. It has commonly

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[1] cf. Qur. ii, 146; iii, 158; iv, 113; lxii, 2.

[2] *Risāla fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, pp. 15f. At beginning of vol. i of *Al-umm* (Cairo, 1321-1326)., cf. *Al-umm*, vol. vii, p. 251.

been held that Medina was the home of Tradition,[3] but it has been argued that this was a fiction of the third century.[4] One would certainly expect an interest in Tradition to have been strongest in Medina where the Prophet had lived, but in actual fact we find several schools in other centers, and it may well be that, as the interest in learning in general was developed outside Arabia, so also did the impetus to develop Tradition as a basis of Islām come from countries other than Arabia. It might be argued that the reason why tradition developed in different centers was because the Companions of the Prophet, owing to the conquests of Islām, were scattered over the expanding empire and so became the initiators of local traditions. But this makes the assumption that Companions were really responsible for the traditions which are attributed to them. The enormous growth of traditions as time went on rather suggests that schools of traditionists made use of the names of Companions to give authority for the points of view which they wished to promulgate, and that therefore one should not be over critical of the veracity of the Companions.[5] No one might be more surprised than they at the things they are credited with reporting.

While traditions were developed in different centers, there were means by which they could become more generally known. The annual Pilgrimage brought people together from all parts, and this would present an excellent opportunity to men of different regions to compare notes. In addition the ordinary intercourse between the various parts of the Muslim empire would make known to those who were interested the existence of separate series of traditions. An important result was that many traditionists began to undertake travels in search of traditions. It was not enough for them to hear that certain traditions had gained currency, or that certain men were noted for the traditions which they transmitted; it was necessary for them, if they wished to transmit such traditions, to journey to visit the authorities and receive the traditions from them by word of mouth. There was therefore a remarkable stirring in search of traditions, and men made long journeys for this purpose. Ḥājjī Khalīfa speaks of such journeys for long distances across deserts and wildernesses to countries in the East and the West, adding that some did this from a desire to learn the tradition itself, others from a desire to hear it from a transmitter who had a reputation for reliability, or had very few links in the chain between him and the Prophet.[6] Goldziher gives a

[3] cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, p. 13; Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 14; *ZDMG*, 1939, p. 3.

[4] J. Schacht, *JRAS*, 1949, p. 144.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 148.

[6] iii, p. 27.

clear description of this movement and points out that this travel brought the local traditions into the main body, the books which were compiled being produced from the material collected on such journeys.[7]

One interesting feature of this movement is that traditions are found to support it. Al-Bukhārī records the Prophet as saying that God levels a way to heaven for him who goes in search of knowledge.[8] Abū Dāwud tells that a man from Medina came one day to Abul Dardā' in the mosque in Damascus seeking from him a tradition from the Prophet which he was said to transmit. Abul Dardā' thereupon quoted the Prophet as saying, "If one travels a road in which he seeks knowledge, God will cause him to travel on one of the roads of Paradise. The angels will lower their wings in approval of him who seeks knowledge, and those who are in the heavens and those who are in the earth and the fishes in the depth of the water will pray for pardon for the learned man. The excellence of the learned man over the devotee is like the excellence of the moon on the night when it is full over the rest of the planets. The learned are the heirs of the prophets. The prophets did not bequeathe a dinar or a dirham, but bequeathed knowledge; so he who receives it receives an abundant portion."[9] Al-Tirmidhī represents the Prophet as equating the search for knowledge with *jihād* by saying, "He who goes out in search of knowledge will be in God's path till he returns."[10] And he reports the Prophet as foretelling this search for knowledge, saying, "Men will come to you from all parts of the earth to become well-versed in religion, so when they come receive them kindly."[11]

When interest in Tradition grew, the supply of traditions met the demand. It is said that al-Bukhārī, in the course of his wide travels in search of traditions, collected round about 600,000; but when he compiled his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he rejected the vast majority. It is commonly stated that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* contains 7,275 altogether, but when repetitions are accounted for, the total is said to be 4,000.[12] It is rather alarming to think that out of the 600,000 only 4,000 were considered sufficiently reliable to be included.[13] Abū Bakr b. Dāsa is quoted as reporting Abū Dāwud to have said that he wrote down 500,000 traditions from the Prophet from which he selected the con-

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[7] *Muh. Stud.*, ii, pp. 176ff.

[8] *'Ilm*, 11.

[9] *'Ilm*, 1. cf. Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[10] *'Ilm*, 2.

[11] *'Ilm*, 4.

[12] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth* (Aleppo, 1931), p. 15 (hereafter cited as *'Ulūm*), cf. *Journal Asiatique*, série ix, vol. xvi, p. 485 (hereafter cited as JA) (ix).

[13] But Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ *(loc. cit.)* credits Bukhārī with saying that he knew 100,000 sound traditions.

tents of his *Sunan* to the number of 4,800 traditions, these consisting of those which are sound, those which compared with them and those which approximated to them. And Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is quoted as reporting Abū Dāwud to have said, "I have made clear the traditions in this book of mine which contain great weakness, and those about which I have said nothing are sound, some being sounder than others."[14]

Whether or not al-Bukhārī's 600,000 traditions and Abū Dāwud's 500,000 are to be taken as accurate figures, the stories indicate that these authorities were dissatisfied with the vast majority of the traditions which they had amassed. It was commonly recognized that many spurious traditions were current. Poets made scurrilous hits at the methods of the traditionists, and criticism was launched by those who wished to base the law on other foundations. The traditionists obviously had to set their house in order, but at the same time they required a sufficient supply of tradition to form an adequate basis for law. There seems to be little doubt that practically the whole body of tradition was spurious, but a distinction had to be made between what was considered harmful and what was considered to be for the upbuilding of the community. That the party which upheld Tradition had much to contend with is shown very clearly by Ibn Qutaiba (213-276/828-889) in his *Kitāb ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth,* in which he deals at length with the arguments adduced against the upholders of Tradition by different groups, before he proceeds to his main subject which is to reconcile traditions which seem to be contradictory. Against the argument that the traditionists are as likely to be wrong as any other party he replies that they are guided by a principle in that they follow the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of the Prophet, and do not refer matters to preference *(istiḥsān),* analogy *(qiyās),* speculation *(naẓar),* the writings of ancient philosophers, or the views of scholastic theologians of later times. They have also been careful to draw attention to traditions which they consider to be weak.[15] Thus he upholds the principle of Tradition against its opponents and insists that traditionists are not credulous people who are ready to accept everything which is presented in the form of tradition. But the traditionists must have found great difficulty and expended great energy in separating the wheat from the chaff and serving it up in a manner which would gain acceptance. It became quite customary for people who wished to advocate a particular point of view to pre-

[14] Abū Dāwud, *Sunan,* (Cairo 1348/1930), preface, pp. 6f.; cf. *'Ulūm,* pp. 38f., JA (ix), xvi, p. 502.

[15] Cairo, 1326/1908, pp. 103f.

sent it in the form of a tradition,[16] but only such traditions as were represented as coming through reputable channels were accepted.

The method of judging a tradition by virtue of the chain of authorities through which it was transmitted has much to say for it. To the western mind it may seem too indefinite, as not allowing sufficiently for the possibility of tendentious traditions being given a line of transmitters who are above reproach. But in the hands of a party who had the well-being of the community at heart this could be controlled, and, as will be seen later, methods were developed of criticizing chains of authorities which appeared on the surface to be perfectly sound. The party which fought to establish Tradition as a basis of Islām must have had a good understanding among its members which enabled them to win the day. It is instructive to notice how they always considered themselves to represent "the community," although for long they were merely one party among many. There is a tradition which appears in different forms about the number of sects into which Jews and Christians were divided, which represents the Prophet as saying that Muslims will be divided into one more. In a version given by Abū Dāwud[17] it is stated that of the seventy-three Muslim sects seventy-two will go to hell and one to heaven, the latter being "the community." The solidarity of the upholders of Tradition is best expressed in the tradition stating in different forms the principle that the people will not agree on an error.[18] This statement, which appears in the form of a saying of the Prophet, serves to establish the principle of *Ijmā'* (consensus), and so by means of a tradition the traditionists were able to set up a principle to support themselves. But that this was merely a view put forward by traditionists and not an actual saying of the Prophet is shown by the fact that al-Naẓẓām (d. *c.* 840 A.D.) is quoted as saying, "It sometimes is conceivable that all the Muslims may agree on an error."[19] If the tradition really were a saying of the Prophet, it is questionable whether any Muslim, whatever his party, could have ventured to contradict it so definitely.[20]

To illustrate how traditionists attempted to weed out traditions which they considered spurious there is an excellent example in al-Ḥākim's *Al-madkhal fī uṣūl al-ḥadīth*.[21] He follows the common practice of criticizing not the text of the traditions, but the men through whom they are transmitted. He gives the following ten classes of traditionists who are not to be accepted.

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[16] cf. Guillaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 52f.

[17] *Sunna*, 1; cf. Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 17.

[18] cf. Abū Dāwud, *Fitan*, 1; Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 7; Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 8.

[19] Ibn Qutaiba, *op. cit.*, pp. 21f.

[20] For a discussion of views hostile to Tradition cf. J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, Part 1, vol. 2, pp. 152ff.

[21] pp. 17ff.

1. Those who falsely attribute sayings to the Prophet. In this connection he mentions some *zindīqs* who invented traditions for the purpose of raising doubts in people's minds. Some forgers, he says, have admitted their forgeries. He tells of a Khārijite who, after he had repented, confessed that when Khārijites had wanted anything, they turned it into a tradition. He quotes Abul 'Ainā' as confessing, after his repentance, that he and al-Jāḥiẓ had invented a tradition and got it accepted by the *shaikhs* in Baghdād, with the exception of Ibn abī Shaiba who found an inconsistency in it. He says that a *shaikh* was once found weeping by Sulaimān b. Ḥarb and when asked the reason he replied that he had forged four hundred traditions and introduced them into the copies used by traditionists. Now he did not know what to do. Some, of whom he gives a few names, invented traditions to encourage people to do good; in which connection he quotes Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd as saying, "I have not seen falsehood in anyone more than in him who has a reputation for good." One who was transmitting a tradition on the excellencies of the Qur'ān *sūra* by *sūra* from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās was asked where he got it when 'Ikrima's transmitters had no such tradition. He replied, "I saw the people had turned away from the Qur'ān and occupied themselves with the *Fiqh* of Abū Ḥanīfa and the *Maghāzī* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, so I forged this tradition with a good motive." Some invented traditions to gain favor with rulers, and others invented traditions on the spot to suit circumstances as they arose. Another class of inventors was the story-tellers who had learned some sound *isnāds* to which they attached their extraordinary traditions.[22]

2. Those who take well-known traditions and give them new *isnāds* for the sake of novelty.

3. Learned people whose avidity for transmission leads them to quote certain authorities although they were not born till after these authorities had died. Al-Ḥākim says that this class is numerous and that he has met a number of them himself.

4. People who give forth sound traditions which go back only to Companions as if they went back to the Prophet. This class is also numerous.

5. People who trace back to the Prophet traditions which go back only to Followers.

6. Pious people who do not take the trouble to be exact. This is a numerous class, the majority of whom are ascetics and devotees.[23]

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[22] For examples of what this class could produce cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 158ff; Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[23] The pious people mentioned in the first class invented traditions; those in this class were careless and inaccurate. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 328/940), quotes

7. People who hear traditions from *shaikhs* and add to them others which they have not heard from the same *shaikhs*. They do this without distinguishing between those which they have heard and those which they have not. Al-Ḥākim says that in his time he has seen many learned foreigners who have done this.

8. People who have heard traditions from authorities but have not troubled to write down what they heard; then when they have grown old and are asked for traditions, their desire to appear as authorities leads them to transmit these traditions from copies which they have bought, but which they have no authority to transmit.

9. People who lack the qualifications demanded of a traditionist and do not know their traditions by heart. A student may come and read over to such an one traditions which are not his, and he ignorantly confirms them.

10. People who had travelled in search of traditions and were recognized traditionists, but who lost their books. Then when they were asked for traditions they transmitted them from other people's books, or from a defective memory. On this account they fell in estimation. But al-Ḥākim adds that what such people transmitted before they lost their books is sound.

Having mentioned these classes he remarks that some people may think this is nothing but slander, which is a practice the Prophet has prohibited. This he dismisses as the objection of one who does not know what he is talking about, for all Muslims agree that only the tradition of a truthful and intelligent man may be adduced concerning matters of law. This agreement therefore shows the permissibility of criticizing adversely people who without justification set themselves up as traditionists. He argues that the practice of guarding against falsehood in tradition goes back to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī. The Followers and people of succeeding generations have also authenticated and adversely criticized people who transmitted traditions, a fact which shows that the practice is not slander.

This defense of what he has made clear suggests that al-Ḥākim is aware that people are liable to disapprove of criticizing transmitters; but he was by no means the first to engage in this. I have quoted him because he is probably the earliest writer to arrange his material so systematically.[24] He was, however, merely systematizing something which had been going on for a long time. Al-Bukhārī wrote a book on weak traditionists, and Muslim and al-Tirmidhī show in their collections of tradition that they have very definite standards regarding

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Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī as saying, "Among my friends are some from whose prayers I hope for a blessing, but whose traditions I would not accept." *Al-'iqd al-farīd* (Cairo, 1928), i, p. 266.

[24] He died in 405/1014.

those who may not be accepted. Muslim, in his introductory chapter, explains the principles by which he is guided and gives warning against certain types of transmitter. In the course of this discussion he has no hesitation about mentioning by name people whom he considers weak or worthless. Al-Tirmidhī deals with this subject in the last section of his work. He justifies such criticism on the ground that Followers and other leading traditionists have engaged in it with the purpose of giving sound advice to Muslims, to warn them against innovators, people whose traditions were suspected, and people who were guilty of carelessness and many errors. It is interesting to find that al-Tirmidhī and, a century later, al-Ḥākim find it necessary to defend themselves; yet the manner in which they discuss the men who are to be rejected shows that they are working on material already to hand.

The study of the men who appear in *isnāds* was greatly developed, and books of different types were produced regarding them. The general name for the criticism of the men is *al-jarḥ wal ta'dīl* (wounding and authenticating), a title which shows that the purpose of the study is to determine the nature of transmitters and make clear who were reliable and who were not. This study holds a very important place among traditionists; indeed, it is said to be half the science of Tradition, because traditions consist of *isnād* and text.[25] Books were compiled on the Companions of the Prophet, on the names and *kunyas* and the *laqabs* of traditionists, on weak traditionists, and on traditionists in general. In addition, books were produced on the authorities whose names appear in certain collections. It was important not only to know who were reliable and who were unreliable, but also to know the various appellations given to the men (for sometimes they are referred to by one part of the name and sometimes by another), and the dates of their birth and death, so that one may verify whether they could have met those whom they are credited with quoting. The extent of the biographical material which has been handed down is amazing. Out of the great number of such books a few may be mentioned: *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* by Ibn Sa'd (on Companions and others up to the beginning of the third century); *Al-istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb,* by Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr (on Companions); *Al-iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba,* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (on Companions); *Al-jam' baina riǰāl al-ṣaḥīḥain,* by Ibn al-Qaisarānī (on the men who appear in the *isnāds* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim); *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (on traditionists up to the 7th century), and *Mīzān al-i'tidāl* (on weak traditionists), by al-Dhahabī; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (on traditionists in general), and *Lisān al-mīzān* (based on

[25] cf. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, i, pp. 287f.

al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān),* by al-'Asqalānī. These works are all available in print.

