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SUGGESTIONS FOR FRIENDS OF MUSLIMS

The time has come when a program for Christian teaching for Muslims should be characterized by planned emphasis on those aspects of Christian life that our Muslim friends already appreciate. For while we should continue indefatigably to present to them the life, the teaching, the Crucifixion, the resurrection and the ascension of Jesus, there are also particular facts about Christian community life about which Muslims are showing increasing interest. Some of them are asking, "Why are these advantages among Christians and not among us?" I believe that we should take full advantage of this situation, for concessions that are being made in these matters show points at which the wall of obdurate Muslim complacency is beginning to weaken.

Aspects of Religious Freedom. Among the lessons that Sir Hassan Suhrawardy has insisted should be learned by Muslim peoples from the history of Christian peoples is their separation of Church and State. "With the dawn of the Renaissance," he has written, "the Protestant movement became one of the main influences towards progress, and the impetus which brought about the separation of the Church from the State has resulted in progress in literacy and in economic prosperity for the masses. Freed from apostolic and feudal rule, the Christian world has gone on progressing, and today they (the Christian countries) are the leading spiritual and civilizing influences" (*Islam Today*, Arberry & Landau, 1943, p. 208).

It is because of their lack of such discrimination between the functions of Church and State, according to Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, that "the Muslims unfortunately have remained more or less in the stage where they were in the middle ages." And another student of Muslim history and

philosophy reached similar conclusions as to the relative stagnation that we find in Muslim thought as the result of the suppression of free discussion and investigation. Sir Sayyid Amir 'Ali has written of the way the Mu'tazilites developed the *'ilm al-kalām* (the science of reason) to combat not only the "non-Muslims who assailed the teachings of Islam from the outside," but also to fight against the "patristic Muslims who aimed at its degradation from within" (*Spirit of Islam*, 1935 edition, p. 415).

It would strengthen our Protestant Christian position if more use were made of Professor M. Searle Bates' outstanding book, *Religious Liberty*. Excerpts could be printed in Christian journals in English that are read by Muslims, and these excerpts could also be translated and widely circulated in convenient pamphlets. For example, in the chapter, "What Is Religious Liberty?" Dr. Bates has included suggestive definitions and valuable lists of specifications. One of these lists, which was presented by Dean Luther A. Weigle, of Yale University, and which recognizes the need we have to tolerate also those who disbelieve entirely, would command a modern Muslim's thoughtful interest at once:

I. THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING RIGHTS:

1. To believe as reason and conscience dictate. (The terms "reason" and "conscience" are used, here and throughout this list, not as opposed to "revelation," but as denoting the human response to divine revelation.)
2. To worship God in the ways which reason and conscience dictate.
3. To live and act in accordance with such belief and worship.
4. To express religious belief in speech. This includes all forms of expression—art, journalism, books, and radio, etc., as well as oral speech.
5. To express religious belief for the purpose of persuasion, to convince and convert others. This includes all forms of religious propaganda. It is the human side of Christian evangelism.
6. To educate his children in his religious faith (including both belief and action).

7. To join with others in the organized work and life of a church, congregation or other religious fellowship.
8. To withdraw from such affiliation with a religious organization or community; and, at the constraint of reason and conscience, to change belief, with corresponding changes in worship, action, speech, education, and affiliation.
9. To disbelieve in God, to deny religion, and to act, speak, persuade, educate and affiliate with others in ways appropriate to this belief or atheism.

The Advantages of the Individual Family. A program of Christian teaching for Muslims should also emphasize the advantages that are readily discernible in the individual family as distinguished from any joint-family system. Freedom for the exercise of reason and conscience can scarcely be expected in a patriarchal family that is like a tribe. When a young couple face life with conscious responsibility and self-reliance they are more likely to develop habits that will enable them to seize new opportunities for progress and to resist and overcome difficulties. When Jesus gave his great pronouncement, that "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife" (Matt. 19:5 and 10:7), he endorsed a great change.

There is no apology required for the Christian standard of the individual family as the social unit. It represents a distinctly higher stage of personal progress. It may be contended that there are greater hazards for weaker members of a family, and that large numbers of children are apt to be discouraged, but the fact remains that individual families with marked personal enterprise and initiative are much less likely to remain *in statu quo*, for wherever the joint-family system has prevailed for any considerable time it has resulted in social, intellectual and industrial stagnation. It has served as a bulwark for conservatism and traditional belief, and has discouraged freedom for experimentation and the spirit of adventure that leads to the development of new resources.

It is when the importance of the individual family is realized that the necessity for happy and appropriate marriage will be appreciated. The wife too must be a "person," for she too will have much to contribute to the enrichment of the

personalities of her children, that they may become men and women with resources of courage, vision, faith, and responsibility.

Opposition to the Seclusion of Women. One of the requirements of the Muslim law that is only speciously defensible among modern Muslims is the *purdah* system. Studies in the life of Muḥammad, as particular instances and circumstances are revealed in the Qur'an and the Traditions, go to show that the *purdah* (or the *hijāb*) was introduced in the first place into the Prophet's household *only after it had become polygamous*. Muḥammad's first wife, Khadījah, whom he seems to have regarded as a person worthy of the highest respect, and with whom he had lived until her death in appreciative companionship, had not been subjected to the *hijāb*. But subsequently, when the Prophet was the leader of the growing Muslim community in Medina, he practiced and countenanced polygamy. It was only then that the custom of keeping women veiled and in segregation, the *purdah* system, was introduced.

Many Muslim leaders in modern times, both men and women, have come to realize that with such a handicap their community cannot expect to maintain itself on a social equality, or on an educational level, with peoples whose women are free from this restriction. Effective Christian teaching along this line, making use of books and pamphlets that set forth attractive examples of advantages to be gained by abolishing the *purdah* system, will be welcomed. By means of biographies, and in fiction and in poetry, a determined effort should be made to present the ethical necessity of monogamous family life.

Jesus' insistence on the worth of the individual person—whether man, woman or child—has been tremendously significant for the progress of mankind. For "persons" are capable of becoming members of the Father's spiritual family. Hence their moral obligations towards the Father and towards other members of the family. It is for this reason that human personality is so highly valued by all Christian thinkers as an end in itself. And in this conception the person-

ality of women also is sacrosanct. They are not to be regarded as chattels, or as serving merely as means to the end of man's sensuous pleasures.

After commenting on the evil effects of polygamy on political and economic conditions, S. Khuda Bakhsh wrote that "no less catastrophic were its effects on the social and moral life of the people. . . . While in Arab antiquity a high value was placed on nobility of descent on the woman's side, later this was completely ruled out of consideration, with the result that no check or restraint was left upon indiscriminate polygamy. A degenerate and effeminate race then came into being, with neither courage nor ability to maintain the high traditions of their fathers. Polygamy, in short, degenerated into the rule of mistresses and courtesans. It destroyed well-regulated family life and let in a flood of evil effects. There originated the fatal germ of decay and death that stole into all Muhammadan states" (*Studies: Indian and Islamic*, pp. 94-95).

From such a statement by a highly educated and influential Muslim writer Christian teachers may get a vision of the opportunities that there are now for the testimony of happy Christian homes. The burlesque or travesty of Western home life that is too frequently represented in cinema stories is not being counteracted by a sufficient number of better pictures, with representative and wholesome scenes from Christian homes. This situation offers a challenge to those who wish to promote an effective program of Christian teaching among their Muslim friends.

Distinguish Christianity from Judaism. Islam is mainly built upon Jewish conceptions. Books and sermons that clearly distinguish New Testament principles from the accepted tenets of Judaism are therefore of fundamental importance. At the present time we believe that there is much to be gained in our conferences with Muslims by emphasizing these distinguishing Christian principles.

When the beliefs and practices of Islam and of Judaism are examined together their outstanding similarity is observed at once. And there is a tactical advantage to be gained

from this procedure, for important criticisms may be made of Jewish beliefs and practices which will be appreciated by thoughtful Muslims as applicable to their own (cf. Matt. 15:11 and Luke 11:46).

As for the Muslim legal system, "it has the defect of excessive rigidity, and is essentially a medieval code which it is difficult to adjust to modern conditions. According to orthodox theory the Islamic law is a divine institution, revealed under divine inspiration, and consequently not to be added to or altered by human agency. Legislation is not within the power of any earthly sovereign. All attempts to expand the law as originally revealed by resort to human reason have been regarded with disfavour as being acts of impiety, though some of the 'schools'—and in particular the Hanafi school which prevails in India—have allowed themselves much more liberty in this respect than others. But all development through the aid of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) came to an end, in or about the eleventh century, when it was declared that the doors of investigation and interpretation were henceforth to remain closed: the law had crystallized into its final form" (O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, p. 131).

At this time, when an effort is being made to establish the Muslim *sharī'a* as the basis for the legal system of Pakistan the question of its adequacy or inadequacy, in view of the complex needs of a modern state, will be repeatedly discussed. The distinctly Old Testament character of the *sharī'a* should be clearly indicated in our Christian publications, and the basic criticisms that Jesus made of the Jewish law should be widely proclaimed.

Understanding Youth Problems. Another opening for the Christian declaration of Jesus' characteristic teachings comes with the many personal problems that are facing Muslim young people. Modern psychology has raised for them most important considerations. To what extent are they free agents, for what aspects of their behavior are they responsible, and are there any guiding principles that should be kept in mind as they make critical decisions in their lives? In suggesting an answer we may point out that there are three

principles that Jesus emphasized that are as interesting as they are incontrovertible. The first of these Jesus derived from his direct observation of mankind. We may call it the principle of psychological determinism, which Jesus expressed in simple terms of profound meaning: "The good man out of his good treasure bringeth forth good things: and the evil man out of his evil treasure bringeth forth evil things" (Matt. 12:35). A second principle to recommend to youth in making their decisions is Jesus' own high standard of loyalty, which he expressed by willing obedience: "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me and to accomplish his work" (John 4:34). And the third of these principles may be described as Jesus' rule of joyous service: "It is more blessed to give than to receive (Acts 20:33).