Traditionists were classified according to their degree of reliability, and technical terms were used to indicate their grade. Among reliable traditionists those of the highest grade were called *thiqa* (trustworthy), *mutqin* (thoroughly versed), *thabat* (reliable), *ḥujja* (proof), *'adl ḥāfiẓ* (upright and of good memory), *ḍābiṭ* (accurate). Those of the second grade were called *ṣadūq* (truthful), *maḥallat al-ṣidq* (the alighting-place of truth), *lā ba's bihi* (there is no harm in him). The third grade is called *shaikh,* and the fourth *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth* (good in tradition). Traditions from men of the third and four grade should be examined carefully. Terms used for weak traditionists are *layyin al-ḥadīth* (easygoing in tradition), *laisa bi-qawī* (not strong), *ḍa'īf al-ḥadīth* (weak in tradition), *matrūk al-ḥadīth* (neglected in tradition), *kadhdhāb* (liar). Other terms are also used regarding traditionists, among which are *rawā 'anhu al-nās* (people transmitted from him), *wasaṭ* (middling), *lā yuḥtajj bihi* (not adduced in argument), *majhūl* (unknown), *lā shai'* (nothing), *fī ḥadīthihi ḍa'f* (there is weakness in his tradition).[26]

Al-Nawawī[27] quotes seven classes of transmitters given by Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (d. 498/1105), three of which he says are accepted, three rejected, while opinions differ regarding the seventh. Those who are accepted are:

1. The leaders and men of good memory who are more authoritative than those who disagree with them, whose traditions are accepted when they alone transmit them.

2. Those of a lower grade in what they know by heart and in accuracy, who are sometimes guilty of surmise and error, but are generally sound. Their surmises can be corrected from what the first class transmit.

3. Those who have an inclination towards erroneous opinions, but do not go to extremes in them or summon others to accept them. Their tradition is considered sound, their truthfulness reliable, and their surmise small.

Those who are rejected are:

1. People charcterized by falsehood and the promulgation of fictitious traditions.

2. People characterized by error and surmise.

3. People who go to extremes in innovation and summon others

[26] cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.,* ii, pp. 142ff.; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm,* pp. 133ff., JA (ix), vol. xvi, pp. 146ff.

[27] Introd. to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1349/1930), i, p. 28.

to accept it, who make changes and additions in what is transmitted to use this as argument.

The remaining class, about which there is a difference of opinion, consists of unknown people who have traditions which no one else transmits.

Al-Nawawī disagrees with what he says about the third class of those who are accepted, stating that there is a difference of opinion. Regarding the seventh class al-Nawawī distinguishes the following types of unknown men: (1) those whose reliability is totally unknown; (2) those whose reliability is externally evident, but about whose intrinsic reliability nothing is known; (3) those who are unknown in person. The general opinion is that the first class must not be quoted, but many authorities have made use of the other two classes.[27a]

The science of 'the men' was very highly developed because they were the transmitters of traditions and the authority of a tradition depended on the reliability of its transmitters. Before leaving this subject, there is one curious matter which should be mentioned. Traditionists speak of traditions which have 'high,' or 'low' *isnāds*. A 'high' *isnād* is one in which there are few links in the chain of transmission. This is considered to be particularly valuable, because it brings the later transmitter into closer connection with the Prophet or the Companion from whom the tradition comes. The word 'high' may refer to one of the transmitters in the chain, meaning that there are fewer transmitters between him and the Prophet than in anyone else's record. 'High' *isnāds* may also refer to the chain through whom a later traditionist has received one of the collections of tradition. Al-Nawawī himself gives a good example of this in referring to the authorities through whom he received Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Nawawī died in 676/1277 at the age of 45. The first transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* received it from him in 257, and there are only six transmitters between Muslim and al-Nawawī.[28] Six transmitters to cover a period of about 400 years seems to be too few, but this is regarded as a mark of distinction.[29]

Traditions are commonly divided into three main groups: (1) *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), (2) *ḥasan* (good), and (3) *ḍa'īf* (weak). Sometimes *saqīm* (infirm) is used instead of *ḍa'īf*.

Sound traditions are such as are reported by upright and accurate transmitters and contain no abnormality or weakness. They have

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[27a] For this subject cf. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm*, pp. 121ff.; JA (ix), xvii, pp. 135ff.

[28] Introd. to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 8; cf. *JRAS*, 1949, p. 51.

[29] A full account of the refinements of this subject will be found in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm*, pp. 215ff., JA (ix), xviii, pp. 97ff.

been divided into seven grades: (1) those given by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim; (2) those by al-Bukhārī alone; (3) those by Muslim alone; (4) traditions not given by these men, but fulfilling the conditions of both; (5) traditions which fulfil al-Bukhārī's conditions; (6) traditions which fulfil Muslim's conditions; (7) traditions perfect in the opinion of other authorities.[30] Al-Ḥākim gave ten classes, five of which he says are admitted by everyone, but about the other five there is a difference of opinion.[31] He says that in the traditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim each one is transmitted by two Companions, each of whom had his tradition transmitted by two Followers, and so on; but al-Nawawī points out that this is not so.[32]

Al-Tahānawī gives a list of thirteen terms which are applied to sound traditions. They are: *musnad* (with an *isnād* going back to the Prophet); *mutaṣṣal* (with an unbroken *isnād*); *marfūʿ* (with a connected *isnād* going back to the Prophet); *muʿanʿan* (with an *isnād* in which the word *ʿan* = 'from' is used, without stating how the transmission was received); *muʿallaq* (with an *isnād* in which one name or more is omitted at the beginning); *fard* (peculiar either to one district or to one man); *mudraj* (in which the text contains a gloss by one of the transmitters, or in which texts which vary slightly by different *isnāds* are given with one *isnād); mashhūr* (a tradition with more than two transmitters); *ʿazīz* (a tradition with two transmitters); *gharīb* (from only one Companion, or from only one man at a later stage); *muṣaḥḥaf* (where there is a slight misunderstanding in reading in *isnād* or text; e.g., reading Muzāḥim for Murājim, or *shaiʾ*[an] for *sitt*[an]); *musalsal* (a connected chain in which all the men use the same form of words in transmitting, or are of the same type, or come from the same place); *zāʾid al-thiqa* (a tradition in which an authority has an addition which does not disagree with what is reported by others).[33]

'Good' traditions may be used for establishing matters of law, but they are recognized as not having quite the same authority as sound traditions. Al-Tirmidhī says, "Every tradition which is transmitted whose *isnād* contains no one suspected of falsehood, which is not abnormal, and is transmitted to the same effect by another line, is in our opinion a good tradition."[34] Al-Khaṭṭābī defined it as a tradition whose provenance is known and whose transmitters are well-known.[35] Neither of these definitions is sufficiently distinctive.

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[30] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm*, p. 28; JA (ix), xvi, p. 492; cf. 'Alī al-Jurjānī, *Risāla fī uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (at end of Tirmidhī, Meerut, 1283/1866), p. 1.

[31] *Madkhal*, pp. 7ff.

[32] Introd. to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, pp. 28f. This list may apply also to 'good' traditions.

[33] *Dict. of Tech. Terms*, p. 281; cf. Jurjānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 2f.

[34] *Sunan* (Cairo 1325/1934), xiii, p. 334.

[35] Tahānawī, *op. cit.*, p. 386; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm*, p. 30; JA(ix), xvi, p. 497.

The real point is that traditions of this class do not fulfil the conditions required to consider them sound, but yet, especially when they are supported by something similar by another line, they are treated as being sufficiently satisfactory.[36] Al-Tirmidhī has a type which he names *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*. Such traditions are 'good' by one line of transmission and at the same time have another line of transmission which is sound.[37]

Weak traditions may be briefly described as those which do not possess the characteristics of the other two types.[38] But there are different degrees of weakness. Al-Jurjānī states that the learned made allowance for using weak traditions which dealt with exhortations, stories and good behavior; but not for using those which dealt with matters of law, or with what is allowable and what is forbidden. He adds that al-Nasā'ī quoted traditions from people who were not unanimously rejected, and that Abū Dāwud used weak traditions when he could find nothing else on the subject in hand. He quotes al-Sha'bī as saying that what weak traditionists report from the Prophet may be accepted, but that what they report from their own opinion is to be rejected; adding that opinion is on the level of the meat of an animal which has died a natural death. It may be eaten only in case of dire necessity.[39]

Al-Tahānawī gives the following types of weak traditions: *mauqūf* (with an *isnād* going back only to a Companion); *maqṭū'* (with an *isnād* going back only to a Follower); *mursal* (in which a Follower quotes the Prophet direct); *munqaṭi'* (with an *isnād* having a link missing at beginning, middle, or end); *mu'ḍal* (in which two or more links are missing in the *isnād*); *shādhdh* (a tradition from an authority which disagrees with what is generally reported); *munkar* (a tradition from a weak transmitter which disagrees with what is generally reported); *mu'allal* (a tradition from a weak transmitter with hidden defects); *mudallas* (a tradition with a concealed defect in the *isnād*); *muḍṭarab* (a tradition which is reported in different forms); *maqlūb* (a tradition attributed to someone other than its real authority. It may have a completely wrong *isnād*); *mauḍū'* (a fictitious tradition).[40]

In connection with the type called *mudallas* something should be added. The people responsible for this type of tradition are called *mudallisūn* and their practice is called *tadlīs*, a word used of mer-

[36] For a general discussion cf. Tahānawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 386ff.; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm*, pp. 30ff.; JA (ix), xvi, pp. 497ff.; Jurjānī, *op. cit.*, p. 2. See also Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[37] Jurjānī, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[38] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm*, p. 48. cf. JA (ix), xvi, p. 505.

[39] *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[40] *op. cit.*, p. 281; cf. Jurjānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 3f.

chants concealing defects in goods they are trying to sell. This defect in tradition is of two types: (1) fraud in the *isnād,* by quoting from someone one has met a tradition which has not been heard from him, or by dropping out a weak traditionist who appears in the original *isnād*; (2) fraud in the authorities, by referring to somone in the *isnād* with a name, *kunya, nisba,* or qualification by which he is not generally known. The first type is most reprehensible, but everyone does not agree that all the traditions of men who sometimes do this should be rejected. The second type is not so serious, and should be judged according to the motive which has led to it. Perhaps the purpose was to conceal a weak authority; but perhaps the transmitter had many traditions from the man concerned and, as he had occasion to quote him frequently, wished to add a little variety to the form of quotation.[41] A number of books have been written on the subject, the earliest writer to devote a whole work to it being said to be al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Karābīsī.[42] It was important to know what men were guilty of this deception and to what extent they practised it. Al-Ḥākim gives the names of some *mudallisūn,* in the course of which he makes the damaging statement, "As for the people of al-Kūfa, some of them practised *tadlīs* and some did not, but most of them did."[43] Al-'Asqalānī gives information about 152 *mudallisūn,* dividing them into five grades and dealing with them in alphabetic order within their grade.[44]

Traditionists have insisted on the importance of studying the men through whom traditions are transmitted and having a knowledge of the relative grades of traditions. But this is only a part of the studies which a real traditionist must undertake. Ḥājjī Khalīfa quotes from Ibn al-Athīr a number of subjects which one who wishes to be a traditionist must study.[45] This is what he says: "(Tradition) has bases, rules, principles and technical terms which the learned have mentioned and the traditionists and jurists have explained, which its student must know and study after having first acquired a knowledge of the language and syntax which are a basis for knowledge of Tradition, &c, since the pure *sharī'a* came down in the tongue of the Arabs,[46] and those things are such as knowledge of the men, their names, *nisbas,* length of life and time of death; knowledge of the

[41] See al-Ḥākim, *Madkhal,* pp. 13ff.; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm,* pp. 78ff.; JA (ix), xvi, pp. 526ff.; Jurjānī, *op. cit.,* p. 4; 'Asqalānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn* (Cairo, Maḥmūdīya Press, n.d.), pp. 3f.

[42] cf. *Fihrist* (Cairo, 1348/1929), p. 256. Al-Khaulī, *Miftāḥ al-sunna,* pp. 49f., gives the names of a number of books on the subject.

[43] *Madkhal,* p. 14.

[44] *op. cit.*

[45] iii, pp. 24f.

[46] That traditionists were not always careful about good Arabic is shown by J. Fück, *Arabiya* (Berlin, 1950), pp. 42f.

characteristics of the transmitters and the conditions they imposed, along with which acceptance of their transmission is allowable; knowledge of what the transmitters relied on, the manner in which they received the tradition, and the division of its lines of transmission; knowledge of the words of the transmitters, their handing on what they heard, its coming without a break to those who got it from them, and noting of its grades; knowledge of the allowability of transmitting tradition by the sense, transmitting part, making additions, joining to it what does not belong to it, and of an authority being alone in an addition to it; knowledge of the *musnad,* its conditions, and the 'high' and 'low' *isnāds* to be found in it; knowledge of the *mursal,* its division into *munqaṭi',* *mauqūf,* *mu'ḍal,* &c, and the different views of people about accepting and rejecting it; knowledge of *al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl* (wounding and authenticating), their allowability, their occurrence, and the explanation of the classes of those who are invalidated; knowledge of the classes of sound and false tradition, and the division of the information into them and into *gharīb,* *ḥasan,* &c; and knowledge of the information handed down with unbroken *isnād,* the authorities who are alone in what they transmit, the abrogating and abrogated (traditions), &c about which the leaders of Tradition are agreed and which was recognized mutually among them. Now he who has got a firm grasp of it has entered the abode of this science by its door and has comprehended it from all directions."

This list of subjects which one must study in order to be versed in Tradition is fairly comprehensive but not exhaustive, and helps one to realize something of the vastness of the field to be covered. The book which may be considered the classical work on the subject is *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth* by Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245). A fine edition was published in Aleppo in 1931 along with a commentary by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusain.[47] The material is methodically arranged in sixty-five categories. An abbreviated form of this work was produced by al-Nawawī under the title of *Al-taqrīb wal-taisīr li-ma'rifat sunan al-bashīr al-nadhīr.* In *Journal Asiatique,* série ix, vols. xvi-xviii, M. Marçais published a full translation of the first 39 categories and gave a summary of the remainder. He added a very valuable commentary, and in a preface he dealt with the development of the science of Tradition.[48] References can be found in Marçais' preface to other works of importance. Attention may also be drawn to a very useful small work by Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khaulī, called *Miftāḥ al-sunna.* It appeared in

[47] For other editions cf. Brockelmann, *GAL,* Supp. i, p. 611.

[48] The *Taqrīb* is really an abridgement of Nawawī's *Irshād al-ḥadīth* which is an abridgement of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's work.

Al-Manār, vol. xxii, and was published separately in Cairo in 1921. It not only gives a brief description of the different categories, but also gives lists of important works.

One can think only with respect of the great energy and devotion which have gone to rear this impressive structure. The learned have taken every precaution to make it watertight. Whatever the non-Muslim may think of the material of Tradition, which will be discussed later, there is no question that the traditionists set themselves with serious and honest purpose to eliminate all that they considered spurious and to preserve all that they believed to be genuine.

James Robson

University of Manchester.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHARĪ'A LAW III

The Contract of Marriage

At the conclusion of the previous Article brief reference was made to recent Egyptian reforms on the subject of marriage. The extract[1] there quoted from the Egyptian Code of Organization and Procedure for Sharī'a Courts of 1897 ("no claim of marriage, divorce, or acknowledgement thereof shall be heard after the death of either party unless it is supported by documents free from suspicion of forgery which indicate the truth of the claim") is the earliest provision on this subject which I have been able to trace in the recent legislation of any Middle East country. This, however, was expanded in the Code of 1909-1910, as amended in 1913, where Art. 101 reads: "No disputed claim of marriage, divorce or acknowledgement thereof shall be heard after the death of either party in respect of events previous to 1911, whether brought by one of the spouses or by some third party, unless it is supported by documents free from suspicion of forgery which indicate its truth. Provided that it is allowable to hear a claim of marriage or acknowledgement thereof brought by one of the parties thereto, in respect of events previous to 1897 only, on the basis of oral testimony, on condition that the marriage was known by general repute. But none of the foregoing claims shall be heard, whether brought by one of the spouses or by a third party, in respect of events subsequent to 1911, unless it is established by official documents or ones wholly written in the handwriting of the deceased and bearing his signature."[2]

It is plain, however, that the purpose of these provisions was merely to defeat attempts to prove, by the simple expedient of false testimony, either the existence or the dissolution of an alleged marriage in order to support or enhance claims to intestate succession. It was not until 1923 that the momentous step was taken of adding the clause: "No claim of marriage shall be heard, except by Our Command, if the age of the bride was less than sixteen and that of the bridegroom less than eighteen at the time of the contract." This, moreover, was further expanded, although in one respect somewhat restricted, by the Code of 1931, where Art. 99 repeats the clauses of the Code of 1910, together with the addendum of 1913, and then continues: "And no disputed claim of marriage or acknowledgement thereof shall be heard in respect of events subsequent to 1st April, 1931, unless established by an official certificate. Nor shall any claim of marriage be heard, except by Our Command, if the age of the wife

[1] Art. 31.
[2] The last clause was added in 1913.

is less than sixteen or that of the husband less than eighteen" (i.e., at the time of the claim). Meanwhile, the Law of 1923 had expressly forbidden the competent officials to conclude or register a marriage contract between those who had not reached these ages respectively.

The purpose of the reform of 1923 was obviously to come as near as possible to the abolition of child marriage by the indirect means of not declaring such a union invalid per se (a proposition for which only the slenderest support can be found in the classical texts in respect of those who have not reached puberty, and none for those who have) but of refusing to register child marriages and denying all judicial relief[3] in any matrimonial cause to spouses whose union was not so registered. And the Code of 1931, while it modified this Law to the extent of limiting the absolute denial of judicial relief to those who had not reached the prescribed ages at the time of their claim rather than their marriage, considerably tightened up the position in other respects, for it decreed that no disputed claim of marriage might be heard on the basis of any documents other than official,[4] and this regardless of whether or not either of the spouses were dead.

It must not, however, be thought that this tightening up of previous restrictions was exclusively directed to the further limitation of child marriage for other abuses, too, were present to the reformers' minds. Thus the Explanatory Memorandum issued with the Code, after recounting the juristic basis for instructions to the Courts not to entertain certain types of cases and reciting the restrictions on matrimonial causes included in the previous Codes, continues: "But events have proved that the contract of marriage, which is the basis of the family tie, still needs protection and precautions, since two persons may agree to marry without a certificate and then one of them may deny the marriage and the other be unable to prove it before the Courts. Again, persons with ulterior motives may claim marriage falsely and slanderously, from spite and love of publicity, or from some other motive, relying on the ease with which it can be proved by oral testimony, particularly as the law allows hearsay testimony in cases of marriage. In addition, a claim of marriage may be based on unofficial documents which, although sometimes genuine, are often not so. But none of this would happen if such contracts were always proved by official certificates, as in the case of contracts of mortgage and deeds of Waqf, although the latter are less vital than marriage, which is of more consequence than they. So, in order to induce people to do this, to show the honour of this contract and put it above denial and contradiction, to prevent these many abuses,

[3] The solitary exception to this rule is a claim of paternity.

[4] And these could not properly be given to those who had not reached the prescribed ages.

protect private rights and preserve family bonds, the fourth clause of Art. 99 was added."

The only juristic support which the champions of this bold and beneficial innovation were able to urge in its support is the view of 'Uthmān al Battī, Ibn Shubruma, and Abū Bakr al Aṣamm that the right of giving a ward in marriage by compulsion should be confined to the insane; that no such right over minors could be said to exist at all, since the basis of the right of compulsion was the need of the ward, and a minor had no need for marriage; that the very phrase in the Qur'ān "and make trial of orphans, until they reach the age of marriage, and if you perceive in them a sound judgment, then hand over their substance to them"[5] implies that the age suitable for marriage is identical with that of financial majority; and that premature marriage is contrary to the interests of minors, since they get no benefit from it before puberty while they may subsequently find themselves bound thereby for the rest of their lives. But the vast majority of jurists rejected these arguments, and almost the only support which they found was that of Ibn Ḥazm the Ẓāhirī, and then only with reference to the marriage of minor boys: for he argued that there might be some advantage to a girl in a premature contract, since a suitor who was her "equal" might only then be available, whereas this was not applicable to boys. Again, the choice of eighteen and sixteen, instead of fifteen for both sexes, as the ages at which puberty should be conclusively presumed, can also find juristic support[6]—but this would not properly apply to those who had in fact reached puberty. It was partly for this reason, no doubt, and partly because they did not want to base a rule of substantive law upon such a tenuous foundation as views regarded as eccentric and untenable by the vast majority of jurists, that the authors of the Egyptian Law made no attempt to declare child marriage void, but confined themselves instead to discouraging them by administrative expedients.

It remains, however, to observe that these rules may still be evaded in Egypt, in the general absence of birth certificates, by inducing a doctor to certify, or two witnesses to testify, to a false age and thus securing registration—although the doctor or witnesses concerned incur the risk of prosecution in such circumstances if they can be proved to have acted in bad faith, as does also the official who registers the marriage.[7] Again, it is possible for parties who were married prematurely, but whose marriage was not registered, to bring an action between themselves after they have reached the prescribed ages regarding maintenance or the like, but without disputing the

[5] Sūra 4:5.
[6] See below, pp. 6, 7.
[7] Law No. 44 of 1933.

fact of their marriage, and the resulting judgment will for the future constitute an official certificate of marriage.

But the Ottoman Law of Family Rights of 1917 was both earlier and, in one respect, more radical than these provisions. Thus Art. 4 decrees that "A condition of competence for marriage is that the man should be at least eighteen and the girl at least seventeen"; Art. 5 that "if a boy nearing puberty[8] who has not completed his eighteenth year claims that he has in fact reached puberty, the Court may give him leave to marry if it deems him sufficiently mature"; Art. 6 that "if the girl who is approaching puberty[9] but has not reached seventeen claims that she has in fact reached puberty, the Court may give her permission to marry if it deems her sufficiently mature and if her guardian gives his consent"; and Art. 7 that "it is not permissible for anyone to contract in marriage a minor boy who has not reached twelve and a minor girl who has not reached nine." Again, Art. 52 provides that "if the parties do not fulfill the conditions of competence at the time of the contract their marriage will be irregular" *(fāsid)*.

These Articles, taken together, lead to the following results:

(1) that marriage guardians are utterly forbidden to conclude a marriage on behalf of wards who have not reached the minimum age of puberty, which is regarded (quite regularly) as twelve in a boy and nine in a girl.

(2) that a boy between the ages of twelve and eighteen (the latter being regarded as the maximum age of puberty) may only get married with permission of Court, which must be satisfied that he is sufficiently mature.

(3) that the same applies to a girl between the ages of nine and seventeen (which is regarded as the maximum age of puberty in her case), with the additional condition that her guardian must also consent.

(4) that in all these cases a marriage in defiance of the Law would be regarded as irregular and those responsible would be liable to punishment.[10] It seems, however, that in Syria the practice of the Courts, with regard to marriages concluded without the permission required by Arts. 5 & 6 but where the parties have in fact reached puberty either at the time of the contract or subsequently, is to validate the marriage by retrospective permission.[11] But this, of

[8] *murāhiq*.

[9] *murāhiqa*.

[10] See below, p. 119.

[11] This is apparently justified on the grounds that in such cases the parties were in fact "competent" to marry, although the validity of their union was "suspended"—by the terms of the Law—on judicial permission. But this seems a doubtful argument in the case of those who only reached puberty subsequently.

course, would not prevent the punishment of the persons concerned for their infraction of the law.

Here there are several points which deserve comment. Firstly, Art. 7 corresponds more closely to the view of Ibn Shubruma, ʿUthmān al Battī and Abū Bakr al Aṣamm than does the Egyptian law, for here a marriage concluded before the parties could possibly have reached puberty is regarded, judicially, as irregular per se. Secondly, Arts. 5 & 6 may be said also to correspond with their view, since the criterion in both cases is whether the parties have in fact reached puberty or at least seem adequately mature. Thirdly, it is noteworthy that this Law, like the corresponding Egyptian provisions, has not accepted the general rule, shared by the Two Companions and the three other schools, that fifteen should be accepted as the maximum age of puberty. Juristic support can, however, be found for eighteen, twenty two and even twenty five as the maximum age of puberty; while Abū Ḥanīfa himself is alleged to have put the maximum at eighteen for a boy and seventeen for a girl. The Explanatory Memorandum issued with this Law supports the adoption of this view not only on juristic grounds but by an almost impassioned description of the evils—to husband, wife, children and society—of premature marriage, and by demanding if marriage is not to be accorded an importance at least equal to the attainment of financial majority. The following extract speaks for itself: "And what is still more pathetic in this matter is the condition of the girls . . . for at an age when children are excused for spending their time playing in the streets the girl is busied with performing one of the heaviest of duties in the eyes of humanity, namely that of the mother of a family and the directress of its affairs. To make a poor girl who has not yet completed her physical growth into a mother weakens her nerves to the end of her life and gives rise to various maladies, while the child she bears will be weak, feeble and nervy to the last degree—which is one of the reasons why the Islamic stock has deteriorated." Fourthly, the provision about leave of Court for boys and girls to marry who are between the minimum and maximum ages of puberty may be regarded as an instance of the Ruler commanding a precaution designed to guarantee that they are in fact fit for marriage—on the basis of the view of the three jurists discussed above—while the further provision that, in the case of a girl, her guardian must also consent represents an adoption of the variant Ḥanafī view of Muḥammad al Shaybānī that, even after puberty, a girl may only marry with her guardian's permission. This is reinforced (but with a salutary proviso) by Art. 8, which provides that: "If a mature girl who has reached the age of seventeen demands to marry someone, the Court shall give

notice of this to her guardian and then, if the guardian does not object or his objection is deemed insufficiently founded, give permission for the marriage"—an Article which can find juristic support in the Mālikī school.

It is also noteworthy in this connection that the Law of Family Rights includes provisions to the effect that the insane should not be given in marriage by their guardians except in case of need (which represents the Shāfi'ī view), and then only with consent of Court;[12] that marriage guardianship should be limited to agnates in their own right, in order of priority[13] (which represents the view of Muḥammad al Shaybānī, whereas the opinion more commonly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf includes females, cognates etc.); and that in the case of Christians the consent of the guardian is necessary in respect of males under twenty two and females under twenty.[14] This last Article reminds us that the Ottoman Law of Family Rights was intended not only as a social but also a constitutional reform, and was designed to put an end to separate "religious" Courts for each communion and substitute a comprehensive law, with special sections peculiar to Christians and Jews respectively, to be applied by unified Courts. But amendments have almost everywhere retarded this development.

With regard to questions of registration and the like, Art. 33 provides than an intended marriage must be publicized before the contract is concluded, while Art. 37 decrees that the celebration of the marriage must be attended by a Sharī'a Judge or his specially authorized deputy, who must arrange and register the contract. Here the Explanatory Memorandum observes that it has always been regarded as meritorious to publicize marriages, and that it is obviously preferable to take precautions before they are concluded than to upset married life subsequently, when issue may already have been conceived. These provisions, moreover, are expanded in a Code of Administrative Procedure, issued in connection with this Law, which provides that the parties to an intended marriage must complete suitable forms obtainable from their local authorities;[15] that these must then be sent to and studied by the Court, which will return them if incomplete;[16] that if it is stated therein that the guardian objects to the marriage, he and the parties concerned must be summoned for an enquiry;[17] that if no impediment appears, the "bans"

[12] Art. 9.

[13] Art. 10. This is only natural, seeing that the rights of marriage guardians are now largely limited to objecting to unsuitable marriages (see Arts. 5-9).

[14] Art. 12.

[15] Sect. 1.

[16] Sects. 2 & 3.

[17] Sect. 4.

of marriage are to be published in a prescribed manner;[18] that any objection which this may elicit is to be investigated, in the presence of the intended spouses, and the decision reached by the Court suitably recorded;[19] that if one who so objects fails to appear or substantiate the grounds of his objection this should be regarded as never having been made;[20] that the Judge or his deputy must attend the ceremony, arrange the contract, and record full particulars of the parties, witnesses, dowry and any conditions included in the contract etc. over the signature of those present;[21] and that one of two copies of this record should be deposited in the suitable archives.[22] In addition, an amendment to the Penal Code was introduced, at much the same time, providing that any husband or agent of the parties who breaks the law concerning the presence of the Judge or his deputy at the conclusion of a contract of marriage is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, and the witnesses to such a contract for a term not exceeding one month; while the Judge who fails to observe the terms of this Law, or the Imām, etc., who performs a ceremony of marriage in contravention thereof, is also liable to a term of up to six months in prison.

It remains, however, to observe in this context that a marriage not so registered is not declared to be intrinsically invalid, nor are the parties thereto precluded from judicial relief; that Art. 36 requires the declaration and acceptance of marriage (*īj̄āb* and *qabūl*) always to be in words which expressly carry that meaning, such as *nikāḥ* or *tazwīj*—which represents the Shāfi'ī view, as against the rather broader rule of the Ḥanafīs, Mālik and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, who allow certain other expressions also; and that Art. 35 specifies that such declaration and acceptance must be voiced by the parties or their "agents," without mention of guardians—presumably because guardians under the terms of this Law can in all cases be so regarded. As for the necessity for the guardian's consent, Art. 45 states that a marriage is not binding unless the bridegroom is the equal of the bride in wealth, occupation and "similar requirements," and goes on to specify that equality in wealth means that the bridegroom must be able (at the time of the marriage)[23] to produce that part of the dowry payable in advance and enough for his wife's maintenance: while Art. 47 provides that if a mature girl denies that she has a guardian and concludes a contract of marriage without his consent, the latter has the right to demand that the marriage be annulled if the bride-

[18] Sects. 5 & 6.
[19] Sect. 7.
[20] Sect. 8.
[21] Sect. 13.
[22] Sect. 14.
[23] Art. 46.

groom is not her equal, whereas, if he is, the contract will stand even though the dowry agreed therein were less than "proper." The former of these last two points represents one Ḥanafī report as distinct from that more generally accepted which regards such a marriage as either invalid ab initio or suspended on the guardian's consent; while the second adopts Abū Yūsuf's view as against that attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa himself. Art. 48 follows normal Ḥanafī principles in specifying that if a guardian marries a major girl, with her consent, to a bridegroom of whose inequality they are then unaware but of which she subsequently becomes cognizant, neither she nor her guardian have the right to object unless his equality was expressly stipulated by them or alleged by him, when both would have the right to demand annullment of the marriage; while Art. 49 provides that if one of several equally entitled guardians consents to a match the right of the others to object lapses—which represents the opinion attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa and Muḥammad as against that of Abū Yūsuf and Zufar. Finally, Art. 50 adopts a variant Ḥanafī view that a marriage may be annulled for inequality before pregnancy becomes apparent, but not afterwards; while the consent of the guardian, express or implied, finally extinguishes his right to object to his ward's marriage.