In personal conferences, in classroom digressions, in special sermons, and especially in pamphlets of striking interest, it is possible to make these characteristic teachings of Jesus stand forth with commanding power to meet the needs of Muslim youth. For there are very many who are seriously concerned with meeting personal problems of right living.

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ON THE BORDER OF ISLAM

Our mission is in the northwest of Liberia where the tropical forest meets the grasslands. In those grasslands arose the great Mandingo Empire which began to be Muslim from the middle of the 11th century A.D. Why, in all that time, did not the believers convert the people of the timbered area?

Now Mandingoes are settled among the pagan Mende, Kisi, Bandi and Loma of our highlands as traders. They are looked upon as strangers. Where they do occupy one ribbon of land, close to Macenta, as ordinary agriculturists, many of them are reported to be pagans. I preached in one such supposedly Mandingo town and found the speech and physiognomy to be Loma.

Was there an old-time Mandingo penetration that has since faltered? Their men seem to know nothing of the ancient greatness of the tribe. For a long time it was frequent for other tribes to have Mandingo chiefs over them. This seems to have stopped now that the Liberian Government provides free elections.

Does the Bandi story of The Mah Who Prayed to God, as if this were an unusual thing, go back to earlier Muslim influence? It tells of a fairy-tale-like intervention of God Who speaks through a snail and a lizard. The worshipper, rescued from his peril, commands his sons to care for the little beasts. One son fed them in grateful memory; and the other prayed to them. Does the story try to explain the division of men into theists and animists?

Names derived from Arabic have become naturalized among the pagans: Abraham, Blama; Joseph, Josefu or Jusu; Moses, Musa; Muḥammad, Mamadi or Momo. There are surely twenty more. The following religious words show the same origin: Gala, God; Aijene, Heaven; Jehama, Hell; Maleka, Angel; Amina, Amen. Where there was a native equivalent it has remained in parallel use. (Of course it may be that the pagan equivalent expresses a borrowed idea.) Lomas have an expression meaning "in the fire" for Hell, but did they use any such expression before Muslim influence af-

fectured their ideas and vocabulary? The Loma word for God seems to mean "great sky body," hardly as personal as Gala.

Some heathen people maintain that their ancestors previously worshipped God. Today the pagans appeal to fetich but often if not always use a clause meaning "if God agrees."

One of our young teachers has preserved a devotion once more widely used. It is possible that he is the only person of his years who knows this prayer:

"Almighty God (heathen name used) and Momo Lami, Messenger of God (name derived from Allah), I have gone to holy diviners and asked them what to do in order to have peace in the household. They told me to go and cut two twisted vines in the bush and to put them on the threshold after saying some prayers. Thus all the inhabitants of the house will walk on them. I obeyed what they said. May the Lord receive this sacrifice at the hands of Momo Lami. May this sacrifice be added to the nine sacrifices which our ancestors offered to Thee. Amina." Rubric: Then all the inhabitants will lay their hands on the sacrifice and say "Amina."

(In the prayer the Bandi version does not contain the words "May the Lord receive this sacrifice at the hands of Momo Lami." I think the teacher interpolated it into his translation as expressing the mood of the offering.)

Who is this Momo Lami? The teacher thinks he is Gabriel. Some of our catechists think it means our Lord Jesus Christ. Our best educated teacher was sure it referred to Muḥammad. (Momo is one of the names derived from the great Meccan's.) When I asked a wise old pagan priest of the nearby Loma tribe he suggested that Momo Lami was Christ and that a greater person, called Akeli Momo in their tradition, was Muḥammad. It is not very clear!

These rags and relics of an influence once more powerful have been helpful—a little—to Christian missions by providing a vocabulary and some religious concepts. For years we have enjoyed the title Galabeyaiti—"God's People," a name possibly once used of the followers of the Prophet, but now lost to them.

Our practicing Muslims are devout but not so fervent as

their cousins in areas of greater concentration. Wives beyond four are as common as fortunes allow, wine is somewhat used, any of them would send their children to Christian schools. Their increase is due rather to biology than to proselytism. We missionaries do not expect much opposition from this somewhat derelict lot of men.

Yet their influence is powerful in areas where we should be sought as illuminants. They are called to bless homes, markets, and enterprises, administer oaths, and attempt spiritual healing and control of phenomena throughout our heathenness. If they come to a hospital for civilized medicine they know that the young man who injects them may be thinking he got his job through the chicken they sacrificed for him. If the mission's schools and medical service are thought of as giving us an advantage over the Muslim, be it noted that his magic is a more convincing "come-on" to the primitive man who does not reason nor pray deeply.

But if our local Muḥammadans are the derelicts of an influence that dwindled or the advance guard of an army that never arrived, there is nothing to be smiled away about two forces now moving in our direction. The Aḥmadiyya sect has a big place at Bo, half way between us and Freetown, Sierra Leone. Berbers, or some such copper-skinned Africans, are moving steadily south from the region of Dakar. This time they do not come at all as conquerors and they settle quite in native manner among the Negroes, looking for better economic opportunities. They do bring a more informed religious practice and are looked up to as teachers. One such young man has come to our vicinity. We shall need experienced and well trained Christians to hold the line against these new threats to our evangelistic hopes.

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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND ISLAM TODAY

THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT

Phrases, like people, sometimes conceal a hidden depth, unsuspected by familiarity. "The spur of the moment" is among them. It has popularly come to indicate the improvised and the hasty. It suggests an absence of fore-thought and matured judgment. An opinion given "on the spur of the moment" is something unpremeditated and therefore merely approximate. "The moment" is supposedly a mere occasion, and that brief, a bare snatch of time, while "the spur," if it deserves the name, is the awkward necessity to answer, at best tentative, and at worst, embarrassing.

It is hard, though, to see how this picturesque phrase should be what it is, if that is all there is within it. But of course it goes far deeper into a sense where "the spur" is really a spur and "the moment" really momentous. For that adjective, we must remember, is as much a result of the noun as the adjective "momentary" is. A moment, in fact, is more of "a what" than "a when" or rather it is "a when" because it is "a what." It is a measure of time because it is a happening. Momentum, movement, life, significance—all these belong to it, and "the spur" is no less than the energy, the impetus, which gives these motion and origin. So, rescued from familiar usage, the phrase turns out to mean the impulse behind the action, the crux of the significance, the urgency within the event.

What follows, then, under this heading, is not an essay in extempore thought, but an attempt to understand again the spur in the missionary movement to Islam, to explore the quality of a valid Christian relationship to the contemporary Muslim. We are all familiar with the truth that ours is a momentous generation, that momentous issues belong to Islam today and that the Church has momentous obligations towards non-Christianity. But what in essence is the "spur" in these situations, what is the force of the Christian outreach? What is it in Islam which magnet-like invites and compels the action of the Christian mind and will in its behalf?

Missions mean meeting. And meeting requires a rendezvous where it is accomplished, an incentive through which it is broached. It is, in the words of the old Psalm, a going out and a coming in. In the one, we make ourselves responsible for a Christian communication to Islam. In the other we labour to bring it home. But what in fact is the spur that takes us out and brings us in, what the summons to this momentous business we call witness and ministry? The answer we are seeking is not intimidated by statistics, since it is neither established nor refuted by arithmetic. It seeks, furthermore, to be par-

ticular and specific, in that it concerns itself squarely with the contemporary situation.

The reader, then, will not expect a general essay in missionary obligation, nor an exhaustive treatment of Muslim-Christian contacts in the past. The basic commitments of historic Christianity are assumed. The marching orders of the Church lie in the content and power of the Gospel itself. The desire of the Church to be catholic in geographical and ethnic embrace is simply the corollary of its faith that it is catholic in truth and doctrine. The whole truth belongs to the whole world. The divine constraint in Christian missions is simply the counterpart of the divine initiative in revelation and redemption. The incarnate Christ requires the missionary Christian. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." Our readiness to make Christ known and loved is the direct measure and consequence of what, so known and loved, He means to us. An apology for Christian missions is no more, no less, than an apology for the Christian faith. Who lives by the Word, lives with the Word.

All this is axiomatic. Our concern here is within, not about, this fundamental obligation. The aim is reflective rather than comprehensive, to meditate, that is, on some of the salient aspects of our Muslim indebtedness as they are illustrated and clarified by the world in which Muslims and ourselves are neighbors and contemporaries. Such reflection is necessary from time to time if only because the essentials can so readily become blurred in our pre-occupation with what we think is serving them. Our awareness of contemporary changes and developments may not sufficiently bear upon our continuing activity unless we are careful to bring the two into effective relation. Moreover, there is the ever present temptation to suppose that Christian witness in the world can be allied, not seldom in a subordinate capacity, to purposes other than its own. Such alliance may imperceptibly lead into its betrayal. At a time when political and cultural issues are strident and precarious, the Church needs to beware lest its distinctive embassy in the world is compromised by those for whom it has only a utilitarian meaning. The Muslim world, for example, is almost everywhere territorially adjacent to the Communist and there is undoubted urgency about the relation of Islam to Communism. But that must not blind us to the priority of the relation of both to Christ, or to the fact that we cannot outmatch the Marxist unless we have pursued our Christian witness in the pure sincerity of its own worth. It is the manner only, not the motive, of our Christian communication which requires to be adjusted to those situations which are the pre-occupation of the politician or the sociologist. These we cannot in fact serve unless we are consciously serving more than these. It is the "more" which so easily

escapes us, in the welter of events, unless we are careful to renew the vision and the spur of it and thus repossess the pure vocation. These, in their turn, but only these, will send us back to the concrete situations and out into the present world, enabled for a relevant evangelism.