It is important, however, to notice that even if a marriage is concluded by marriage guardians, in defiance of this Law, between parties who are less than twelve and nine respectively, the marriage will be regarded as irregular *(fāsid)* rather than void *(bāṭil)*[24] in the eyes of the Courts (while orthodox opinion would, of course, consider it perfectly valid and binding). Similarly, in the case of a marriage contrary to the rule of "unlawful conjunction"—i.e., between a man and two women so related to each other by consanguity, affinity or fosterage that, had either the one or the other been a male, they would in both cases have been debarred from intermarriage[25]—the contract with the second of such women, before the death of the first or the termination of her *'idda* of divorce, will be regarded as irregular:[26] and the same is true not only of the marriage of a man who already has four wives[27] with a fifth,[28] of a marriage concluded without the necessary witnesses,[29] or of a marriage contracted by compulsion[30] (which would, of course, have been perfectly valid and binding in the Ḥanafī law previously applicable), but even of a temporary or

[24] Art. 52.
[25] See Art. 15.
[26] Art. 53.
[27] Including any keeping the *'idda* of divorce.
[28] Arts. 14 & 54.
[29] Art. 56.
[30] Art. 57.

mut'a marriage[31] or a contract concluded between those whose union is perpetually debarred by reason of consanguity,[32] fosterage[33] or affinity.[34] The solitary instance in this Law of a marriage declared to be void *(bāṭil)* is that between a Muslim wife and a non-Muslim husband.[35]

The Explanatory Memorandum explains the difference between the categories of "irregular" and "void" in contracts in general in orthodox Ḥanafī fashion by describing the latter as unlawful in both essence *(aṣl)* and attribute *(waṣf)*, while the former are unlawful in attribute only. It then summarizes the much more difficult subject of the difference in practice between irregular and void marriages by saying that the former involve certain legal effects but the latter none —e.g., that while the former must be terminated at once and carry no rights to obedience, maintenance or inheritance, yet their consummation in each case entitles the woman to dowry (agreed or 'proper,' whichever is less), obliges her to keep the *'idda* period on separation, and establishes the paternity of any issue. Only in the case of a contract of marriage concluded between a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man, therefore, will its consummation involve—under this Law—the illegitimacy of children, no right to dowry, no obligation to keep the *'idda* period, and even the absence of any bar of affinity.[36]

This strange classification is supported first by claiming that, although many well-known Ḥanafī authorities have stated categorically that there is no difference, in marriage, between the irregular and the void, yet the same books have frequently alleged that even the deliberate intermarriage of those debarred by consanguinity was only regarded as irregular by Abū Ḥanīfa but void by his Two Companions; while "it is stated in *al Durr al Mukhtār,* quoting from *Majma' al Fatāwī,* that the marriage of a Muslim girl with a non-Muslim is void, and therefore does not establish paternity or make

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[31] Art. 55.

[32] Arts. 17 & 54.

[33] Arts. 18 & 54.

[34] Art. 19 & 54. But it is noteworthy that where consummation of marriage is required before the bar of affinity arises, the consummation of an irregular marriage, but not either fornication or the consummation of a void contract, is expressly stated to suffice. This represents an adoption of the Shāfi'ī and Mālikī rule in place of the much more stringent Ḥanafī doctrine.

[35] Art. 58.

[36] See Art. 75, which reads: "Void marriage always, whether consummated or not, and irregular marriage if not consummated, have no legal effect, so the effects of valid marriage such as maintenance, dowry, paternity, 'idda, the bar of affinity and inheritance are not established between the parties"; while Art. 86 provides that dowry, 'idda, paternity of issue and the bar of affinity, but not the other effects of valid marriage, are established by the consummation of an irregular contract.

the *'idda* obligatory: and this makes it plain that the void and the irregular are not identical even in matters of marriage." But not only has the Law accepted this view, which is common among modern Ḥanafīs, but it has also adopted the extreme attitude, attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa alone, that even the deliberate intermarriage of a brother and sister is only irregular, on the grounds that "the child who is born without his choice or action in a marriage which does not fulfil the conditions of validity should wherever possible be given the right to live, rather than considered illegitimate . . . so marriages should be regarded as irregular rather than void wherever the law allows this and the dicta of the great jurists support it. Since, then, the opinion of the said Imām is so suited to our time, his view has been adopted." Here the fact that the marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man would, equally, have been irregular rather than void in the view of Abū Ḥanīfa is quietly ignored: but presumably the reason for this strange exception to the general rule adopted by the Law is that only in marriages between Muslim women and non-Muslim husbands would the children not be Muslims,[37] so any concession to such unions would have aroused fanaticism.

It is, perhaps, also worth recording in this context that the comment in the Explanatory Memorandum on the fact, mentioned above in passim, that this Law pronounces marriage contracts concluded under duress to be irregular, throws an interesting side-light on social conditions, in some quarters at least. It reads: "A marriage concluded under duress is valid according to the accepted school, but experience throughout many centuries has proved that this rule has emboldened certain evil persons and led to the disgrace of noble families and injury to their prestige. How many carefully nurtured women have been abducted and married to some evil man by compulsion and force, and their families have not been able to do anything to save them. Very frequently this state of affairs has caused great calamities. If, on the other hand, the view of al Shāfi'ī were adopted that a marriage by compulsion is invalid, these evils and injuries would be averted: so Art. 85 was drafted in accordance with the view of the above-mentioned Imām."

One other point of interest must be noted with regard to contracts of marriage—namely certain attempts to limit polygamy. Thus Art. 38 of the Law of Family Rights simply states: "If a woman stipulates in her marriage contract that her husband shall not marry a co-wife and that, if he does, then either she herself or the second wife will be divorced, the contract is valid and the stipulation recognised." From the juristic point of view this Article, of course, raises the whole

[37] Except of course, marriages between two non-Muslims.

question of the validity of conditions included in marriage contracts, which are normally regarded as falling into three categories: those which invalidate the whole contract, those which are themselves void but leave the contract valid, and those which are themselves valid and enforceable. In the first category the vast majority of jurists place marriages which are coupled with a time limit;[38] while regarding the last two categories a major difference of opinion separates the Ḥanbalīs from the other Sunnī schools. The latter hold that all such conditions are void unless they are supported by some express authority or merely reinforce the normal effects of marriage, whereas the Ḥanbalīs maintain that all are valid and enforceable unless there is some express authority to the contrary or they are inconsistent with some effect of marriage for which such authority exists. Stated rather differently, the majority argue that the legal effects of marriage have been prescribed by the Law-giver and are not susceptible to variation at the will of the parties, while the Ḥanbalīs maintain that any condition not expressly forbidden or manifestly inconsistent with the institution of marriage must come under the general rule that covenants and agreements should be faithfully kept. It is clear that this Article, therefore, represents an adoption of the Ḥanbalī view regarding such conditions with respect to one such stipulation only.

The Explanatory Memorandum, however, ignores this aspect of the matter and concerns itself exclusively with the question of polygamy, in words of more than ordinary significance. The following extract seems worth translating in full. "Seeing that to marry more than one wife is permissible but not obligatory, and that the authorities have the right—as is generally admitted—to act at their discretion within the sphere of permitted things, the idea presented itself of prohibiting polygamy or at least making the consent of the first wife an essential condition thereof. But the sacred law permitted polygamy for many reasons and benefits, such as the prevention of vice and the increase of the population; while the need for it is no less today than at the inception of Islam, on account of the great preponderance of women over men. To make the permissibility of polygamy dependent on the consent of the first wife, moreover, would be to forego the benefits of this provision and equivalent to complete prohibition, since it is only natural that no woman should consent to have a co-wife. Art. 38, then, has been drafted on the basis of allowing a marriage contract to be concluded subject to a stipulation, and the woman who does not stipulate at the time of the contract that her husband should not marry a co-wife must be regarded

[38] See Art. 55 above.

as implicitly consenting thereto. On the grounds, then, that justice and equal treatment between co-wives in all except the affection of the heart is a pre-requisite of the permissibility of polygamy, while the fulfillment of this requirement in the way demanded by the law is difficult or impossible in our time, and that to make the consent of the first wife a condition of the marriage of another would provide a safeguard against the dangers inherent in polygamy, it was not thought necessary to prohibit it entirely but preferable to be content with the alternative of providing for the stipulation on the part of the first wife specified in Art. 38."

It is significant to note, moreover, that this same subject—the evils involved in almost unrestricted polygamy—have greatly exercised the minds of the Egyptian reformers also. As early as 1900 Qāsim Amīn, in an outspoken publication,[39] upheld a high view of the marriage relationship, decried polygamy, and maintained that the Qur'ān in effect both allowed and forbade it at the same time. It might, he argued, conceivably be supported in a few exceptional cases, such as where the first wife was invalid or barren. In any case, polygamy was only allowable before God *(diyānatan)* if it involved no fear of injustice, which could scarcely ever be the case; it was liable, like other permissible things, to be classified as 'deprecated' or even forbidden *(mamnū')* according to its results and effects, and today its evil influence on family life was both obvious and almost invariable: so it was perfectly permissible for the Ruler, in the public interests, either to forbid it entirely or to subject it to conditions.

The same cry had been taken up, even earlier,[40] by a far more eminent figure, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh himself. The point which he particularly emphasized was that the "Verse of Polygamy"[41] itself laid down two basic conditions, i.e., firstly that if the would-be polygamist feared that he might be unjust in distributing his favors he must content himself with a single wife, and secondly that he must be in a position to support a plurality of wives in addition to fulfilling his existing family responsibilities. The former is, of course, explicit in the verse, while the latter is regarded as at least implicit in the succeeding phrase, usually translated "this will be easier for you that ye be not unjust," where the last two words *(allā ta'ūlū* are explained by al Shāfi'ī as meaning "that your children may not increase."

It was, indeed, Muḥammad 'Abduh's influence, although he himself had long been dead, which prompted the Committee, appointed in 1926 to recommend reforms in the law of marriage and divorce,

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[39] *Taḥrīr al mar'a* [The Liberation of Women].
[40] In a newspaper article of 1898.
[41] Sūra 4:3.

to include among its recommendations not only an Article to validate stipulations inserted by wives in their marriage contracts but also two Articles directly designed to restrict polygamy. The first of these decreed that a married man might not marry a second wife, nor might an official conclude or register such a contract, without the permission of the Qāḍī of the locality; while the second provided that Qāḍīs should not give permission in such cases until they had investigated the circumstances and it appeared that the petitioners were capable of correct treatment and of supporting another wife in addition to their existing responsibilities to parents and children.

The opponents of those proposals naturally made much of the fact that these conditions had always been regarded as binding before God rather than enforceable before the Courts; that none could in fact foresee the future; that questions of private character were not such as could properly be decided by Courts of Law; and that the innovation was designed to forbid what God had permitted. Its supporters, on the other hand, emphasized that the Courts would in practice confine themselves largely to the financial criterion; that most of the neglected children in Egypt were the result of polygamous marriages on the part of those who could not properly support even one family; and that the proposed Law was a salutary attempt to prevent such evils by administrative means.

The draft Article about stipulations in marriage contracts had largely the same purpose, but was wider in its scope. Its purport was that if a wife extracted a stipulation from her husband in their contract of marriage which was of benefit to her and not inconsistent with the purposes of marriage—e.g., that he should not marry a second wife, that he should divorce a co-wife, or that he should not take her to live in another town—this stipulation was valid and she should have the right to dissolution of the marriage if he did not observe it: nor should this right lapse unless she released him from it or consented to the infraction of her stipulation. This clearly goes beyond the Law of Family Rights, for it does not confine itself to a single specified stipulation but represents an adoption of the Ḥanbalī attitude towards such stipulations in general; while it is also noteworthy that the inclusion of a stipulation for the divorce of a rival wife transcends the normal Ḥanbalī view, which regards this stipulation as expressly forbidden, although Abū Khaṭṭāb the Ḥanbalī has been quoted in its support. The Explanatory Memorandum, moreover, does not confine itself to juristic arguments in support of this Article but stresses the fact that promises and undertakings of such kinds are often made by husbands at the time of their marriages and then subsequently ignored, while the injured wives have no right of redress.

These three Articles, however, together with certain others regarding the triple divorce and formulae of divorce intended only as threats or oaths, aroused such excitement and controversy that the proposals of 1926 were all temporarily shelved. Eventually, however, the majority of them were enacted in Law No. 25 of 1929, but these three[42] were excepted, although approved by the Cabinet, on the personal decision of King Fu'ād—partly at least on the grounds that polygamy was chiefly confined to the *fallāḥīn*, where its continuance was alleged to be justified on the dual grounds of economic conditions and the birth rate. Even so, the Ministry of Social Affairs put forward similar proposals in 1943 and again subsequently, only for them to be shelved while the present Shaykh of al Azhar has recently expressed himself in their favor. This is, of course, yet another instance in which the reformers have been accused of flying in the face of an established consensus of Sunni Islam and of exercizing the lapsed right of *ijtihād*: but it is noteworthy that, as in most of the more extreme innovations, the proposed limitation of polygamy took the form of the "adjectival" method of prohibition, under penalty, by administrative orders rather than any attempt to amend the substantive law regarding the validity of such marriages.[43]

J. N. D. Anderson

School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London

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[42] i.e., the two regarding the restrictions of polygamy and that concerning stipulations in marriage contracts.

[43] With reference to the whole of this Article, it is interesting to note that not only is the Ottoman Law of Family Rights substantially in force today in Lebanon and Syria, but that much of it has been applied in Trans-Jordan since 1927. Of the Articles discussed above Arts. 4 (except that the age of sixteen is decreed for both parties), 9, 10, 13-19, 34-37, 45-50, 52-54, and 56-58 are there applied, but not Arts. 5-8, 33, 38 & 51, while in place of Art. 38 it is provided that if a stipulation included in a contract, which is beneficial to one of the parties, is not kept, the contract concerned is irregular *(fāsid)*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Allah, the God of Islam, Moslem Life and Worship. By Florence Mary Fitch. Illustrated with photographs selected by Beatrice Creighton and the author. New York, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1950. pp. 144. $3.00.

The purpose of this book is stated to be an introduction to the World of Islam, its life and worship. It is told in simple language and with a wealth of full and half-page illustrations. There are fifty-six pages of text and eighty-three of pictures, appropriately captioned. The photographs, which are of Muslim people, places and culture, range from China to London and are excellently chosen. They show a wide variety of the races, customs and countries which make up the Islamic seventh of the world.

The text is in short, easy-to-read chapters. These describe in simplified terms the Five Pillars of Islamic duties, the life of Muḥammad, and his successors, the Caliphs, and the conquests and contributions of Islam in history up to the present day. Mention is made of some of the smaller, non-orthodox sects and of the groups of Muslims in Europe, China, Indonesia and the Philippines. There are also chapters on the partitioning of India and Palestine, which discuss the problems from the Muslim point of view.

This book is marked as being for all ages, though its greatest appeal will be to young people. The author is sympathetic towards Islam, but her account of the beliefs and practices of the Arab Muslims is idealistic rather than realistic.

ELISABETH C. LAWN

Center Sandwich, N. H.

An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406). Translated and Arranged by Charles Issawi. Wisdom of the East Series. London, John Murray; New York, Transatlantic Arts, Inc., 1950. pp. xiv, 190. $1.50.

Ibn Khaldun was one of the most penetrating and original thinkers of Mediaeval Islam, and his reputation for these qualities stems largely from the Prolegomena to his *Universal History*. In these essays he not only set forth his remarkable philosophy and methodology of history, which Arnold Toynbee and George Sarton have extolled, but he also presented a brilliant synthesis of the knowledge of the other branches of the social sciences available to the Arabs of his day.

The title given to these selections admits of a somewhat narrow interpretation which certainly does not reflect the range of subjects commented upon by Ibn Khaldun, and which Dr. Issawi has grouped under the following chapter headings: Method (Historical), Geography, Economics, Public Finance, Population, Society and State, Religion and Politics, Knowledge and Society, and Theory of Being and Theory of Knowledge.

Ibn Khaldun wrote with amazing sagacity and often with a distinctly new-fashioned outlook. Random passages find him decrying digests of books as "harmful not only to style but also to understanding," commenting upon the manner in which the vanquished invariably strive to imitate their conquerors, indicating a grasp of what has become known as the optimum tax rate, pointing out that a

knowledge of grammar is not knowledge of a language, and emphasizing the necessity of studying the group as well as the individual.

This is the first translation into English of Ibn Khaldun, and a most readable and well edited one it is. However, Dr. Issawi readily admits that no selection can meet the need for a complete translation of the Prolegomena, the accomplishment of which awaits the establishment of a reliable text. He hopes these selections will help stimulate a scholar to undertake this worthy project. In the meantime, this pleasant little book should introduce many to the intellectual contributions of another part of the world, which, after all, is the aim of the editor of the Wisdom of the East Series.

WILLIAM E. MULLIGAN

Hartford, Conn.

A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Times. By Leon Arpee. New York, 1946. pp. xiii, 386.

So far as the Reviewer is aware this account of the Armenian Church is unique in that it is written by a Protestant Armenian pastor, who looks at the long and eventful history of the Church among the Armenian people from a somewhat different point of view than that which we normally find in books about that Church. It has been published by the Armenian Missionary Association of America, and was issued as a Centennial Volume in connection with the celebrations marking the hundredth anniversary of Armenian Protestantism (1846-1946).

It is a simply written account describing the beginnings of Christianity among the Armenians, the early development of the Church from the days of Gregory the Illuminator and Nerses the Great, the days which saw the translation of the Scriptures into Armenian, the struggles with Persia and with the Greeks, the early liturgies and theological writings, a field in which Armenian writers made no small contribution, the development of the "heresies" with the consequent inevitable controversies, and then the attempts of the Papacy to control the Armenian Church. The Arab conquest of the Near East marked the beginning of a new era, and made an enormous difference in the whole situation. Doubtless the chief interest of the book to readers of our Quarterly will be in the account, unfortunately a very sad account, of the relations of the Armenian Church with the Muslim State, leading up to the "Great Tribulation" under the Ottoman Turks.

Almost of equal interest, however, are the chapters on the Evangelical Movement, a movement which, coming as it did immediately after the "Papal defection" of the XVIIIth century, had an unexpected success among the Armenian people, and brought into being a group which today seems to be the most vigorous and progressive element in the Armenian community. This Reviewer has not seen anywhere else so clear and satisfactory account of the Armenian Protestant Church as is presented here. A final chapter attempts an appraisal of the Armenian character. There are four appendices containing useful translations of Armenian documents not easily available, and a Bibliography of works in English which deal with the Armenian people and their Church.

Over and over again while reading the book one lamented the absence of adequate Maps, but maybe Armenian readers do not need them. For the rest, the book is beautifully printed and elegantly bound, a worthy dress for a volume which deserves to be well received by all in the English speaking world who are interested in the Churches of the Near East which are still living in contact with the world of Islam.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Historia de la Literatura Arabigo-Espanola. Por Angel Gonzáles Palencia. Segunda edición revisada. Barcelona, 1945, pp. 381, with 8 illustrations.

The attention of students should be called to this second revised edition of Palencia's History of the Arabic Literature of Spain, copies of which have been somewhat slow in reaching us.

It is a reference book in fifteen sections with Bibliography and Index, but in the sections dealing with Belles Lettres the author gives a number of illustrative passages from various authors in translation, somewhat after the manner of Nicholson. There is a brief historical introduction to set the stage, and then the sections are arranged according to literary genre, though the material is dealt with chronologically under each type. Naturally the first type to receive consideration is Poetry, the author dealing with the poets in two sections (i) those who followed the old classical models of Arabic verse, (ii) the popular poets who experimented with popular forms, where he gives particular attention to Ibn Guzman. Then follow sections on *Adab;* on Grammar and Lexicography; on History (in four sections, on general histories, biographical and bibliographical works, literary histories, and local histories); on Geography and travel; on Philosophy and Theology, with a special section on the mystical writers; on Traditions, Quranic studies and Jurisprudence; on the sciences (Mathematics and Astronomy, Medicine and Botany). This is followed by three Chapters of more specialized interest, viz. on the works in Arabic by Jewish and Christian writers in Spain; on the strange Aljamiado literature, and finally, what to the Reviewer was the most interesting chapter of all, the influence of this Spanish Arabic literature on the non-Arab world.

There is apparently a growing interest in this country with regard to Islam in Spain, and the present volume may be heartily commended as a most useful book of reference for interested students.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Du Droit musulman et de son application effective dans le monde. Par G. H. Bousquet. Alger, 1949. pp. 104.

Procédure et voies d'execution en matière musulmane algérienne. Par Edmond Desportes. Alger, 1949. pp. 239.

These two publications which appear as Nos. 1 and 2 of the new *Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études supérieures islamiques d'Alger,* consist of lectures given in Course to students attending the Institute in the form in which it was reorganized in 1946. The students who pass out from the Institute are expected, in the normal course of things, to take up official positions in the life of the country, and these

Courses are intended in the first place to introduce them to the practical problems they are sure to be confronted with in the application of law in a Muslim country whose life is necessarily becoming more and more part of the modern world. To the wider audience which will read them in their printed form they are an exceedingly valuable contribution to an understanding of the development of Islamic jurisprudence and the problems it confronts in modern social situations.

M. Bousquet's contribution, which he presents with some diffidence, is concerned with the more general problem of the world situation as it affects Islamic law. That system, as is well known, was theoretically fixed *ne varietur* in the Xth century of our era, so that in theory the regulation of cult ritual, public and private law, moral obligations and good manners, was settled in such a fashion that it has not changed since then, and can never change. It was fixed as a totalitarian system of universal applicability, which was to govern the lives of all men for all time. Actually, however, the regulation of the social life of Muslim communities in various areas has never entirely conformed to the *sharī'a,* local custom and ancient usage having often been far more effective in social regulation than the rules of the *sharī'a.* In the modern world there are some communities, such as those in Arabia and Afghanistan, where the *sharī'a* is followed with a fair degree of faithfulness, but there are other countries, such as Albania and Russia, where it has been completely abolished. There are areas, such as Indonesia and parts of North Africa, where the *sharī'a* is given formal acknowledgment, but where customary usage is the effective regulator of social life. Again there are areas, such as India, Persia, Syria, where the *sharī'a* is still the basis of social regulation, but has had to suffer considerable modifications in order to be adapted to local conditions. In all these areas the Muslim communities desire to live as Muslims, observing their characteristic religious and social customs, but what set out to be a totalitarian system of universal validity and applicability has, through the centuries, steadily declined in its hold over the Muslim peoples as it showed itself ever less and less applicable to developing social life. What the future of the *sharī'a* will be is a matter of conjecture, but this survey of M. Bousquet provides us with an excellent picture of the situation as it is at the end of the first half of this twentieth century.

M. Desportes' contribution is concerned with a more limited subject, viz., how the system functions in Algeria, where there is in force a combination of French law and Islamic law. After a brief account of the early situation in North Africa and of the developments since 1830, he discusses the actual functioning of the Courts, the forms of procedure, the jurisdiction of the legal officials, the presentation of evidence, the matters of appeal and cassation, and the most important matter of all, the execution of legal decisions once they have been delivered. Though concerned solely with the situation in Algeria, the material he presents, and particularly the texts which he assembles at the end of the volume, are of no inconsiderable interest to many who are concerned with problems of the Muslim community in other areas.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

The Legacy of Maimonides. By Ben Zion Bosker. New York, Philosophical Library, 1950. ix, pp. 128. $3.75.

Readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD have special interest in any study on Maimonides, partly because of his contacts first with the Almohades in Morocco, and then with Islam in the Eastern Mediterranean through his post as Court physician to the famous Saladin and this ruler's son, but partly because his thought has very close connections with that peculiar development of Aristotelianism met with in the so-called "Arabian philosophers."

The little volume before us is a popular account of the life and teachings of "the second Moses," written from the point of view of a modern Jewish Rabbi who is anxious to have the "Legacy" of Maimonides more fully understood and better appreciated by his own people, and brought into connection with some of the problems of the modern world, which in many ways are not unlike the problems with which Maimonides was particularly concerned in his generation. There is a brief introductory chapter giving some account of the life and the extant works of Moses ben Maimon, and a brief final chapter which attempts to estimate the significance of his teaching for the present day, but the bulk of the book is given to four chapters which summarize his teaching on what we might briefly call—Epistemology, Doctrine of God, Doctrine of Revelation, and Doctrine of Man.

To students familiar with the period this offers nothing new, but it is a pleasingly written account, and may well perform the useful service of introducing students to the thought of a man of piety and learning whose figure loomed large in his generation and who still has a message even for our sophisticated modern world.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Impressions du Proche Orient. Par Henri Nusslé. Collection "L'Actualité Protestante. Neuchatel, Delachaux et Niestlé, 1949, pp. 160. Swiss francs 5.50.

Dialogue Avec L'Islam. Par Henri Nusslé. Lausanne, Action Chrétienne en Orient, 1949, pp. 150. Swiss francs 4.50.

These books are by a Swiss pastor, who was given a leave of some six weeks from his parish in 1948 to visit the work of the *Action Chrétienne en Orient,* of which society he is now the president. His purpose in writing is to rouse the Church, first of all in Switzerland, and especially its young people, to make the work of missions its literal *raison d'etre,* and to focus attention on Christian effort among the peoples of Islam. He writes out of a background of positive evangelical Christian life.

On his trip M. Nusslé had free use of the French language only. He attended a meeting of the United Missionary Conference, where the proceedings were almost entirely in English, he tells us, but otherwise had to do chiefly with French-speaking people. His itinerary, confined largely to localities in Syria, carried him off the beaten track. His contacts with the people of the country were many. These things make his story of the trip at many points unique. He found in Syria an unexpected admiration for the Swiss people, and their success in solving the problem faced by Syria, the combining of different

racial and religious groups into a unified nation. His day-by-day record is vivid, and is easy reading. There are many illustrations.

The *Dialogue* deals with questions growing out of his journey, raised in his own mind and in the minds of others on his return. While the *Dialogue* presupposes an antithesis between Christianity and Islam, Christians are asked to view Christian-Muslim relations as a field for consultation, not for conflict. The discussion is popular; there is little documentation of historical statement; there are many references to experiences and conversations with Muslims. The appeal, both to Christians and to Muslims, is clear. Christianity is to be judged, not by its easy success among primitive and pagan peoples, but by the results of its contacts with Islam. So to Christians our author says, "Our powerless Christianity is condemned by our defeat in the lands of Islam. It is good that the Church has found an adversary of its own stature, that can conduct a victorious, disconcerting, and humiliating resistance. From this humiliation springs an irresistible call for renewal and return to the deep source of life in Christ. Without this rebirth the Church cannot hope to penetrate to the Muslim soul, and undertake there the *dialogue* that is necessary."

To the Muslims he says, "You desire today the advancement of your country. Do you really think to render this easier by keeping yourselves closed to the message of Christ? We do not ask you to renounce your secular traditions, or to forget your teachers and their teachings and the teachings of your Prophet. We do ask you to imagine that the West has something better to give you than its culture, its material assets, its inventive genius—a Word of Life. You fear, you say, that Jesus Christ will overthrow the Muslim world. Without doubt there is an extraordinary ferment in Christianity. But it is a constructive force that knows how to utilize everything in human nature that is true and pure and bears the stamp of God, a Divine source of restoration, a sovereign power of creation. We have found this true ourselves. We invite you to refuse no longer this experience."

JOHN E. MERRILL

Beacon, N. Y.

Funfzig Jahre—Evangelische Missionsarbeit unter Muhammedanern. By Margarete Unruh Wiesbaden; Verlag der Evangelischen Muhammedaner-Mission, 1950; pp. 79.

This brief account of the history for fifty years of the Sudan pioneer mission conducted in Upper Egypt at the outset and still very active, will interest the readers of our Quarterly. The author is herself one of the missionaries in the list given at the close, one of those who labored in this difficult field from 1901 to 1950.

There is a sketch map of the Upper Nile and the Wadi Nuba, where at present the work centers. Most of the workers at present are women—nurses and teachers—and one is astonished how the work of faith and labor of love and patience and hope have brought the joy of harvest even on so hard a soil. The work was chiefly among Mohammedans.

S. M. ZWEMER

Ethiopic Documents: Gurage. By Wolf Leslau. New York, 1950, pp. 176, with 12 Plates.

This volume, which is No. XIV of the Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology, makes available the major portion of the Gurage material collected by Wolf Leslau during his stay in Abyssinia as a Guggenheim Fellow in 1946-47.

Gurage belongs linguistically to the southern group of the Semitic languages of Ethiopic stock in Abyssinia, having some affinities with Amharic, the best known member of that southern group, and curiously enough numerous affinities also with Harari. As long ago as 1879 Praetorius, in his Grammar of Amharic, drew attention to the importance of Gurage, giving some account of the Aymallal dialect, and in 1902 Mondon-Vidailhet in his study of Harari included an account of the Gurage dialects. It was Leslau's teacher Marcel Cohen, however, who, as one result of his linguistic mission in Abyssinia in 1910-11, really put Gurage studies on a proper scientific basis. In 1938 H. J. Polotsky found a Gurage-speaking native living in Jerusalem as the servant of a noble Abyssinian lady, and was able to gather from him information sufficient to attempt a preliminary sketch of the grammar of the Chaha dialect. Wolf Leslau, however, was able to spend some time living in a Chaha village, and in this volume we have for the first time an adequate collection of texts on which to base a more complete study of the language.

The interest of this study to readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD is that while there are Abyssinian Christians and even Roman Catholics among the Gurage speaking peoples, and some pagan groups, a considerable proportion of the people are Muslims, and their area belongs to that of Muslim Abyssinia.

The author has given a grammatical analysis of the Chaha dialect, and then presents his texts in phonetic transliteration with a literal interlinear translation, and then a free translation at the end of each piece. The texts are arranged in groups—texts describing family, social and religious life, texts of popular folk-tales, and texts of songs and proverbs, which often reveal more of the mentality of a people than the more sophisticated texts, and present the dialect uncontaminated by "learned" influences. To the texts is added a complete glossary, and at the end a number of photographs taken by the author during his stay, to illustrate the racial types and various features of the daily life of the people.

No praise could be too high for the carefulness and meticulous accuracy with which the material has been presented, and it is gratifying to see that the Viking Fund could arrange to publish the material in so pleasing a form.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

Child Problems Among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine. By Hilma Granqvist. Helsingfors, Söderström & Co. pp. 338.

This is the second portly volume of an anthropological study on child life in a Muhammadan village of Palestine. It is therefore again

a microscopic rather than a telescopic view of a problem that stretches from Morocco to China and from the Muslims of Central Asia to those of Central Africa. Her first book entitled *Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs* was published in the Autumn of 1947 and was reviewed in this Quarterly. It dealt with "pre-natal customs, babyhood, games, education, work, and circumcision"; this continues the study with even more detail.

The five long chapters are entitled: "Names," "Children and Child Mortality," "Welfare of Child," "Value of Children," and "Milieu." The last chapter is on home, parents, brothers and sisters. The book concludes with valuable detailed tables on names, mortality, fertility, a complete list of the villagers interviewed, a bibliography, Biblical parallels, and an excellent index.

The fact that this material, all of a documentary character, occupies pages 197 to 336, is sufficient proof of the scholarly work done by this careful observer and accurate writer. Amid the amazing amount of material we call attention to some of the more interesting observations and conclusions of Hilma Granqvist. What Professor H. H. Rowley wrote in the *Expository Times* of her first book is true of this second study also:

> Not a little of the material collected here could only have been collected by a woman, and only by a woman who shared in the life of the village in this close way, and who must have won the confidence of the people to a rare degree to have met the artless frankness that appears here. The simple superstitions and beliefs, as well as the homely practices, of the Palestinian Arabs are here unveiled, and all with no idea of presenting them in idealistic or in unattractive terms, and with no patronage or censure, but with the sole desire to help the reader to see them as they are.