In this deep and ultimate sense, then, with the improper attitudes disowned, our question is how this moment in the world of Islam reformulates and commends the abiding Christian obligation. What, in the times and their urgency, constitutes the peculiar indebtedness of Christians towards their Muslim brethren in the bundle called humanity? It is a question which clearly calls for some survey of contemporary Islam. It also calls for an honest consideration of what the Christendom of the West means and how it seems to the Muslim today. In the task of Christian communication, the embarrassing "whence" is no less exacting than the inhospitable "whither," as an obstacle to understanding. At no time more than the present have essentially Christian relationships with Islam needed delicate, but none the less decisive, differentiation from the total impact of "the West" upon the Muslim mind and realm. There has been no more potent source of Muslim confusion and misconception than the indiscriminate pressure of Western life, science and politics, in their disintegrated and disintegrating diversity, upon the world of Islam. Strenuous efforts on our part are necessary to disentangle the Christian and the "Western" so that even if the Muslim goes on disqualifying the former it need not be on inappropriate grounds belonging to the latter. This clarification of contemporary truth calls for discerning patience and single-mindedness, but there is no escape from it if Christianity is to be effectively available for Muslim discovery. Only on the condition of such a dissipation of obscurity can we hope to renew in this generation the age-long Christian endeavor to bring an unobscured Christ and an unprejudiced Islam face to face.

From these introductory reflections, we may proceed to assess the current Muslim-Christian situation so as to clarify the Christian incentive and thus present the "moment" and the "spur" together. It is hoped in four successive issues of *THE MUSLIM WORLD* through 1952 to see contemporary Islam as experiencing the spur of opportunity and to consider Christianity faced with new and old forms of its historic Muslim obligation, to be described as "the spur of Christ's discredit." It is intended that in both sections the contemporary survey shall be active in its motives and that the study of relations shall be factual in its terms. That the two properly belong together is implicit in the title. That they should be held together is the reason for its choice.

I. *Islam—The Spur of Opportunity.* Opportunity, so we are told, at least in the Chinese language, is synonymous with "crisis." It is with the sobering sense of "crisis" we speak of "opportunity": in the hopeful sense of "opportunity" we must think of "crisis." Certainly opportunity as it is applied here to contemporary Islam spells a searching and exacting Muslim vocation, if the precedents of history are a safe guide to the tides in the affairs of man. And for the Christian the recognition that Muslim nations stand at a moment of destiny constitutes a strong spur to new ventures of understanding and ministry.

It is only a measure of our ability to live through tremendous changes in relative unawareness, if we are not more markedly impressed by the contrasts between twentieth century Islam, and Islam in earlier times. In this the sixth decade of the twentieth century it requires an effort of mind fully to appreciate the differences in the political realm alone between Islam now and at the time when this journal was founded for its study in 1911. Forty crowded years have brought widely self-conscious, independent Muslim nations into the councils of United Nations which, four decades ago, were still practically dependent and, with slight exception, apparently resignedly so. The transformations set in motion by the First World War and accelerated by the Second, are perhaps still too recent to be in true perspective. It is obvious that this new responsibility as active participants in human affairs over vital areas of the world, geographically and economically considered, means a testing opportunity for Muslim communities, in which their concepts of nationhood, of law, liberty and toleration, of society, justice, education and government, bear once again directly upon events. Muslim ideas and principles are no longer saddled by dependent political status and now bear responsible relation to the movement and shape of affairs. Muslim writers and publicists have been everywhere eager to welcome destiny and to record their readiness and capacity to meet it. In the creation of Pakistan, Muslim insistence on the indispensability of communal, political status to Muslim survival has received a concrete affirmation that is unmistakable. Deep-rooted as were many of the factors making for Pakistan, it cannot be forgotten that the idea ran counter to equally far-reaching considerations against it. Perhaps the Christian mind has not yet sufficiently probed the immense significance of the Pakistan idea and the fact of Pakistan as an index to Islam today. As an act of faith in itself, as an assertion of an Islamism, in which political identity is made the *sine qua non* of religious identity, the claim to Pakistan is eloquent of Islam's entire self-confidence, provided its distinctiveness can be expressed in political separateness. Pakistan as a state is historically an assertion equally of the proviso

as of the faith. The immediate point is that the requirement, which, in Pakistan, Islam has proclaimed to the world as necessary to its true being, has been almost everywhere fulfilled. There are few Muslim communities in the world which have not their "Pakistan," which lie, that is, under any political restrictions or reservations of their essential Islamism, which suffer any limitations not belonging to all nations by virtue of the inter-relatedness of contemporary life. This being so, Islam, as never before in history, has the summons of a free and equal obligation in and to the world. If Muslim apologists and leaders have grasped this situation with both hands, the best thought in the West, has, in its turn, been quick to sympathise with their confidence, and to serve, as may be, its fulfilment. But no one supposes that the situation epitomized in the fact of "Pakistan" and actualized almost throughout Islam, is anything but exacting and strenuous. The Rubicon is a great river to cross but it looks for greatness on its farther side.

But our present purpose leads into the narrower aspects of this contemporary Muslim world which are specifically religious. Few historians of any part of human civilization can doubt the underlying responsibility of religion in and for society, the decisive and formative role of religious belief in the quality and fate of communities and nations. We must never forget what J. V. Langmead-Casserley calls "the profound relevance of what happens on the intimate and existential levels of personal life to what happens in historical and social development."¹ The role of Islam as a creed of faith, a code of behavior, in the allegiance of its faithful and in this new, exciting setting, is the fundamental point. It would appear that this role is tested particularly in relation to two clearly recognizable areas of present-day Muslim life and culture. So at least the Christian sees it, in the perspectives supplied by his own faith and in a desire, neither patronizing nor censorious, to play a Christian part in a situation for which the love of Christ gives him a legitimate concern. These two areas may be roughly described as physical distraction and intellectual responsibility. There is on the one hand the material state of Muslim populations in many parts of the world and on the other the spiritual attitudes of thoughtful people and the intellectual obligations of any self-respecting religion in the modern age. These are in a word the issues of social and mental leadership as they legitimately look to, and belong with, the quality of the prevailing religion. If this reads somewhat cryptically, it should be elucidated in what follows, though the second field of discussion must be postponed until April.

¹ J. V. Langmead Casserley, *Morals and Man in the Social Sciences*, 1951.

A. *The Opportunity in Physical Distraction.* The sub-heading may sound paradoxical. The average man might feel instinctively that the material burdens of the Muslim peoples—the fear of Pakistan for vital rivers which rise, all of them, in Indian territory, the population problem of Egypt, the depressed peasantry everywhere, the bitter hopelessness of “Palestinian” refugees—that these are precisely what disqualify present opportunity. These, he would say, are the hindrance not the spur of Muslim purposes. In point of fact, he may well be right. But, whatever be the empirical fact, the essential truth is otherwise. For these situations, not only, if not least, the Palestine Arab tragedy—but all of them—have faced contemporary Islam, in its new era of self-responsibility, with exactly that kind of summons which searches what we have been and tests what we are.

Go first to the Nile Valley. The population of Egypt is steadily increasing. Almost twenty million people living off a little more than a quarter of that number of acres of cultivated land. There seems little hope of any drastic increase of that area, since the system of irrigation is already extensive and highly developed, and chemical fertilization very widely employed. Only the ultimate possibility of atomic power in application to the problem of fertilizing desert from sea holds out any large prospect of extending the range of Egyptian agriculture, already one of the most highly capitalized anywhere. This state of affairs is, of course, the result of geography. But if it is inseparable from physical nature, it is certainly aggravated by the social system. Egyptian writers themselves have recognized the chronic disproportions of wealth, the great extremes of poverty and richness which plague Egyptian life. It is proving far more difficult to apply the fundamental human and social remedies to the situation than to bring into being admirable technical and scientific aids to productivity. Experience everywhere in the world confirms this. The relinquishment of privilege, the development of active social conscience and its expression in concrete movements for social betterment, are far more costly than technicological improvement. It is in this sense that distraction means a searching opportunity.

Is it merely some theological whim, or something much deeper in the fitness of things that has brought the theology of Frederick Denison Maurice to the fore in England and America of late?² However that may be, his is a mind of much import to Islam. Brought up as a Unitarian he felt that he could only adequately believe in God as One, if that single Divine Sovereignty was in active relation to human need and sin. Hence his discovery that faith in God meant faith

²e.g., A. R. Vidler, *Witness to the Light*, New York, 1948; H. G. Wood, *Frederick Denison Maurice*, Cambridge, 1950.

also in His Incarnation, and so, in turn, faith in the Holy Trinity. Throughout Maurice's thought and life it was this firm faith in the Divine Unity which was the motive spring of his crusade for social righteousness. Out of the oneness of the living God arises the oneness of all men in Him and the demand for the submission of all human life, not least the social order, to that same obedience. If there is no God but God, all for which He makes us responsible must bow to His reign. Not a little recent Muslim apology sounds the same note and sees in the doctrine of the Divine unity a clarion call to social righteousness. The age-long Muslim insistence on human compassion and the obligation inherent in possession which underlies *zakāt* point to the same contemporary duty. The religious opportunity in the present physical distraction of so many Muslims is thus evident and crucial.

Its cruciality is simply that the motive-source of personal responsibility for the evil in society, of civic discipline, and public-spirit, of the righteous passion that alone begets and enforces the necessary legislation, lies ultimately in the strength of theological belief and personal religious devotion. These in turn call for thinking as venturesome, and leadership as strong, as Abraham's, on the part of the custodians of religious dogma and the trustees of its transmission in the education of the successive generations. They call also for fine qualities of self-criticism and corporate penitence. Political programs which attempt to transform an imperfect or an unworthy social system, unless they appeal to doctrines of class warfare which generate still greater miseries, can only be sustained by religious or spiritual springs of action. These arise from the wells of faith.

Another aspect of the physical side is to be found in the developing local control of industrial wealth, particularly oil, in the countries of the Middle East. The recent nationalization of Iranian oil industry in and around the largest refinery in the world, at Abadan, is generally regarded as indicative of what may be expected elsewhere. The merits of the case are not here in place. The relevant fact is that the invocation of the principle of national ownership brings also into the control of the local state a long accumulated wealth of plant and equipment. The value of all this, of course, hinges upon the local presence of the oil it can produce. When nationalization, invoking this geographical possession, lays its hands on all, it enriches, ex hypothesi, the entire people upon whose right of ownership it proceeds. Such nationalization makes more pointed the whole fact of oil resources in the Muslim world and on its own premises sharpens the internal, social obligations arising from them.