We call attention first of all to the great number of Biblical texts that find parallel and illumination in this study. There are over 160 references to Genesis, a score each to Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, twice as many to Deuteronomy, and so on through the historical books of the Old Testament. The Apocrypha and the books of the New Testament also find here abundant illustration of child life, child relationship, child rights and duties, from customs prevalent today in an Arab village.

Many basic problems of ethnology are here treated by abundant illustration from folklore and fact, most often in the very words of living witnesses. This is what makes the book so interesting and gives a sense of reality to the reader. The curse or blessing of Arab parents today, for example (pp. 148-163) throws a flood of light on the story of Jacob and Esau.

There is a complete list of names given children, their significance and frequency. Nearly seventeen percent of the boys are named after Muhammad.

The chapter on child mortality (pp. 51-94) closes with a pathetic list of sayings and proverbs: "How many small lambs go before their mothers to the butcher's bench."

Under child welfare we have (pp. 95-133) a list of common ailments and their treatment, together with many superstitions about demons, changelings, the evil eye, etc. The author tells of the *qarīna*, or double, but seems ignorant of its Quranic origin and nature. This is true of other matters so carefully recorded, where the essential

Islamic origins are ignored. The many references to propitiatory sacrifice include the *'Aqīka* only in a foot-note (p. 197).

To conclude our remarks, these two volumes by this able anthropologist are invaluable as a study of Arab childhood. We are surprised, however, that in her Bibliography of 269 titles, Doughty is conspicuously absent.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

New York City

Palestine under the Mandate. By Albert M. Hyamson. London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., pp. 204. 0-12-6 net.

Mr. Hyamson was in charge of the Department of Immigration during the first fourteen years of the Mandate. He tells that "The purpose of this book, as its title implies, is to give a brief account of the stewardship of Britain in Palestine."

The first three chapters contain material which is new for most readers and of great historical value. They tell how Englishmen have been interested in a return of the Jews to the Holy Land, ever since Sir Henry Fitch wrote "The World's Great Restoration, or Calling of the Jews," in 1621. Then the early chapters go on to tell how the Jews themselves became interested in the return to Palestine and how the British Government attempted to give the Jews protection, since the time of Henry VIII.

The book explains the negotiations between England, France, Russia and the Zionist organization, during the First World War, culminating in the Balfour Declaration, and the Churchill White Paper. The author's research and personal knowledge make it possible for him to explain numerous points in a very interesting way.

After this introductory material, Mr. Hyamson tells the story of the British Mandate. For a student of political science, this part of the book is especially valuable. It explains how the British found Palestine neglected, exploited, demoralized and intellectually stagnant at the end of four centuries of Ottoman rule. Then it goes on to relate how a conscientious group of officials tried to develop every phase of government, economic, professional and social life.

A police force was organized to give security. The legal system was modernized and courses were established to train lawyers. The Ottoman Public Debt was liquidated, land taxes reduced so as to aid the peasants, customs duties were regulated so as to encourage industry, and a system of public finance was introduced. Railroads, highways, posts, telephones and telegraph facilities, and public health all had to be cared for. The British efforts reduced the average death rate per thousand from 23.82 in 1922 to 12.3 in 1946.

Although the British did not attempt to change ancient systems of land tenure, they did make a determined effort to improve agricultural methods. They also developed a rural school system, with school gardens, so as to fit children for village life. The author explains how disappointing it was for the British to be obliged to divide the educational facilities between the Jews and Arabs, rather than to use the schools as a means of uniting the two elements.

The author devotes four chapters to the special problems of immigration, citizenship and employment, land ownership and self-

government. Then three more chapters give a resumé of the political history of the Mandate.

Mr. Hyamson describes the growth of Arab nationalism, the outbreaks of 1928-1929 against the Jews and the disturbances of 1933, 1935 and 1936 against the British. He says very little about the subversive movement organized by the Italians and Germans to make trouble for the British. But he does tell how the Jewish immigration in one year was greater than the whole Jewish population had been in 1921, so that the Arabs became panic striken, especially as the government authorities were unable to control illegal immigration. Then he goes on to say, "The Royal Commission came to the conclusion not only that the Mandatory Power had failed in its mission but that the task that had been entrusted to it was impossible of fulfilment."

When the recommendation of the Commission to divide the country was abandoned and Jewish persecution in Germany speeded up immigration, the British issued a second White Paper, which restored order until the end of the Second World War.

After giving a brief outline of the events which took place during the war, the author tells how the Jews gradually became more and more hostile against the British and failed to feel gratitude for what Great Britain was trying to do for them. This was largely due to the fact that the British refused to allow illegal immigrant ships to land their passengers.

The attempt of Jewish fanatics to murder the High Commissioner, the actual assassination of the British Minister-Resident in Cairo, the assaults upon British soldiers and officers, and the blowing up of the British headquarters in the King David Hotel are all enumerated. The author reflects the disappointment felt by the British, when the race that they were trying to help turned against them in this way.

He also reflects the British feelings with regard to America's interference in the affairs of Palestine. "American opinion even in official circles had been very profuse in giving advice and directions and in issuing pompous and long-winded statements, but very chary of accepting any responsibility or of rendering any practical assistance." "Refused the expected co-operation of the United States, the British Government found itself unable to proceed with the programme drawn up by the Anglo-American Commission."

Finally the book tells how the Zionists adopted the Biltmore Programme, to transfer Palestine into a sovereign state under Zionist control. The only difference within the Zionist Party was whether or not the Arab Kingdom of Transjordan was to be included within the frontiers of the proposed Zionist state. The bewilderment of Great Britain is expressed by the author's statement that "The United States President had to give way to pressure and to disown his own experts."

Mr. Hyamson deals quite briefly with the vote of the United Nations to partition Palestine and the anarchy which resulted. "The decision of the Assembly on the 29th of November led at once to an outbreak of fighting. The Arabs in Palestine to some extent took up arms; more serious was an invasion of irregulars from the north

(Syria and the Lebanon), the east (Transjordan) and the south (Egypt.)" "The Zionists at once, as a defensive action and in the hope that the war would be kept from the thickly populated Jewish districts, invaded the territory that had been allotted to the Arabs."

As the Mandate ended when the British evacuated the country, the book does not attempt to deal with the murder of Count Bernadotte, the events of the truce and the plight of the refugees.

Several closing chapters deal with the economic situation in Palestine, the British efforts to improve cultural conditions and the problem of the Holy Places. The concluding paragraph is a quotation from the Jewish Monthly of May, 1948:—

"Melancholy as are the circumstances in which the Mandate has come to an end, Britain has not laboured in Palestine in vain. Those who remember the country at the time of the British Occupation can best appraise what it owes to thirty years of British rule."

Although many people will be disappointed because the book does not defend their special points of view, Mr. Hyamson has made a valuable contribution to history. So much has already been written to give the Jewish and Arab points of view, that it is a great advantage to have a statement of the British viewpoint.

What is equally important is the fact that the author does full justice to a conscientious group of Colonial Office servants, who in spite of the baffling play of selfish politics, gave the best years of their lives to turning a neglected Ottoman province into what has become a progressive modern state.

BAYARD DODGE

Princeton, N. J.

Minorities in the Arab World. By A. H. Hourani. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, Oxford University Press, 1947. Maps, index, pp. 170.

This study was prepared at the request of the Cairo group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It treats of the minorities in Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, and has succinct chapters on the origin and development of the minorities, the intervention of the West on their behalf during the nineteenth century, and changes since the First World War and during the Second World War; conclusions follow. Obviously it is a valuable manual, packed with authentic details assembled from many sources.

As to a solution of the problems presented by the existence of the minorities, the author does not consider any form of guarantee, international or constitutional, as the real solution, or as ultimately to be relied on. Instead he suggests seven lines of effort that would contribute to a settlement. 1) Establishment of stable national governments throughout the Near East, thus removing a main cause of insecurity and fear among the minorities. 2) Cessation of minority attempts to establish or maintain political relations with outside powers, stable government having removed any reason for such attempts. 3) Separation of church and state, so that people of different religious connections will all be equal in all ways before the law. 4) Acquirement by all minorities of the language of the majority, at least sufficiently for common intercourse. 5) Giving up of the closed com-

munity, so that there may be free social contacts and economic exchange between all elements of the population. 6) Return by the Muslim majority to the religious spirit and attitude that originally prompted recognition of Christians and Jews as "People of the Book," and "Protected People." 7) Development of "good fellowship," in which the inevitable tension between minority and majority groups can be fruitfully active, for the problem of the minorities is in the last analysis a matter of the heart.

JOHN E. MERRILL

Highways in the Desert. By Ida Paterson Storm. Nashville, Tenn., Broadman Press, 1950. pp. 135. $.60.

This book, scholarly and missionary, will be interesting and informative to those whose sons served in the Arabian desert during the war, or in the oil companies since then, as well as to those interested in missions. It gives a clear and comprehensive picture of pre-Islamic Christianity in Arabia, as far as this is known, as well as of the rise and spread of Islam, the growth of Christian missions in Arabia, and the latest developments of service in the interior. The author is a trained nurse, the wife of Dr. Harold Storm, medical missionary and friend and physician to Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia.

The story of Dr. Storm's tireless work from seven every morning till midnight, of the confidence won from suspicious and proud Arabs, of the honorable treatment received from officials and royalty, of the loving witness to Christianity's emphasis on the importance of the individual is a thrilling saga of missionary enterprise. It fully answers the oft-heard question, "Why not bring culture and civilization to these people and let them keep their religion?" Modestly told, the story inspires the reader with tremendous respect for the Christian fortitude and tact required in a mission field so barren of statistical success and yet so needy and appreciative.

GRACE CALVERLEY EVANS

Coatesville, Pa.

Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Zia Gökalp. By Uriel Heyd, Ph.D. London, The Harvill Press, 1950. pp. 174. 12/6.

This book is an expansion of a Ph.D. thesis accepted by the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. It is one of the very few writings in English regarding the life and especially the teachings of a man little known to the West, who is characterized as "the theorist of modern Turkish nationalism." Some sixty pages are devoted to his biography, together with introductory matter and an appreciation, and over one hundred to an exposition of his teachings. A bibliography lists his writings, and books and articles written about him.

Zia Gökalp was born in 1875 in a small town in southeastern Anatolia, not far from the Tigris river. At his death in 1924 the Turkish National Assembly decreed for him a national funeral, and voted a pension to his family. He was a teacher, writer of both prose and poetry, and a publicist, and resided in turn in Diyarbekir, Salonika, and Istanbul. He was a member of the central committee of the Party

of Union and Progress, and yet in spite of this became influential in the Kemalist era, and finally a member of the National Assembly (1923). He was the first professor of Sociology in the University of Istanbul (1915), and "the first Turk who used the methods of modern sociology for systematic research into Turkish history, civilization, and social conditions."

As a thinker, Gökalp made use of conceptions already in existence, adapting them and applying them to his own practical problems. In him strains of tradition, Sufism, rationalism, and positivism met, and competed or blended. He was greatly influenced by the French sociologist Durkheim. His thought was continually developing, and so changes were not infrequent.

Philosophy today, he held, is no longer general logic, but general ethics, and is concerned not with analysis and discovery but with values, their creation and their realization in society. In every society certain values are commonly recognized. In times of crisis and emotional stress these values take form in consciousness as the ideals of the community. Thus ideals are emotionally intensified collective ideas. Collective consciousness is the stable force unifying society, and the basis of its solidarity. These ideals are the driving forces in the life of a society. As society seeks their realization, they dominate the will of the individual.

Gökalp's own idealism passed through three stages, coincident with the march of events in Turkey: Ottomanism, in which all the diverse peoples of the Ottoman Empire were to unite in realizing a common life, this in the period preceding the Balkan wars; Pan-Turanianism, in which all the peoples of Turanian descent were to be united, this during the First World War; and Turkism, which now seeks the development of a purely Turkish nation.

Space does not allow a review of the many details of Gökalp's thought which are brought to attention by our author under the headings of philosophy, sociology, Westernization, Islam, and particularly Turkism. To students of Turkish national development they are of great interest. There follows brief mention of some of his, for his environment and times, revolutionary ideas regarding religion and Islam.

Any religion is a totality of belief and observances, and is, Islam included, a historical phenomenon, dependent on social circumstances and subject to change. As to belief, there is no conflict between science and religion, least of all between science and Islam, where reason is given a high place. Religious observances reflect the social consciousness of the group observing them. Except for the personal relation between man and God, all religious obligations depend for their sanction on social consciousness. Religious law as established in the Qur'ān and *sunna,* and later embodied in the science of *fiqh,* has been modified by collective consciousness *(örf),* and even the original law may have rested upon it. This discovery calls for the establishment of a new science of the social roots of Muslim Canon Law.

Originally Islam was a purely ethical religion, free from any Law. But because the pagan Arabs had no organized government, political as well as religious institutions had to be established at the same time.

However, the first *ulema* had nothing to do with government, and the rulers did not interfere with the *ulema.* Later the *ulema* were integrated into the administration of the state, gaining political influence, and thus the state became limited by religious Law. Religion and the state should once more be separated. Gökalp advocated abolition of the office of *Sheikh-ul-Islam,* and of the Ministry of Pious Foundations, through which the *ulema* had a place in government; the closing of separate religious schools and the unification of the Turkish educational system; the reorganization of the Islamic community religiously in local congregations, each under the leadership of an *imam,* these units to be united in groupings of increasing inclusiveness, until finally all should be merged in relationship to the Caliph as the spiritual head of all Islam. He would correct the inferiority of women according to the Canon Law, in which the commentators on the Qur'ān "certainly were wrong." He would seek to break up the belief in fatalism, which kills the initiative of the people, and which is opposed by true Islam.

Religion is to be separated, also, from civilization, that is, Islam from Oriental civilization. Civilization is not based on religion, as the sharing of a common civilization by people of different religions demonstrates. There is no such thing as "Islamic civilization." Again, there is no conflict between Islam and nationalism. The genuine traditions of Islam should be separated from the traditions of the Arabs, Persians, and other peoples that have become superimposed, and such a purified Islam will be consonant both with Western civilization and with Turkish culture. Pan-Islamism may be adopted as a basis for cooperation between Muslims, but not as a political program.

The thought and planning of Gökalp were for his people. His watchwords for them were, "Turkification, Islamization, Modernization." For him the nation was the unit, and the individual was subordinate to it. It is said that he identified God and the ideal, and then found the source of the ideal in the collective consciousness of society, so that he identified God with society. It is said also that in his earlier years he emphasized the "holy enthusiasm" of the religious man, but later sober reliance upon God. And he urged religious education. "The people who in all periods of a life show strong character are mostly those who in their youth received a religious education" (1922). His teachings present many facets of unusual interest to one who has a concern for the spiritual welfare of the Turkish people.

JOHN E. MERRILL

Beacon, N. Y.

Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948. By George Lenczowski. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1949. pp. xv + 383, illustrations, maps, appendices, index. $4.50.

"Human beings are limbs of one great body; they are created of the same essence, but if one of the limbs is afflicted, the pain will be felt throughout the rest of the body." These words of broad humanitarian philosophy were uttered some seven centuries ago by the Iranian poet and philosopher Sa'dī. Only now is the world becoming

capable of recognizing the interdependence of its members in the political, cultural and economic spheres.