It may be that something so enriching can only paradoxically be described as "distracting." Yet such it assuredly is. The sudden and

immense increase in the national wealth, especially in the smaller Shaikhdoms of the Gulf, quite literally produces "embarras de richesse," while undermining both the tribal order and the emotional pre-suppositions of an age-long way of life. In the large "oil" countries, where vast social problems await the correction or the retrieval made possible by the golden flow of the world's liquid power, this accident of geology means a critical opportunity. And it is precisely in these larger states that its positive potentialities for the common good have been less readily recognized and attained.³ That peasant poverty remains so pathetically widespread in Iran has been consistently laid at the door of a foreign—and that a commercial—entity. The truth of the allegation will therefore be judged by the prompt efficacy of the remedy. The remedy may disclose that there are potent domestic reasons also for the persistence of human misery.⁴ At all events there are internal factors to be overcome which may be the more difficult to surmount for the fact that they have escaped notice in the vehemence of the external attack and the confidence of a single panacea.

Be that as it may, the oil wealth of the Gulf countries already amounts to a social revolution and promises to activate several more. It makes the occasion for far-reaching improvements in the general standards of living. It emphasizes the need for a just and fruitful distribution of wealth. It imposes new and unpredictable strains upon old systems both of thought and society and, by no means least, it creates a labor situation of the utmost importance. All these, in turn, bear exactly upon religious faith and forms. How far and how soon can Islam rise to the demands presented to it by the new industrialism rising over its ancient sands? How best can the Christian Church take active and proper cognizance of its duty to an Islam so challenged? The map, as well as the Spirit, tells us that these questions are not merely academic.

But certain objections to the trend of this discussion may be arising in the reader's mind. If he is a hard-headed "realist" he finds all this too ultimate and remote. Religion is here taking itself too seriously. Politics in the Middle East, politics anywhere, are governed by factors more immediate, more sordid, more material, than these. The answer to the "realist" is that his dimensions need enlarging. Let him study history and man more profoundly.

Another objection is of an entirely different kind. It is that Christians have enough problems in their West and these disqualify them

³ See Olaf Caroe, *Wells of Power, The Oil Fields of S. W. Asia*, London, 1951, pp. 138-141 for a discussion of "Welfare" Government in Bahrain and Kuwait.

⁴ See "The Agrarian Reform Problem in Iran," in *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. V., No. 2, Spring 1951, p. 181.

from adumbrating "Muslim" duties. This attitude makes a virtue of its unconcern. More anon about Christians and Christendom. But meanwhile both Islam and Christianity are committed to belief in the one-ness of humanity. The problems of the contemporary world are parallel. We would be disloyal to the plain lessons of our own social history if we denied that its struggles for truth in society had been sustained by the faith of Christ. We should be craven traitors to the trust of that experience if we failed to strive humbly for its mediation to every land and people, the more so as the science from which the social and religious problems result came also from the West to weigh everywhere upon contemporary man.

A third objection may suggest itself to others. It is that Christians have no ground for expecting from Islam the response that is here envisaged. On Christian premises as to man and grace and the Holy Spirit, it may be argued that Islam is already found wanting in those realms where it is here invited to be adequate. A full answer is postponed. But surely the objection is invalid. Must we not agree that the truest way to the discovery of limitation is not that of external information, but of interior experience? Current Muslim apology is full of the conviction of the adequacy of Islam to every problem in contemporary life. Let Muslims be encouraged to pursue that confidence, albeit radically and totally, in relation to the burning issues of their society. Let Christians, in the interests of human welfare, as well as of theological truth, assist and encourage them in so doing. They may be sure that Muslims, sincere and realist enough in their endeavors, will run into those old, stubborn facts about human nature and its need of divine redemptive action which, for the Christian at least, drive men to Christ. If the truth be as we have received it, they cannot drive them elsewhere—unless out into despair or back again to complacence and the selfish life, or—it may be—into the costly experiment of Communism.

But to return to the immediate situation and one deeper aspect of the spiritual vocation of the contemporary Muslim, which may perhaps in the end be the clearest indication of needs which only Christ can satisfy. Much has been written and will be written about the catastrophe of "Palestinian" Islam. It is deeply unfortunate that any active consciousness of this weight of human misery should be regarded in some quarters as incipient anti-Semitism. As if sympathy for one section of humanity could only be safe in a conspiracy of silence about another, or that the love of one's neighbor was a concept divided against itself. These irrelevancies should not detain or deter us. Whatever the truth may be about the manner and motives of their exodus, whether it was in truth departure or dispossession or both, the fact is that the Palestinian Arabs are gone, that their homes

and property are in other hands and that some 800,000 have suffered and still suffer in mind, body and estate. Tragic as is the physical homelessness, the mental bitterness and frustration are still more shattering. The Conference of Christian Churches in Beirut in May last bears witness to their continuing concern about this vast and persisting problem. The "camps" of refugees are subsisting, but little more, and that in pathetically miserable conditions. Short-term assistance, though vital is only a palliative. Long-term resettlement and re-establishment, the only real cures, are immeasurably more difficult. Yet it is precisely here that spiritual initiative and resolute leadership can only arise from within the soul of "Palestinian" Islam.

"Palestinian," with perhaps a brutal deliberateness, is italicized. For "Palestine" in the pre-1948 sense is no more. Events have happened which, however unjust, however intolerable, are none the less irrevocable. Painful as it may be, there can be no wisdom in refusing to recognize the "is-ness" of events. No fact could be clearer than that the advent of Israel is a fact which cannot be undone. It is evident that it has come to stay. There are recent signs that even politicians on the Arab side are recognizing the empirical reality of the situation and accepting it, but everything depends upon the spirit of that realism. Does it belatedly come to terms with events, or does it shape them? Religiously considered, are there not minds and spirits in the land of Abraham and Jeremiah to see the things that are and perceive that the truest patriotism is not to hark stubbornly back to what has gone, but to turn creatively to what has come to be? In the categories and dimensions of true leadership such a time is at hand in the Arab world.

Everywhere in the Arab dispersion there has been a festering and frustrating bitterness of soul, which would allow no solution but reinstatement and therefore in turn no prospect but despair. It is an attitude of mind which jeopardizes the entire future in the determination to restore the entire past, which turns in futile hostility against those whom it can blame. In terms of homes lost, careers broken, the familiar shattered, and families dispossessed, this reaction is so perfectly comprehensible that none but the dullest could fail to warm to it. And yet is there not a call in adversity to re-create life, even out of the complete destruction of material resources, through the resources that are eternal in a people's soul? Even in the crude language of the market, merchants are prepared to cut their losses. In the realm of the spirit, losses are not cut, they are transformed. Is this treachery to Arab honor? Is it damnably pro-Jewish? Is it not rather the open secret of all history? It says nothing about condoning wrong, nor yet about requital. These it leaves to the Divine Sovereignty in which it believes. It has learned that there are situations in which evil is only

borne away when it is borne, that tragedy only perpetuates itself in misery until it is faced in the spirit which disarms its consequences and liberates its victims.

The vocation to such a reaction awaits a creative minority whose would be the task and a glory. It would become the enabling condition of a true resettlement, a beginning again. It would release in new volume the strenuous sympathies of Western helpers, now hampered by the blankness of the present impasse and eager to cure rather than palliate the pain. Yet they know that such a point of view can only come to birth within the people themselves and though prayer and the spirit of Christ may serve it, there are no substitutes in travail.

Yet the precedents are many and they are local. Was it not in these very lands that Abraham became an exile and enriched the world, begetting a people who still revere his name? Was it not beyond the same Jordan that people from Jerusalem went into captivity losing the same vineyards and the same familiar hills? Did not prophets then transform the tragedy by interpreting its inner meaning? Is there not in the earliest Islam before the Hijra a noble strain of suffering and tribulation, earning and ensuring its survival? And greatest of all stands the Cross of Christ, the supreme example of evil suffered and so transformed. May it not be that in the present situation "Palestinian" Islam is faced by history with an opportunity for an interior decision of great meaning and consequence? Do not its present circumstances, quite irrespective of the rights and wrongs, the blunders and crimes which brought them about—find their truest interpretation and re-ordering in clues that are very close to the heart of the Christian understanding of God and evil? "In Jerusalem in this century," writes the Rev. E. F. F. Bishop, "Islam has been called to undergo and understand what it has so long denied—the experience of suffering, corporate and individual." He adds: "It is not merely suffering, but vicarious suffering, it has come about through little fault of their own."⁵ In this situation Christians are alongside their Muslim brethren—Arab Christians from Palestine, caught in the same maelstrom and Christians from the West, few but active. It is this "alongsidedness" in sympathy, in action, and in prayer, which may best minister to a new and liberating decision among the refugees and those who speak for them.

None will suppose that this is easy. Exacting in its own nature, it becomes all the harder from the plain truth that the end is not yet. If Israel is an accomplished fact, it is also a fluid fact. No one supposes that we are at an end of what its contiguity may mean,

⁵ See *International Review of Missions*, Vol. XL, No. 159, July 1951, p. 282.

territorially and emotionally, for its Arab neighbors. But the future of those relations turns, equally with their legacy in the past, upon a positive renewal of mind and will, as in the presence of a challenge, rather than a negative resistance. Not all the elements in the situation are essentially competitive. Israel's adjacency need not be always and only an irritant to Arab Islam. It can well be an invigorating stimulus, a cathartic agency—but only if the barrenness of resentment, however natural, is outlived.