Perhaps it can be said that the first act of a world newly awakened to the need of integration was the defense by the United Nations of Iranian sovereignty against the overt encroachment in her internal affairs by the Soviet Union in 1946. The Azarbaijan incident was the culmination of centuries of conflicts of Big-Power interests in the "turbulent vortex of Iranian politics." As never before, the eyes of the world became focused on Iran. That important crossroads had become a testing ground in the clash of ideologies: communist totalitarianism versus Western democracy.

Up to the present time, histories of Iran have been general in scope and plan. They have drawn predominantly upon ancient sources and have dealt with Iranian geography, climate, peoples, culture and economics, seldom devoting enough space to international relations. Now in *Russia and the West in Iran,* Mr. George Lenczowski has presented a complete study of a specific period, 1918-1948, heretofore scarcely more than touched upon. In this period, fraught with Big-Power rivalry, the author discusses events fresh in our memories.

As Mr. Lenczowski has ably outlined in his first three chapters, it was during this thirty-year period that the Russians, operating under a new regime and motivated by different political, economic and religious concepts, first consolidated their own position and then staged well planned experiments in Iran. Their greatest gesture, considered a gesture of friendship and generosity, was to repudiate the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, which had been kept as a great secret and which had divided Iran into two spheres of influence. This double-barreled blow was calculated to expose and discredit the British and at the same time to win Iranian friendship for the newly established communistic regime. Renunciation of previously held Russian concessions and privileges and the annulment of Iranian debts to her were in line with the new policy.

These so-called generous gestures culminated in the conclusion of the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of February 26, 1921. Article 6 of this treaty, permitting the U.S.S.R. to occupy Iranian territory at any time of danger to Russia by way of Iran, is still held as a threat over the heads of the Iranians. While the discussions for the conclusion of this treaty were going on, the Bolsheviks instigated and supported two insurrections in Iran. One was in the Caspian province of Gilan by Mirza Kuchik Khan, and the other by Shaykh Muhammad Khiabani in Azarbaijan. These were actually to be the Gilan and Azarbaijan Soviets! Times have not changed as much as we may think. Luckily for Iran these Soviet experiments were frustrated and nipped in the bud by Reza Khan, who later became the shah of Iran.

The next four chapters are very informative. Mr. Lenczowski offers a sound appraisal of the political situation prevailing in Iran from 1921 until the deposition of Reza Shah twenty years later. The political account of this period, covered with great skill and based on first-hand information, fills a large gap in Iran's recent history. The details of the coming to power of Reza Khan, his formative years, his valuable contributions to Iran, his personal influence in the domestic

and foreign policies of his country, and finally events leading to his downfall are expertly analyzed.

Chapters entitled "A Period of Armed Truce" and "A Theoretical Interlude" are particularly enlightening. The author's use of Russian sources adds greatly to the value of this section of the book, for these open up new vistas and supply the reader with material hitherto unpublished in English.

Most of the events outlined in the remaining four chapters were witnessed by the author himself during the crucial years while he served as Press Attaché at the Polish Legation in Tehran. It is in this section that the author makes his greatest contribution. Familiar methods of Soviet propaganda, such as censorship imposed by the Red Army during the occupation, and pressure and terror exercised in various ways, particularly through the Tudeh Party, the oil crisis of 1944, and finally the Russian-engineered Azarbaijan and Kurdish revolts are treated step by step. The writer leaves no doubt in anyone's mind as to who was trying to do what in Iran during and after the war.

The Azarbaijan case is so well documented and the clandestine activities of Soviet authorities and propaganda agents in the instigation and support of these incidents are so ably brought into the open that any denial or refutation seems almost impossible. The trial of Iran's case against Russia before the Security Council of the United Nations, when the Soviet Union was unwilling to evacuate Iran in accordance with treaty obligations, so ably handled by Ambassador Hussein Ala, is a case in point. Further evidence was the encouragement given to the Iranian government and people by the American Ambassador in Iran, Mr. George V. Allen, and the unswerving attitude of Iranian patriots in the face of open threats from the Soviet government. It seems obvious that the Azarbaijan and Kurdistan episodes, both of which ended so ignominiously for the Soviet Union, to use the author's words, "prove once again that, with a strong central government in Teheran, autonomist or separatist movements in Iran could thrive only so long as they obtained foreign assistance."

It is regrettable that Mr. Lenczowski did not include a bibliography in this otherwise admirable book, and the spelling of a few Persian names is open to question. However, it remains as the outstanding history of the period it covers and is warmly recommended to all those interested in Iran.

MEHMED A. SIMSAR

New York City

The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. By J. M. S. Baljon, Jr., D.D. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1949. pp. xii, 98, bibliography.

This study of the most influential Indian Muslim of the 19th century is a thesis based squarely and fully on the Urdū sources. As the author points out in his Preface, all previous Western works make use only of English material, and especially of Graham's *Life* of Sayyid Aḥmad (1885, 1901) which was itself one-sided in that "all the stress is laid on his loyalty towards the British" (p. ix) rather than on his significance within Indian Islam. Baljon has used Ḥālī's much fuller

biography as his source for Sir Sayyid's life, and Sir Sayyid's own extensive Urdū writings (which in all would fill "at least 6000 pages"—p. 9) for his ideas. The bibliography, of titles by and about the reformer (pp. 99-101), is full and itself remarkably valuable.

That someone should examine all this material and present us his findings is indeed welcome. The result is brief (less than a hundred pages), though it includes numerous quotations from the writings and presents a fair sampling of what Sir Sayyid had to say. The first chapter deals with his milieu and his personal abilities; the next three with his policy of Muslim-British rapprochement and his social, educational, and religious thoughts; there follow a short section on the opposition to these, a discussion of his writings on Christianity, and an "analysis" of his religious (Islamic) ideas. The whole concludes with an interesting Epilogue estimating Sir Sayyid's role and influence.

The work is certainly to be recommended to anyone concerned with the period. Indeed, the author's opening sentence contrasts the increasing attention given by western orientalism to Islamic modernists in Egypt, with its insufficient study of the Indian counterparts; suggesting that this work sees Sir Sayyid in the context of the general modern re-interpretation of Islam. However, despite its most promising first impression, the booklet remains somehow disappointing. This is partly because the picture that it gives of the reformer, in spite of its rich documentation, adds essentially nothing new to what was already both known and accessible, and does not even correct or modify it in any but minor points.

More important, the difficulty inheres, it may be suggested, in the fact that this is a study of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad's *writings;* whereas actually that very great man was great not primarily as a thinker. As Baljon himself says, "his ideas are more appreciable for the boldness demonstrated in them than for ripeness" (p. 8); and in the Epilogue he notes that his influence is most perceptible in education, particularly the Aligarh college (whose work he does not discuss), states further that "the self-consciousness and energy of present-day Pakistan are essentially the ultimate consequence of the stimulation and inspiration which his magnetic personality gave to his indolent community" (p. 93), and advances the highly provocative suggestion that the really fundamental achievement of Sir Sayyid was not even his contribution to education but rather "that he restored the Muslim to faith in himself" *(ibid.).* Yet the book is written not at all from any of these points of view. It does not try to be, in any but an incidental sense, either a biography or an historical appreciation—though each of these would be, from a student thus well equipped, a major contribution. It is simply (and in this is quite true to its title) an analytical description of Sir Sayyid's published writings, judged as ideas of religious reform. That description is well enough done; the judgment is at times a trifle unsympathetic and lacking in profundity.

The author's historical judgments, on the other hand, though tantalizingly few, are so interesting that one would like to see him follow this with a full historical portrait.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith
McGill University, Montreal, Canada

Whither Pakistan? By Ziauddin Ahmad Suleri. London, Eastern Publishers. pp. 96. 5/- Net.

The opinions expressed in this book represent those held by a segment of the Pakistani population during the second year of the life of the new Muslim nation. The first half of the book is dedicated to a criticism of the Western World, which is given some expression in the statement that the vital thoughts of Pakistan are: ". . . the Muslims' profound belief in the cultural and social mission of Islam, and their observance of the failure of the West and East to solve human problems."

Most of the material for the criticism comes from detailed observations of England and a general survey of the cold-war with Russia. A considerable portion of the author's criticism is directed toward the Christian Church, which he describes as being weakened and corrupted by nationalistic and materialistic leanings. The spiritual impoverishment fostered by such a church, the author points out, provides a fertile field for communistic ambitions. Mr. Suleri describes the average Western man as being highly disillusioned by the materialistic dilemma in which he finds himself.

The authority expressed in the Qur'ān, instead of man's rationalism, provides the Pakistanis with great confidence in building their country upon Islamic principles. The very fact that Pakistan has survived the difficulties of the last few years is cited as additional reason for such confidence. Mr. Suleri describes the leaders in Pakistan as falling into three groups, according to the types of trends they advocate. One group seeks to revive the old orthodox Islamic religious governmental practices for today's usage. The second group wants to imitate the Western World in setting up the course of the new nation. The third group, with which the author evidently allies himself, seeks to construct a new culture based strictly upon Islamic principles and free of undesirable Western influences, especially Christian missionaries.

The Russian-American Cold War is interpreted as presenting the Muslim World an opportunity to organize themselves to such strength that they can avoid being drawn into either orbit of influence. It is suggested that the Muslim world could be made to represent the balance of power between the Russian and American contenders and thereby become a major contributor to world peace and simultaneously establish its rightful position among the world powers.

JOHN H. MARTIN

Hartford, Conn.

Pakistan: The Heart of Asia. By Liaquat Ali Khan. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1950. pp. xii, 151. $3.00.

When Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, visited the United States and Canada in May, 1950, he had occasion to address a number of varied gatherings across the continent. Most of these addresses have been gathered together and published in this book. Recorded also are some of the introductory speeches of prominent citizens who presented the Prime Minister to his audiences. An

address by the Begum Liaquat Ali Khan is included as an appendix.

The purpose of this visit was to help the people of the United States to discover Pakistan and to bring the two nations "closer together in the name of humanity and world peace." The Prime Minister suggests in these talks that the greatest threat to the security of the world is to be found in the multitudes of Asia who are restless and unsettled in the face of glaring economic disequilibrium between the East and the West. Without progress for these people there can be no peace, and without peace there can be no progress. Pakistan has done much in her brief years of independence to better the lot of her backward people and has become the most stable factor in Asia. But the task of progress is too great for her to accomplish without international cooperation. Such cooperation by the U.S. would not only be profitable to both countries, but would be a major contribution to the peace and progress of the world, for the location of Pakistan in the heart of Asia gives it a position of great political, ideological, and strategic importance.

To further interest and encourage the U.S. in such cooperation, the Prime Minister defined the aims and purposes of his country in terms that are familiar to American thought. Pakistan is dedicated to "the Islamic way of life." In such a program there is no room for theocracy, because Islam stands for "democracy, the right of private ownership and the conception of individual effort, individual freedom and the equality of citizenship and opportunity for all, irrespective of race or creed." To the Pakistanis these things are "matters of faith, religion and ancient tradition rather than newly acquired political creeds."

The Prime Minister is optimistic and positive in his approach with one unfortunate exception. His references to India for the most part are made with calculated negative bias. It should also be noted that this book has a good deal of repetition, which is only natural for a series of speeches such as this. In the task of presenting his message to America, however, Liaquat Ali Khan has shown great skill and imagination.

David T. Lindell

Hartford, Conn.

Pivot of Asia. By Owen Lattimore. Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, Little, Brown & Co., 1950. pp. xiv + 288. $3.50.

This is a very important book for the student of Central Asian affairs. It gives a large amount of information that is nowhere else so easily accessible, and in addition to a valuable historical and economic survey there is, as we should expect from this author, a masterly appraisal of the position of Sinkiang in modern Sino-Russian relations.

The main thesis of the book is entirely convincing. Sinkiang, the Dominion of China, with its 90 per cent Turki-speaking population living in comfortable agricultural and pastoral communities, with its practically undeveloped mineral resources and its central position, is neighbor to the Turki-speaking Dominions of Russia which have become in the last decade a vast industrial center populated by a

machine-minded proletariat. Even did she wish it, Sinkiang can no longer live "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." Her people are becoming acutely conscious of their pivotal situation. The world at large should study it, and Mr. Lattimore and a group of colleagues provide a wealth of material for that purpose.

The reader, however, gets an impression that this book was written in haste. It is confessedly rather a compilation than the work of a single author. If Mr. Lattimore had had time to write it alone it would have been a far better book. While it is most useful to anyone with some previous knowledge of the subject, on matters of detail it could be very misleading to a tyro.

While it is most useful to anyone with some previous knowledge of the subject, on matters of detail it could be very misleading to a tyro. Masses of statistics, masses of personal impressions are assembled here, both in the text and in footnotes; official statistics for the private use of Chinese or Russian authorities; partisan statements by demagogues; the weighed opinions of students who have lived in the area for half a lifetime; the casual impressions of passing tourists who know not a word of any language there spoken; all are set down side by side as equally valuable—which they may be to the informed but certainly are not to the beginner.

The weakness of the book is that it gives the impression that the author had no direct Turkic/Uighur source of information and that everything came to him through Chinese or foreign media. Wherever the Mongols come into the picture there is a sureness of touch that gives the reader instant confidence and grips his interest for a huge area in northern Sinkiang that has been too often forgotten. But where 90 per cent of the population of that Dominion are concerned, one feels that the Chinese have been successful in selling Mr. Lattimore their "Second trend" of theories as to racial groups in the country; a "trend" which he labels "cultural autonomy" but which, as he does once surmise (p. 11) it is simpler to call "Divide et impera," the policy of "Divide and Rule." It is impossible not to think (as is half-admitted on p. 125) that the whole motive for the Chinese revival of the name Uighur for the 79 per cent majority of their subjects in Sinkiang is the desire to mask how much these have in common with the races of Turkmenistan and Kazakistan across the Russian frontier (pp. 106-108). The Muslim area that the mediaeval Muslim geographers called Turkistan which had a religious and cultural unity and which spoke what is virtually a single language from the frontier of Turkey to the Gobi desert, for, to the present time, a Kazak and a Uighur, though speaking different dialects of Turki, have no difficulty whatever in understanding each other's conversation, had no political unity. The eastern areas were under Chinese hegemony, the western were conquered by Russia in the last century, and since 1918 first the Russians and now the Chinese find it politically convenient to emphasize and encourage local variations of racial origin or custom so that each locality may be as conscious as possible of whatever makes it differ from its neighbors instead of the vastly greater heritage and tradition that they have in common. Mr. Lattimore's book is written from a standpoint that seems to leave the force of religious belief out of account, but neither Islam nor Bolshevik-

materialism are dead religions in Central Asia today. This book mentions without explanation that a majority of the population of Sinkiang desires to remain linked to China; it is suggested that the explanation is that profound love of Islam and of the Muslim way of life that has been preserved to them through the centuries of Chinese suzerainty but which they see disappearing before the new religion of materialism in the Russian Asiatic dominions.

It may be mentioned in passing that some of Mr. Lattimore's collaborators appear to take it for granted that every good government will be a "Welfare State," and therefore criticize both past and present Chinese regimes from that standpoint. But neither the Chinese nor any of their subjects believe in the merits of a Welfare State. A good government in their opinion is one that prevents crime, preserves civil rights, encourages commerce and protects the country from foreign invasion. Other benefits the citizen is prepared to provide for himself, privately or organized in gilds. For a modern American—or Englishman—to label taxation at under 2/- a head per annum "oppressive" seems a little odd. The standard of living of the poorer classes when your reviewer lived there, compared very favorably with that of England. It has now, by all accounts, fallen very much, owing to the influx of alien populations and the linking up of the economy of Sinkiang with that of its neighbors to West and East. Yang Tsenghsin had his faults, especially in his treatment of the Mongols; but he was not least a realist when he prophesied that to open Turkestan to modern industrial enterprise run by alien "advisors" would "sell the country to the foreigner."