It must not be thought that this concentration here on what may be called the ultimates of the present situation, religiously considered, implies any forgetfulness of the material details involved. There are just claims to compensation, to the releasing of "frozen" Arab assets as a means to active rehabilitation, and other legitimate demands of the dispossessed. There are urgent questions, emotional, economic and political, as to the location of resettlement. There are the endless items of pain, bitterness and brokenness, in the great anonymity of human misery—the untold personal tragedies known only in their fullness to the sufferers themselves. Yet from every point of view the attitudes here suggested as a religious interpretation of the recent past, would, more surely than any others, tend to a hopeful resolution of them all. Compensation is a more potent claim, if restraint, dignity and justice sustain it. It is compromised if lawlessness prevails towards Jews elsewhere, whose assets might be the counters in an orderly exchange. Wherever the new homes may be, in a thickly-settled belt close to Israel or remote in the Jazīrah region or in Jordan, their moral calibre is the prime factor. And the choice of location should be governed mainly by considerations of human welfare, rather than of politics. Miseries are most surely repaired when they are conquered in spirit. The absence of such a conquest may still bedevil their material retrieval. In every sense then, the invasion of Arab Islam by Zionist Israel, both territorial and cultural, spells a provocation, the long-term reaction to which is a crisis of decision.

Is all this visionary, unreal, impolitic? Perhaps. But it is only through vision that people cease to perish. There are plenty of forces on both sides of the Jewish-Arab conflict, making for power politics and employing the diplomacy of contempt. When one is bitterly worsted, it needs profound religious wisdom to see beyond these to the door of opportunity. But it stands none the less, and through it lies the re-possession of the soul. How close does physical distraction lie to the secret of the Christ of God. "At the watercourses of Reuben there were great searchings of heart."

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AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S THOUGHT CONCERNING THE NATURE OF MAN AND UNION WITH GOD

Introduction. It is generally agreed that al-Ghazālī commands the respect not only of all generations of Muslims, but also of all ages of truth-seekers. This respect is deserved because of the peculiar combination in the man of the capacity for mystical experience and the rationality of a powerful intellect. Mysticism has been rejected scornfully by orthodox theologians and rationalists for its annihilation of the gulf between God and man, for its making supreme a human, psychological experience. It has been accused of making the Self God, and God the Self. Al-Ghazālī manages to slip by these objections while fully maintaining the validity of his mystical experiences. He manages to give his spirit free reign without letting his beliefs and tenets degenerate into pure emotional subjectivism. He does not allow his feelings to be the sole interpreter of his experiences, but bids his intellect direct and channel his revelations along an orthodox line. Nor is the intellect to him a restraint; for it is the specifically human quality (as opposed to animal) and is next-to-highest in the scale of human faculties. In the finality al-Ghazālī places inspiration, the transcendental prophetic spirit, above the intellect; but in practice he is prudent and allows his intellect to some degree the control of his ecstasy.

In this combination of rationality and mysticism al-Ghazālī can, perhaps, be compared to St. Augustine who similarly gave his mystical experiences orthodox interpretations. The intellects of both men allow their profound and many-sided spiritual insights to become communicable (even though the Supreme can only be experienced) in two ways: (1) Through their intellects both men universalize their experiences by talking of them in terms of what can be known, instead of muttering wholly subjective, externally meaningless phrases; and (2) both recommend themselves for general reading by accepting the bounds of orthodoxy. The importance of these techniques of communicability cannot be over-emphasized. There is no doubt that the mystic "sees" something which is outside the range of reason and which is beyond the vision of most human beings. Equally certain is it that these mystics thus obtain spiritual insights from which other people can learn and benefit. The art is to make these insights understandable and acceptable to other people—a rare accomplishment indeed, for the mystic is too inclined to think only of himself and his revelation and, therefore, to talk in obscurities. We are all familiar with the pretentious, esoteric-sounding phrases which make us wonder whether what lies behind them is the fullness of Divine revelation, or emptiness of mind.

Al-Ghazālī, however, seems to escape both this kind of obscurity and offense to the orthodox, although his balance sometimes totters at precarious levels. It is worthwhile, in studying such a unique man, to inquire just how he maintains his balance. Can he keep it perfectly? Can he combine orthodoxy and mysticism without distortion of either? Can intellect and ecstasy always work together, and do they never come into conflict?

In answering such questions it is pertinent to examine al-Ghazālī's views concerning the nature of man and his intelligence, and his position in regard to the idea of union or identity with God. By so doing we can understand how reason and ecstasy fall into his scheme of things, and how far he stretches orthodoxy toward pantheism, the magnet for all those who have mystical experiences.¹

The Nature of Man and His Intelligence. As Wensinck says: "L'idée de l'origine divine de l'homme domine toute l'anthropologie de Ghazzali."² This recurrent theme of the divine origin is what makes it possible for him to think that men can approach God in deed and through the ecstatic experience. It is, of course, utterly opposed, as al-Ghazālī himself points out,³ to the naturalistic view that man is merely a higher type of animal with no lasting spiritual being. And, more subtly, it is opposed to Niebuhr's view of the dual nature of man. Like al-Ghazālī, Niebuhr believes that the nature of man is in between those of God and the animals; but, whereas al-Ghazālī lays greater emphasis on the divine side of man, he tries to maintain the middle path. Sin, Niebuhr says, has two facets. One is the forgetting of our divine nature and acting like animals, the other is the forgetting of our animal nature in striving to be God. Niebuhr would certainly say that al-Ghazālī erred in the latter direction.

But further discussion on al-Ghazālī's view of the dual nature of man is necessary. Here the issue of the difference is raised between Niebuhr and al-Ghazālī as a delicacy to tantalize us while we peruse al-Ghazālī's thought on this subject. For the idea of "un être mi-ange mi-animal" is certainly, as Wensinck points out, more Christian than Neoplatonic or Muslim.⁴ Yet perhaps it is Neoplatonic influence which makes al-Ghazālī turn this idea in such a different direction.

The discussion of the Platonic-Neoplatonic ingredients in al-Ghazālī's thought in itself constitutes material for a separate study.

¹ For al-Ghazālī's works, the discussion is restricted to those available in English or French translation.

² *La Pensée de Ghazzali* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1940) p. 39.

³ Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (Cairo: A. H. 1322); Eng. tr. with Introduction by W. H. T. Gairdner (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1924) p. 89. Also see al-Ghazālī, *Al Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (Damascus: 1934); Eng. tr. *The Confessions of al-Ghazālī* by Claud Field (London: John Murray, 1909) pp. 25-6.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

Suffice it here to say that al-Ghazālī's symbolism reminds us of Platonic ideas⁵ and that his belief that the soul belongs more to the realm above than to this earth is a Platonic element.⁶

In *Kīmīyā' al-Sa'ādah* al-Ghazālī expresses his view concerning the dual nature of man in this way:

Man has two souls, an animal soul and a spiritual soul, which latter is of angelic nature. The seat of the animal soul is the heart, from which this soul issues like a subtle vapour and pervades all the members of the body. . . . It may be compared to a lamp carried about. . . . The heart is the wick of this lamp, and when the supply of oil is cut off for any reason, the lamp dies. Such is the death of the animal soul. With the spiritual, or human soul, the case is different. It is indivisible, and by it man knows God. It is, so to speak, the rider of the animal soul, and when that perishes it still remains, but is like a horseman who has been dismounted. . . .⁷

Again, in answering the question of how we are to know the real essence of man, since he has both angelic and animal qualities, al-Ghazālī says: "the essence of each creature is to be sought in that which is highest in it and peculiar to it."⁸ Note that here al-Ghazālī shows the core of the difference between his thought and that of Niebuhr: al-Ghazālī says that the highest of man's two natures is his real essence; Niebuhr says that the balance between these two is his real essence. Yet the difference is reducible to a matter of emphasis, for, even while saying that man should rise "from the rank of beasts to that of angels" and be "conscious of his superiority as the climax of created things," al-Ghazālī hastens to add that at the same time he should "learn to know also his helplessness. . . ."⁹ Despite his stressing the angelic as the real essence of man, al-Ghazālī cannot forget the animal side because he is quite conscious of man's weakness and helplessness.

Yet it is interesting to note how far afield this different emphasis carries him from Niebuhr and other Christians who interpret the "mi-ange mi-animal" as meaning that man's place during his lifetime is on earth because of his sin. For al-Ghazālī thinks of this world as a thing alien to the essential nature of man. "This world is a stage or market-place passed by pilgrims on their way to the next . . . the spirit of man has descended into this world of water and clay"¹⁰ in order to acquire some knowledge of the works of God. And again: "The reason of the human spirit seeking to return to that upper world is that its origin was from thence, and that it is of angelic na-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁷ (Cairo: A. H. 1343); Eng. tr. *The Alchemy of Happiness* by Claud Field (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

ture. It was sent down into this lower sphere against its will to acquire knowledge and experience."¹¹ "Against its will" is here the revealing phrase, because it shows that al-Ghazālī thinks that the soul neither basically belongs here nor desires to be here.

Wensinck quotes passages which show that al-Ghazālī believes that every child is born with a pre-disposition toward faith and knowledge of God, and that the soul is capable of perfection through education and recollection of its primordial divine state.¹² He concludes that "l'idée chrétienne du péché originel est remplacée ici par l'idée que la chute se répète pour chaque individu."¹³ That is to say, in Christian theology there was one fall, that of Adam for the original sin; but in Ghazalian theology every individual soul falls from Heaven. This means that al-Ghazālī, rather than believing in the divine origin of the father of mankind, the fall, and the consequent taint of sin on every human being, believes that every individual human soul has a divine origin, and that the fall is for experience instead of for punishment. To the Christian, man by nature belongs on earth because he is a sinner; to al-Ghazālī man does not belong on earth by nature because his original essence is alien to the world.

Thus we see that al-Ghazālī's idea of the divine origin of man can make him think that since man does not belong in the world he should try to stay out of it by paying attention solely to matters of the soul while taking care of only the basic bodily needs: food, shelter, and clothing.¹⁴ The spirit of man should constantly strive for its original nearness to God. This is its natural yearning and chief work on earth.

Al-Ghazālī has another way of looking at the nature of humankind besides the dualistic—the animal-angel, physical-spiritual—concept. He is fond of reiterating, in various fashions, a scale of human faculties. This scale of faculties may be said to fit within the dualistic concept of man, for the lowest degree is purely animal, the highest near divine. The exposition found in *Mishkāt al-Anwār* may be taken as representative of al-Ghazālī's thought which varies in detail on this subject. (1) The sensory spirit is found in the lowest animals and the smallest infant. (2) The imaginative spirit is "the recorder of the information conveyed by the senses. It keeps that information filed . . . so as to present it to the intelligential spirit above it, when the information is called for." It is the faculty of memory. Infants and the lowest animals do not have it. (3) The intelligential is the specifically human faculty, the apprehender of ideas, the "axioms of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 44-6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴ *Kīmiyā' al-Sa'ādah*, p. 44.

necessary and universal application"—i. e., universal or absolute truths. (4) The discursive or ratiocinative spirit "takes the data of pure reason and combines them, arranges them as premisses, and deduces from them informing knowledge." It branches from one proposition into two, by taking previous conclusions and drawing fresh conclusions from them, "and so goes on multiplying itself *ad infinitum*." (5) The transcendental prophetic spirit compasses what is beyond the intelligential and discursive spirits: "several of the sciences of the Realms Celestial and Terrestrial, and pre-eminently theology, the science of Deity."¹⁵ Al-Ghazālī himself would distinguish his highest faculty by saying it does not deal in definitions as do the intelligential and discursive, but in experience. You can be instructed in ideas and premises, but you have to experience ecstasy.¹⁶

Similar schemes are found in *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl*¹⁷ and in *Kīmīyā' al-Sa'ādah*.¹⁸ A comparison of these with the one in *Mishkāt*, however, will show that there are variations in the number and descriptions of faculties, but yet that al-Ghazālī is saying essentially the same thing each time he describes the phases. An examination of the different statements of what is really the same scheme indicates that al-Ghazālī has a constant *notion* of the nature of man's faculties, but that he has no set dogmatic *system* concerning them.

Al-Ghazālī reiterates these stages or phases because they are so important to him, to his readers, and to anyone who tries to consider *what man is*. There will always be naturalists who limit the nature of man to that of a higher animal, but al-Ghazālī correctly perceives that there is a gulf between man and the animals in that man can make ideas, concepts, premises, and conclusions. And he further repudiates those who would limit man to the function of reason, who would deny him the possibility of the divine gift of vision or inspiration. For on this highest plane there are marvels and wonders as much beyond the reach of intelligence as is the intelligence beyond the discriminating faculties and the senses. "And here, a word to thee, thou recluse in thy rational world of the intelligence! . . . Beware of making the ultimate perfection stop at thyself!"¹⁹

Pantheism? Having seen al-Ghazālī's views concerning the nature of man, we can now look at his idea of man's relation with God. Before beginning the body of the discussion, however, I should like to make it clear that the final interpretations are taken from *Mishkāt al-Anwār* because it is my belief that that book, of the sources used, most clearly expresses al-Ghazālī's own inner belief. There is much

¹⁵ *Mishkāt*, pp. 81-6.

¹⁶ This is suggested in *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl*, p. 42.

¹⁷ p. 51.

¹⁸ p. 60.

¹⁹ *Mishkāt*, p. 82.

directly contradictory material among the several books; but I believe this was intended by our author, different material being presented to different audiences with conscious purpose. An examination of the tone and style of the various books will indicate that *Mishkāt al-Anwār* is the most mysterious, recondite, and serious. The direct homely analogy and delightful little tales which are found in *Al-Munqidh* and *Kīmiyā'*, for instance, vanish to be replaced by broader, less defined symbolism, pregnant with hidden meaning. Despite the emphasis Scherer lays on the fact that *Ayyuhā 'l-Walad* was written for a learned man,²⁰ it appears to be both more patronizing and more particularized than *Mishkāt*. That is, talking on a lower plane and on the particular subject of knowledge being no good without action according to it, it does not make the attempt to approach the heart of the divine mystery to the extent that *Mishkāt* does. *Mizān al-'Amal* is also a learned work, but is more concerned with the practical "way" of the mystic and, therefore, is not directly pertinent to the following discussion.

In the section which classifies the various degrees of light *Mishkāt al-Anwār* presents what is "hardly less than an outline of a philosophy of religion."²¹ This section renders concrete and precise as much as is possible the central facets of al-Ghazālī's thought, and so it is worthwhile here to give a brief summary of the degrees of light:²²

I. Those veiled by darkness are the Atheists who think nature the cause of the world and those who, in seeking riches, renown, dominion, satisfaction of lusts, make Self their God.

II. Those veiled by mixed light and darkness:

A. Of those veiled by the darkness of the senses the lowest group is idol-worshippers and the highest is the dualists who worship absolute light—and darkness.

B. The highest class of those veiled by the darkness of the imagination denies all aspects of corporality to Allah except one: that of direction. It thinks of Him literally as "up above" and, therefore, cannot refrain from making Him referable to upward direction. The view of this class is that something which cannot be said to have position or dimension either in the world or without the world cannot be imagined to exist at all.

C. Those veiled by darkness of the intelligence see that Allah transcends all direction. They formally repudiate anthropomor-

²⁰ In Introduction to *Ayyuha 'l-Walad* (Beirut: the American Press, 1933), pp. 12 & 15.

²¹ Gairdner, in Introduction to *Mishkāt*, p. 4.

²² Gairdner (Introd. to *Mishkāt*, pp. 5-8) gives a more complete outline which includes inferences concerning which sects and schools Ghazālī would include in each degree. Gairdner also gives an analysis of the significance of these degrees of light in *Der Islam*, V, 1914, pp. 122-9.

phism, but they fail to see that in saying their God hears, sees, etc., they think of these attributes in terms of their own faculties.

III. Those veiled by pure light: All classes in this third degree avoid denoting Allah by attributes.

A. The first class refers to Him in terms of His creation by saying He is the Mover of the Heavens.

B. This next class perceives that the mover of every several Heaven is a separate being, and that all the Heavens are enclosed by an outer sphere. It is the Lord Who communicates motion to this outer sphere.²³

C. This class sees that the communication of motion to the outer sphere is a service to the Lord and must be done by an angel at His command. The Lord Himself is the Obeyed-One.²⁴

IV. Those who Attain have seen that, were this Obeyed-One identified with Allah, the unity of Allah would be impaired "on account of a mystery which it is not in the scope of this book to reveal."²⁵ Therefore, IT is transcendent of every characterization which can be made—i.e., *nothing* can be predicated of God.

A. For the first class of Those who Attain "the whole content of the perceptible is consumed away . . . the seen things, but not the seeing soul, are obliterated."²⁶

B. The highest class "are themselves blotted out, annihilated. For self-contemplation there is no more found a place, because with the self they have no longer anything to do. Nothing remaineth any more save the One, the Real. . . ."²⁷

Were this last the only statement of al-Ghazālī we should read, there would be no doubt in our minds but that his finality is pantheism.²⁸ Yet there are complexities centering around these facts: (1) al-Ghazālī was accepted by orthodoxy. (2) Others of his books appear to repudiate pantheism entirely. (3) In *Mishkāt* itself appear contradictions of this apparent belief in annihilation of the individual soul and in Allah's being the only real Existence.

Discrepancies between his recondite and popular books can make us wonder if al-Ghazālī dissimulated his true views under the cover of his popular books and thus feigned his way into orthodoxy. The

²³ Gairdner points out that in Ghazālī's time this system of concentric spheres with a first mover was simply a matter of astronomy and was considered axiomatic by all thinkers. (*Der Islam*, V, p. 134).

²⁴ A provocative idea is that of comparing the belief of this class to the Logos doctrine in the Gospel of John.

²⁵ *Mishkāt*, p. 96.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

²⁸ Gairdner discusses the question of pantheism in a more technical and thorough fashion than this article attempts in his Introduction to *Mishkāt* and Article in *Der Islam*, V, pp. 122-53.

sincerity of the man thus comes into question. For there can be no doubt concerning the import of what he says in *Al-Munqidh*:

The degree of proximity to Deity which they attain is regarded by some as intermixture of being, by others as identification, by others as intimate union. But all these expressions are wrong. . . . Those who have reached that stage should confine themselves to repeating the verse—

“What I experience I shall not try to say;
Call me happy, but ask me no more.”²⁹

This admonition seems utterly opposed to the description in *Mishkāt* of Those who Attain. But perhaps this passage from *Mishkāt* is more in keeping with the passage from *Al-Munqidh*:

But the words of Lovers Passionate in their intoxication and ecstasy must be hidden away and not spoken of. . . . Then when that drunkenness abated and they came again under the sway of the intelligence, which is Allah's balance-scale upon earth, they knew that that had not been actual Identity, but only something resembling Identity . . .³⁰

Yet al-Ghazālī goes on to explain and qualify the passage—he will not repudiate the idea that identity is experienced. He even quotes the notorious al-Ḥallāj³¹ as one who has reached the “Mystic Verity of Verities”:

those words of the Lover at the height of his passion:—
“I am He whom I love and He whom I love is I;
We are two spirits immanent in one body.”

For it is possible for a man who has never seen a mirror, to look into it, and to think that the form which he sees in the mirror is the form of the mirror itself, “identical” with it . . .³²

And he tries further to reconcile this mystic experience of identity with what he knows to be true, namely that God and man cannot be identical.

In relation to the man immersed in this state, the state is called, in the language of metaphor, “Identity”; in the language of reality, “Unification.” And beneath these verities also lie mysteries which we are not at liberty to discuss.³³

Here al-Ghazālī makes a distinction between “identity” and “union” which he does not make in the passage in *Al-Munqidh*.

Yet the whole problem of Ghazālī's sincerity does not turn on the factor of absolute consistency between *Al-Munqidh* (and other popular books) and *Mishkāt*. Al-Ghazālī himself held the view that the adept had three different doctrines: (1) the tradition of one's parents and the region in which he lives, (2) the doctrine one uses in exhortation and teaching which is variously adapted according to the dif-

²⁹ p. 48.

³⁰ *Mishkāt*, p. 60.