Among all the outside writers consulted by Mr. Lattimore's panel there is one curious omission, that of the Swedish writers on Sinkiang. As they include in their number practically all the experts on the language of the country and as they lived there for periods of up to twenty and thirty years their contacts with the Uighur-Turki population were far more intimate and complete than those of any other observers, and the omission is therefore unfortunate.

What will happen in Sinkiang is still hidden behind the curtain of the future. But one of the most encouraging things in Mr. Lattimore's book is the evidence he seems to have gathered that Sinkiang will continue to be linked with China, and that the Uighurs will be developing a political sense and self-government which may bring them a more stable regime than those of the past. It is from other sources that we draw our hope that the Christian church also may have a future there.

R. O. WINGATE

Woking, Surrey, England

The Beirut College for Women

The following paragraphs are quoted from the address by President W. A. Stoltzfus, published in *The Cedar Bough,* Beirut, Lebanon, September, 1950:

"On April 21 of this year the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York granted to the College, now officially called the Beirut College for Women, a provisional charter authorizing three separate degrees—The Bachelor of Arts, The Associate in Arts and The Associate in Applied Arts.

"This charter places the name of this institution among the accredited colleges and universities of the world.

"The development of the College is a tribute to the several bodies which have had a part in it. First to the faith and vision of its founders, the American Mission and the Protestant churches of the United States. Second, to the American University of Beirut which has supported the development of the College, upheld through all these years its credits, offered its name in recommending its students to institutions abroad, placed at its disposal its library facilities, its lecturers and its advice. A third tribute is due to the many secondary schools of this and of surrounding countries which have met our entrance requirements and built up our student body. We owe a fourth tribute as well to such of the Arab states as have given our diplomas their official recognition and entrusted to us selected groups of their young women for training. . . .

"When this College was started higher education for women was looked upon as an adventure; later it was thought of as a luxury. Today it is a necessity. . . .

"Higher education, if it is to be a blessing to a nation and enhance the value of the individual to his society must form an integral part of the nation's culture. As applied to higher education for women it requires a comprehensive conception of the place of women in modern society. Modern cultures show a reasonably universal pattern among their educated womanhood. Aside from certain professions which claim but a very small percentage of women, it is education, family life, health, social welfare and promotion of the fine arts that constitute primarily the fields of women's responsibility and which remain undeveloped wherever a nation's women remain in ignorance. . . .

"As a guest institution of the Republic of Lebanon and at the same time patterned in its program and methods after the educational system longer experienced in higher education for women, it has great responsibilities placed upon it. . . . I hope this College will establish and maintain a close relationship with the educational department of this government and that it will use every means to demonstrate such aims, methods and programs as have proved their value elsewhere, coordinating them with the best that exists here, and that it will do its part in evolving a pattern of sound education worthy to be followed."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Art Chrétien d'Afrique et Art Berbère. Georges Marçais. (In *Annali,* Roma. 1949, 1. pp. 63-75).

A critical and historical article.

'Atika: A Modern Poetess. S. A. Khulusi. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1950, 3-4. pp. 149-157).

Tells of the background of this Arab-Kurdish young woman and quotes from her poems.

The Excavations at Yassihuyuk-Gordion, 1950. Rodney S. Young. (In *Archaeology,* N.Y. Winter, 1950. pp. 196-201).

Gives the results of diggings in the ancient capital of Phrygia, seventy miles south-west of Ankara.

Hispano-Arab Art. José Guillot Carratalá. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. December, 1950. pp. 13-19).

A well-illustrated descriptive account of the Mosque of Cordova, begun in the tenth century and now being gradually restored.

The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock. S. D. Goitein. (In *The Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. April, 1950. pp. 104-118).

Presents documented evidence to prove that the building was constructed to impress and win Christians to Islam.

Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi. Abdy Hamzavi. (In *Gt. Britain and the East,* London. April, 1950. pp. 29-33).

An account of the Shah's philosophy of government.

Notes sur La *GESCHICHTE DER ARABISCHEN LITERATUR* de C. Brockelmann. Georges Vajda. (In *Revue Asiatique,* Paris. 1950, 2 pp. 225-237).

Comments made possible by the extensive revision of the Arab Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The Sons of St. Francis in the Holy Land. Martiniano Roncaglia, O.F.M. (In *Franciscan Studies,* St. Bonaventura, N.Y. September, 1950. pp. 257-285).

An effort to clarify the date (1347) of the entry of the Friars Minor as custodians of the Sanctuary of the Nativity in Bethlehem, as shown in the writings of Fra Niccolò of Poggibonsi.

Was the *FUTUWA* an Oriental Form of Chivalry? Gerard Salinger. (In *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Philadelphia, Vol. 94, No. 5, October, 1950, pp. 481-93.

This study is part of a survey of feudal trends in Islamic society.

II. ARABIA

Building and Builders in Hadramawt. R. B. Serjeant. (In *Muséon,* Paris. 1949. pp. 275-284).

Discusses social organization and rituals.

The Golden Jubilee in Saudi Arabia. H. St. J. B. Philby. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1950. pp. 112-123).

Surveys changes and improvements observed during thirty-three years' close contact with the country.

South Arabian Chronology. H. St. J. B. Philby. (In *Muséon,* Paris. 1949. pp. 229-249).

An illuminating article.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. October, 1950, pp. 467-475).

Covers June 1—August 31, 1950.

Georgian Relations with France (1711-1724). D. M. Lang. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1950, 3-4. pp. 114-126).

Deals with the efforts of the French Government in behalf of King Wakhtang VI, who was under the power of Persia.

Religious Brotherhoods in Moroccan Politics. F. S. Vidal. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. October, 1950. pp. 427-466).

A detailed account of the history, organization, functions and social and political influence of the numerous Brotherhoods.

Studi di Storia Musulmana, 1940-1950. (In *Revista Storica,* Roma. 1950. pp. 98-110).

Shows advances made in the study of Islamic history.

Der Verlauf der Islamisierung Persiens. B. Spuler. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin. 1949. pp. 63-76).

Describes winning converts through economic improvements and general kindness and consideration.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Postille alla Traduzione della "Muqaddima" di Ibn Haldun. (In *Annali,* Roma. 1949, 3. pp. 439-472).

Presents a number of translated passages, emphasizing anew the need for a critical edition of this work.

La Purité Rituelle en Islam. G. H. Bousquet. (In *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* Paris. Juillet-Septembre, 1950. pp. 53-71).

A study of *Fiqh* and religious sociology.

Two Arabic Documents. M. D. W. Jeffreys. (In *African Studies,* Johannesburg. June, 1950. pp. 77-85).

Comments and translation of Diyyā s-Sultan (advice to rulers on administration) and Tazyīn l-Waraqat (a history of the Fulani), documents found in the British Cameroons.

The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya). S. M. Stern. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. Part 1-2, 1950. pp. 20-31).

Throws light on the Nizāri-Musta'lian dispute.

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1949. pp. 162-170).

Describes the activities of the holy men and their disciples and their relations with the rulers.

THE TEACHERS OF SHIHĀB AL-DĪN 'UMAR AL-SUHRAWARDĪ. A. J. Arberry. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. 1950. pp. 339-356).

An analysis of Suhrawardī's *Mashyakha* or educational biography.

THEORIES OF STATE AND PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGY. Muhammad 'Abdul Baqi. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. October, 1950. pp. 9-14).

A summary of "Hujjatu 'l-Lahi al-baligha", a two volume work in Arabic by Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1692-1758).

THE TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM STATE. S. D. Goiten. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1949. pp. 120-135).

Analyses Ibn al-Maqaffa's *Kitāb aṣ Ṣaḥāba,* a tract on army, court and taxes.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AIR TRANSPORT IN IRAN. Robert Maxwell. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1950. pp. 1180-1191).

Points out advantages to Iran and to the world in efficient communications.

DERA GHAZI KHAN. John Biggs-Davison. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1950. pp. 284-292).

An account of general conditions in the Baloch Tribal Area.

DOCUMENTS. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. October, 1950. pp. 476-483).

Includes the full text of the Electoral Law of Syria (September 10, 1949) and also a short list of reports from the various countries.

LES MUSULMANS ALGÉRIENS EN FRANCE ET DANS LES PAYS ISLAMIQUES. J. J. Rager. (In *Revue de la Méditerranée,* Paris. Avril, 1950. pp. 169-190).

Describes the condition of seven and a half million Muslims living in France, largely near Paris, and in Algeria.

THE PEASANTRY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA. Raymond Firth. (In *International Affairs,* London. October, 1950. pp. 503-514).

Studies Malaya and Indonesia and points out the great influence of Muslim religious law and customs.

TURKISH SNAPSHOTS. K. M. Smogorzewski. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. July, 1950. pp. 18-22).

Depicts life in Ankara and Istanbul as seen by an experienced traveller.

ADMINISTRATORS IN THE MAKING. G. Mueenuddin. (In *Pakistan,* Karachi. vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 7-9).

Points out the training given probationers for the Pakistan Administration Service, which replaces the old India Civil Service.

AMERICANS AND THE MIDDLE EAST: PARTNERS IN THE NEXT DECADE. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. July, 1950. pp. 384-391).

Report of the 4th annual conference on Middle East Affairs, March 17-18, 1950.

THE "COLOURED" COMMUNITY IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. Keith Buchanan and N. Hurwitz. (In *The Geographical Review, New York.* July, 1950. pp. 397-414).

Discusses the difficulties felt by the hybrids in the racial and segregational policy of the new Nationalist Government.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST. C. B. Birdwood. (In *World Affairs,* London. April, 1950. pp. 195-208).

Analyses the work of the Clapp Mission.

L'IRAN ET L'ORGANIZATION DE SON ENSEIGNEMENT. Ali Akbar Siassi. (In *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain,* Paris. Winter 1949. pp. 193-201).

Gives a history of the University of Tehran and discusses French influence on education.

L'ISLAM ET LA LIMITATION VOLUNTAIRE DES NAISSANCES. G. H. Bousquet. (In *Population,* Paris. Janvier-Mars, 1950. pp. 121-128).

Presents the legal and religious aspects of birth control which is not condemned either way.

PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Benjamin Shwadran. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. February, 1950. pp. 35-40).

Comments on the Clapp Mission Report and the UN Social Welfare Seminar for the Arab States.

PROJECTED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN. Hamid Ali. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1950. pp. 1031-1044).

A general survey of conditions with statistics.

A SCHEME FOR ALL-IN VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT. M. Afzal Husain. (In *Pakistan,* Karachi. Vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 31-35).

Discusses the ideas of Sir John Russell and the work of the Department of Agriculture in Pakistan.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AFGHAN CLAIMS AGAINST PAKISTAN. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1950. pp. 1104-1108).

Discusses the implications of the Durand Line.

THE EGYPTIAN ELECTIONS. M. Perlmann. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. February, 1950. pp. 41-48).

Interprets the recent elections from the point of view of the Egyptian press.

INDONESIA MERDEKE. P. H. Rofé. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. October, 1950. pp. 18-21).

Tells of accomplishments during five years of independence.

KURDISTAN. (In the *New Statesman and Nation,* London. April 22, 1950. p. 452).

Describes Russian radio propaganda to the Kurds and Kurdish bitterness to the West.

PERSIA THROUGH THE CENTURIES. John M. Bee. (In *Great Britain and the East,* London. March, 1950. pp. 30-32).

A summary of Iranian history since 1800.

THE EASTERN QUESTION IN MODERN DRESS. Fitzroy Maclean. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. January, 1951. pp. 238-247).

Discusses Turkey's vulnerable position in relation to Russia and the need for the Atlantic Powers to build up Turkish confidence in them.

INDEPENDENCE FOR LIBYA, Ann Dearden. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. October, 1950. pp. 395-409).

Indicates the uncertain prospects of the U.N. planned union of Libya, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan into a single Libyan state by 1952.

THE INTERCHANGE OF GOVERNMENT EXPERTS. Dorothea S. Franck. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. October, 1950. pp. 410-426).

Considers the advantages to be derived from U.S. experts sent abroad and trainees sent to this country by their governments.

THE JEWS OF PERSIA. Walter Fischel. (In *Jewish Social Studies,* New York. April, 1950. pp. 119-160).

An historical article covering the years 1795-1940.

THE MIDDLE EAST IS A PROBLEM FOR THE WEST. Woodrow Wyatt. (In *The New York Times Magazine,* New York. November 26, 1950. pp. 14-15; 60-64).

Social and economic improvements must be undertaken by the United States and Great Britain if friendly relations are to progress.

THE MIDDLE EAST: NEXT HOT SPOT? Vincent S. Kearney. (In *America,* New York. December 16, 1950. pp. 330-332).

Social, economic and military agreement must be reached by the West if it hopes to maintain oil and air advantages.

NEEDED: A STRATEGY FOR OIL. Halford L. Hoskins. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. January, 1951. pp. 229-237).

Middle East oil resources must be safeguarded from totalitarian infiltration and eventual capture.

NOTE SUR LES JOURNEAUX FRANCAIS DE SMYRNE A L'EPOQUE DE MAHMOUD II. L. Lagarde. (In *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1950. pp. 103-144).

Describes France's influence on the social and political life of Turkey from 1824 to present times.

PAKISTAN. (In *The Round Table,* London. September, 1950. pp. 372-376).

Gives current opinion on Korea, the Liaquat-Nehru Pact and trade conditions.

PAKISTAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. V. S. Swaminathan. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. October, 1950. pp. 447-466).

A thorough presentation of political, social and economic conditions with statistical tables.

POLITICAL UPSET IN TURKEY. S. J. Weinberger. (In *Middle East Affairs,* New York. May, 1950. pp. 135-142).

The seemingly democratic move in the change of party is partially offset by peasant illiteracy and reactionary pre-Kemalist propaganda.

VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

The Church in Gambia. W. Haythornthwaite. (In *The East and West Review,* London. October, 1950. pp. 122-125).

Although Islam is strong among most of the native tribes, the Fulas offer a fertile field for Christian evangelization.

The Climate of Contemporary Islam. J. W. Sweetman. (In *The East and West Review,* London. October, 1950. pp. 126-127).

The principal dangers seem to be the disappearance of the community and the disruptive effects of scientific thought and political unrest.

Old Times Evening in Kuwait. Dr. C. S. G. Mylrea. (In *Arabia Calling,* New York. Summer, 1950. pp. 3-12).

Reminiscences to progress since 1906.

Religious Freedom in Indonesia. C. A. O. Van Nieuwenhuijze. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London, January, 1951. pp. 94-103).

The future appears very uncertain but the predominant Muslim community is already claiming Indonesia for Islam.

A Survey of the Year 1950. Norman Goodall and Margaret Sinclair. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London, January, 1951. pp. 26-27; 30-38).

Sounds an optimistic note for constructive work done in Pakistan, the Near East and North Africa, though political relationships still afford continual unrest and required careful handling.

The Church and Its Youth in Iran. H. B. Dehqani-Tafti. (In *The Ecumenical Review,* New York. October, 1950. pp. 42-46).

Different racial and economic backgrounds, as well as Muslim opposition to Christian teachings, present a puzzling situation to converts and would-be converts.

The Ecumenical Movement in Egypt. S. A. Morrison. (In *The Ecumenical Review,* New York. October, 1950. pp. 26-28).

Tells of the friendly coöperation among the Christian churches due to "The Fellowship of Unity" and "The Committee of Liaison between the Communities."

The Near East School of Theology. Horace M. McMullen. (In *The Congregational Quarterly,* London. July, 1950. pp. 259-262).

An historical article on the Beirut enterprise from its beginnings in 1835-1839 under the hands of the Rev. William Thomson and Cyrus Hamlin.