³¹ Gairdner thus identifies the unnamed person in note to *Mishkāt*, p. 61.

³² *Mishkāt*, pp. 60-1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

ferent levels of one's pupils, and (3) the doctrine one believes within oneself, which remains a secret between the self and God.³⁴ This is not hypocrisy; it is merely good sense. The masses cannot understand certain things and will object to what they cannot understand. Therefore, certain things must be concealed from them or simplified for them. This is exactly the difference between *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl* and *Kīmiyā' al-Sa'ādah* on the one hand, and *Mishkāt al-Anwār* on the other. The passage quoted from *Al-Munqidh* and the comparable passage from *Mishkāt* both show al-Ghazālī's great prudence because he is warning honest Ṣūfis not to express themselves in a manner which will offend the orthodox. Yet to the populace he says: "Do not try to express yourselves at all because saying you feel union or identity is wrong"; whereas to the more learned and thoughtful, although he still advises caution in speech, he opens a discussion about the words of an extreme pantheist and attempts to justify them or explain them in terms of orthodoxy. *Al-Munqidh* is the safer book, but not because al-Ghazālī says there things which are contrary to his true belief. Al-Ghazālī simplifies in *Al-Munqidh* and there avoids discussion of some of the highly controversial points; but he virtually says the same thing in both books, namely, that the mystic feels that he experiences identity but that such a thing does not objectively happen and must not, therefore, be spoken of as identity. In both books he is teaching, but in each on a different level. Adapting different works to different classes of audiences requires both great wisdom and great art, and we must not condemn al-Ghazālī for it!

Gairdner makes much of the fact that al-Ghazālī is a tantalizing author, that he refuses to discuss something further just when we are coming to the climax and revelation.³⁵ It is true that this is dramatic art on the part of our writer, but it is not only this. Al-Ghazālī simply reaches points at which the continuation of discussion would transgress on the bounds of that doctrine that could not be taught but was reserved a secret between the self and God. Gairdner wants to know to whom al-Ghazālī revealed these mysteries, but I would say he did not necessarily reveal them to anyone. He kept them to himself because they were inexpressible in word-concepts.

The clue to the situation is found in the previously-quoted passage from *Mishkāt*:³⁶ "when that drunkenness abated and they came again under the sway of the intelligence, which is Allah's balance-scale upon earth, they knew that that had not been actual Identity,

³⁴ al-Ghazālī, *Mizān al-'Amal* (Cairo: A. H. 1322); Fr. tr., *Critère de l'Action*, par Hikmat Hachem (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1945), pp. 146-9.

³⁵ In Introduction to *Mishkāt*, p. 3.

³⁶ p. 60.

but only something resembling Identity." Al-Ghazālī experiences, lives, and believes a paradox. It is evident from his description of the highest degree of light that he actually feels identity and believes that feeling the greatest gift of God. It is equally evident that when his ecstasy leaves him, his intellect, "Allah's balance-scale," tells him that this could not have been actual identity. Al-Ghazālī had too long studied the different sects of Muslim orthodoxy to let his subjective experiences be his only guide. His philosophical, theological mind bade him recognize the sense to such statements as "the sample (man) must be commensurate with the original (God), even though it does not rise to the degree of equality with it . . ." ³⁷ and "manifested is prior to, and above, manifested, though He be 'with' it; but He is 'with' it from one aspect, and 'above' it from another." ³⁸ God, then, is other than His creatures and must remain so. The worth of the ecstatic experience cannot be denied, but it seems incompatible with the equally valid experience that man is not God and God is not man. Al-Ghazālī feels pantheism, but he reasons the otherliness of God. The person who believes in these two incompatibles is forced to a level of belief which is beyond complete, consistent expression.

It has been seen that al-Ghazālī steadily rates the faculty of revelation higher than that of intellect in his various scales. But it has also been seen that the intellect maintains the highly important function of "Allah's balance-scale." Intellect and ecstasy both implement and temper one another, for al-Ghazālī marries the two in a system of religious belief which he can only partially reveal to us. Al-Ghazālī's occasional pantheism is indubitable, yet his orthodoxy impeccable. How this can be is the secret between him and Allah.

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³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHARĪ'A LAW VI

TESTAMENTARY BEQUESTS

Reforms in the law applied by the Sharī'a Courts of the Middle East countries in matters of testate and intestate succession have lagged far behind those concerning marriage and divorce. This is chiefly, no doubt, because the issue was rightly regarded as much less urgent on humanitarian and social grounds. But it is also attributable in part to the fact that in Egypt, the country which has taken the lead in this matter, an attempt has been made to amend this part of the law by means of comprehensive legislation¹ rather than the ad hoc treatment of points of outstanding urgency which characterized the Laws of 1920 and 1929 discussed in previous articles. Instead, the Law of Inheritance, 1943, and the Law of Testamentary Dispositions, 1946, represent a systematic codification of the relevant law in a form designed largely to eliminate the need for further reference to the "authoritative Ḥanafī opinion" which is still, of course, applicable in any point not covered by the new legislation. Somewhat similar, but much less comprehensive, proposals have been drafted in Lebanon, in Iraq and in Syria, but they have not yet passed the respective Legislatures and it remains doubtful if and when they will. We shall confine our attention here, therefore, to legislation which has actually been promulgated on the subject of testamentary dispositions, leaving that of intestate succession to the following article.

But although Egypt is the country which has taken the lead in this matter it was not in Egypt that innovations regarding testate succession were first put into effect, for here—as in matters of marriage and divorce—it was in the Sudan that some of the reforms under discussion in Egypt first received the force of law. True, Judicial Circular No. 53 of 1945, with its two short articles, bears very little relation to the breadth and scope of the Egyptian Law of 1946, but it did at least include one of the most controversial of all the Egyptian reforms. Thus Art. 1 provided that a bequest of up to one third of an estate should be both valid and operative whether to an heir or non-heir without regard to the (other) heirs' consent, whereas a bequest in excess of one third should be valid but only operative if the (other) heirs, being competent to make a gratuitous disposition of property and aware of what they were doing, consented thereto; while Art. 2 declared the validity of a testamentary distribution of the different items of an estate between the various heirs and provided that where this distribution allotted to any heir more than his proper share the

¹ cf., for marriage and divorce, the Ottoman Law of Family Rights.

excess should be regarded as a bequest—i.e., where the total advantage thus secured by favored heirs did not amount to more than the bequeathable third of the net² estate the distribution would stand, whereas, if it exceeded this and the other heirs did not consent thereto, a proportional reduction must be made in each of these “favored” allotments.

For a testator to distribute the items of his estate between his heirs even in strict accordance with the rights of each (where this is possible) was disallowed in the Ḥanafī law previously applicable,³ but authority for this can be found within the pale of Sunnī Islam. Here, therefore, the preamble to Judicial Circular No. 53 simply states: “It is a matter of concern to a man who has property of which to dispose, to put his estate in order and effectually to distribute it by will among his heirs, item by item, as seems most beneficial. In this way he obviates the quarrelling which would otherwise arise among his heirs regarding the distribution of his estate after his death, the judicial settlement of which may take a long time and last for many years. So we have decided that it is permissible for a testator to specify the share of each heir . . . and that a will to this effect shall be valid and operative, according to the opinion of certain Shāfi’ī and Ḥanbalī jurists.”

But the castastrophic innovation in this Circular from the juristic point of view is the provision that a bequest to an heir is now both valid and operative, regardless of the attitude of the other heirs, provided it does not exceed the bequeathable third—and also, as a natural corollary of the combination of this with the provision discussed above, that a distribution of an estate by will which does not favor certain heirs at the expense of others to more than this extent is similarly valid and effective. This not only runs directly counter to what is commonly termed the consensus of Sunnī Islam⁴ but also to certain Prophetic Traditions whose authenticity this consensus has usually been held to guarantee. Yet here again the preamble to Circular No. 53 simply states: “Seeing that heirs normally differ between themselves in poverty and wealth, in majority and minority, or in their need or freedom therefrom, testators feel inclined to distinguish between them in favour of those most in need of their property, but they can find no means to realize their desires in the rules regarding bequests at present in force, since the fact that bequests to

² i.e., after debts have been paid, etc.

³ On the grounds that it might involve a measure of favoritism (see below).

⁴ In the Mālikī, Zāhiri, and one Shāfi’ī and Ḥanbalī view a bequest to an heir is invalid per se, while in the Ḥanafī, the dominant Ḥanbalī, and the other Shāfi’ī opinion it is valid in itself but inoperative unless the other heirs consent thereto.

heirs are dependent on the consent of the other heirs hinders many people from benefitting those of their heirs who stand in the greatest need of such benefit. So we have decided that a bequest to an heir which does not exceed the bequeathable third shall be valid and operative." Not a single jurist from any of the four schools could be cited in support of this revolutionary reform, but instead reference is made to the Qur'anic "Verse of Bequests" (II, 176)⁵ and to the "opinion of certain expositors, including Abū Muslim al Aṣṣfahānī, as also of certain jurists outside the four schools." It is clear, however, that the dominant motive was social rather than juristic, for the preamble not only opens with the words: "Experience has shown that people are in need of a certain relaxation of the rules regarding bequests at present in force, and that in the adoption of the following provisions there is manifest advantage," but the somewhat slender juristic foundation which alone could be quoted in favor of this innovation is immediately followed by the remark: "and we have chosen to adopt this opinion because people are in need of it."

The juristic arguments have been somewhat expanded in recent commentaries on the Egyptian Law,⁶ where Art. 37 similarly provides that a bequest to an heir within the bequeathable third is valid and operative without regard to the consent of any other party. It is urged, for instance, that no evidence can be cited for the usual claim that the "Verse of Bequests" was abrogated by the "Verses of Inheritance" which specified the rights of different heirs, and several Sunnī commentators can be quoted in support of this contention; that the leading tradition alleged to forbid bequests to heirs is inadequately supported, is sometimes quoted with the addition of the words "in excess of one third,"⁷ and can in any case be interpreted as meaning that now that the shares of the different heirs have been exactly prescribed, the command, rather than the right, to make legacies in favor of parents and relatives has been abrogated; that no true consensus on this subject has ever in fact been reached; that the "Verses of Inheritance" themselves expressly add "after legacies and debts," which implies that the rights of heirs must be regarded as limited to the two-thirds of the estate over which a testator has no power; and that within the bequeathable third, therefore, a testator may do what he likes—so what could be more meritorious than to aid a needy relative, whose rights of inheritance may be trifling, seeing that charity to one's own family is always, in Muslim eyes, regarded

⁵ "It is prescribed to you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leaves goods, that he bequeath equitably to his parents and kindred. This is binding on those who fear God."

⁶ The official Explanatory Memorandum, however, here confines itself to an almost verbatim repetition of the preamble to the Sudan Circular.

⁷ e.g., by the Ja'faris.

as doubly praiseworthy? It must, however, be admitted that all these arguments, together with the allusion to certain jurists "outside the four schools," largely represent a somewhat elaborate circumlocution to avoid stating directly that the reform is based on the view regularly held, among the Shī'a, by the "Twelvers" or Ja'farīs and also by several Zaydī jurists, since public opinion in Sunnī lands would still find a direct and open adoption of the views of the heterodox Shī'īs exceedingly difficult to stomach.

The Law of Testamentary Dispositions of 1946 comprises no less than eighty-two articles which cover the subject in all its major aspects, ranging from a new and comprehensive definition of the very term *waṣīya* as "a disposition regarding an estate postponed until after death" in Art. 1 to complex provisions regarding usufructuary bequests and bequests of a stipend in Arts. 50-63 and 64-70 respectively. Considerations of space preclude any attempt to treat the Law systematically in this article, and it will be necessary to confine our attention to a selection of some of the more interesting and original provisions. But it is noteworthy in passing that Art. 2 of this Law largely repeats the relevant clauses of Art. 97 of the Code for Sharī'a Courts, 1931, when it provides that no disputed claim of a bequest or its oral revocation should be entertained by the Courts unless (in regard to bequests or revocations subsequent to A.D. 1911) supported either by official documents, by documents wholly written and signed by the testator, or by ones to which his signature had been officially authenticated. This, of course, runs directly counter to the strict Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī view that the validity of a written bequest is always dependent on the testimony of two competent witnesses to its oral declaration, but it finds partial support among the Mālikīs and certain Ḥanbalīs, more in the Qur'ān itself and among the Zāhirīs, and must, in any case, be regarded as a further instance of the Ruler denying judicial relief in cases in which experience has shown that perjury and falsehood abound.

An interesting example of the eclectic character of the Law is provided by the articles which cover the somewhat vexed question of the "acceptance" of bequests (Arts. 20-25). Thus Art. 20 decrees (inter alia) that a bequest to an embryo, a minor, or one under interdiction shall be accepted or refused by his guardian with the approval of the Majlis Ḥisbī (now Maḥkama Ḥisbīya), and a bequest to an institution by its legal representative, if any;⁸ Art. 21 that where a legatee dies without either accepting or refusing the option passes to his heirs; Art. 22 that acceptance or rejection need not immediately follow the testator's death, but that the right to the bequest lapses if the legatee fails, without adequate excuse, to respond within thirty

⁸ Otherwise no acceptance is necessary in respect of an institution.

days⁹ to official notice of the bequest (with an adequate description thereof) and request for his decision tendered by the testator's heirs or representatives; Art. 23 that a bequest may be accepted in part only, or by some only of the legatees; Art. 24 that (inter alia) an acceptance of a bequest after the testator's death is only invalidated by a subsequent rejection if the latter is itself accepted by one of the heirs; and Art. 25 that where the legatee is in existence at the testator's death and the legacy not postponed until some later date, ownership is regarded as passing from the date of death, while any increase in the property between the dates of death and acceptance is not considered part of the bequest but a simple addition to the legatee's property.

Some idea of the varied sources from which these articles are derived may perhaps be obtained from a brief summary of the differences between the four Sunnī schools on the points covered thereby. In the case of bequests in favor of specific legatees all four schools agree that their acceptance, expressed or implied, is an essential element in the contract. This acceptance is, moreover, only valid and effective, in the Sunnī as distinct from the Ja'farī view, when given after the testator's death. If, however, the legatee dies without either accepting or refusing the bequest, the Ḥanafīs regard this as implied acceptance and include the property concerned in his estate, while the other Sunnī schools, together with the Ja'farīs, pass the option of acceptance or rejection to his heirs (except that one Ḥanbalī view regards the legacy as lapsing in such cases). In the case of bequests to embryos the Ḥanafīs dispense with acceptance, while some Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs insist on their guardians' acceptance after their birth.¹⁰ Similarly in the case of minors and those under interdiction, all agree that the right of acceptance belongs to the guardian in the case of those who are below the age, or mentally incapable, of discernment. Where, however, they have the capacity of discernment, the Ḥanafīs recognize the acceptance of either the word or the guardian, while the Ḥanbalīs say that only the guardian may accept (and that he has no right to refuse) in the case of anyone legally incompetent to act for himself. As for legatees of an indefinite number, the Ḥanafīs (when they regard such legacies as valid at all) dispense with any need for acceptance, as do also the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs; while the Shāfi'īs insist on the acceptance of their legal representative, if any. Again, the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs only regard ownership of the property as passing to the legatee from the time of his acceptance, while the Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs ante-date this to the testator's death: but the

⁹ Excluding periods allowed for travelling or correspondence.

¹⁰ Here there is an unprecedented development in Egypt, where guardians may now be appointed, and act, for embryos even before their birth.

Ḥanafīs regard any increase which accrues to the thing bequeathed between these two dates as part of the bequest, while the Shāfi'īs regard it as a simple increase in the property of the legatee. There has also been much dispute as to whether a legatee who has once accepted a bequest after the testator's death can subsequently reject it. The Ḥanafīs deny this, but the Ḥanbalīs and some Shāfi'īs make a distinction between acceptance and the taking of possession, on the ground that the legatee's ownership only becomes established, at least in things which are weighed and measured, by the latter. In this point the Ja'farīs agree with the Ḥanafīs. It is clear, then, that the Egyptian reformers had good Sunnī authority for the great majority of the provisions included in these articles, but that they occasionally introduced a precaution of their own.

A large part of this Law is, necessarily, concerned with the conditions to which testators, legatees and bequests themselves must respectively conform. Those concerning testators are covered by Arts. 5, 14 and 16, which provide that they must be legally competent to make a gratuitous disposition of property, with the exception that one under interdiction for prodigality or simplicity, or a "minor" who has reached the age of eighteen (solar) years, may make a bequest with the consent of the Majlis Ḥisbī (now Maḥkama Ḥisbiya); that continuous madness which lasts until death will invalidate a bequest previously made; but that subsequent interdiction for prodigality or simplicity will not have this effect. These provisions represent a selection from the views of several jurists. The Mālikīs, Ḥanbalīs and one Shāfi'ī view allow minors who have reached the age of discernment (e.g., over seven) to make a bequest, but the other Shāfi'ī opinion disagrees on the grounds that a bequest is a gratuitous disposition; and the Ḥanafīs take the latter view, except in the case of one which concerns funeral arrangements, etc. The maximum age for puberty is fifteen according to most jurists; but Abū Ḥanīfa favored eighteen for a male and seventeen for a female, while a few jurists put the maximum even higher:¹¹ but in any case the rules regarding majority in Egypt are based more on the presumption of mental maturity (*rushd*) than puberty. The majority of jurists permit a bequest by one under interdiction for prodigality or simplicity, but one Shāfi'ī view and a few Ḥanbalī jurists apparently disagree. As for subsequent madness, the Ḥanafīs regard continuous madness (e.g., for one month) as invalidating a bequest even if the testator subsequently recovers, while the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs do not regard subsequent madness as invalidating a bequest even if it continues until death. The new Law, therefore, has adopted the Ḥanafi view

¹¹ In all cases reckoned in lunar years, however.

where madness in fact continues until death and the view of the other two Imāms where it does not, since in the latter circumstances alone the testator would have an opportunity to revoke his bequest if he so desired.

It is when we turn to the articles which cover conditions to which legatees must conform that we find some of the most interesting points in the Law, as may be shown by the following selection. Thus Art. 17 states that the legatee must not have killed the testator intentionally, whether as principal, accessory, or as a false witness whose evidence led to his execution. This does not apply, however, if the legatee is insane or under fifteen, or if his act was legally justified—even if he exceeded the proper bounds of the right of self-defense. This clause represents an admirable example of the combination of the views of several jurists in a comprehensive and logical whole. The normal Ḥanafī view is that any direct homicide of the testator, whether intentional or purely accidental, bars the right to partake of a legacy unless the testator's heirs consent to the reverse; while indirectly causing his death, with however criminal a motive, has no such effect. This has been abandoned firstly in favor of Abū Yūsuf's view that the exclusion of the "killer" should not be dependent on the option of the heirs, but absolute; secondly in favor of the Ḥanbalī and one Shāfi'ī view that no accidental homicide should exclude, but only an "intentional" one; and thirdly in favor of a Ḥanbalī comprehensiveness which includes not only one who causes death indirectly or by false testimony but also one who acts as an accessory to the actual killer. More precisely, the definition of the sort of killing which invalidates a legacy represents the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī view of the homicide which excludes from intestate succession (although the Mālikīs by no means apply this to legacies). The exceptions in favor of the insane are by common agreement; those regarding persons under fifteen are Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī; while those regarding legal justification are again generally agreed, except that the reference to one who exceeds the legitimate bounds of self-defense covers a difficult and disputed point.

Again, Art. 9 concerns the question of difference of religion and domicile. Among the subjects of two or more Islamic countries a difference of religion between testator and legatee is a matter of indifference, but where the testator is a subject of a Muslim state and the legatee is a non-Muslim subject of a non-Muslim state the legacy will only be valid if the laws of the legatee's country would allow reciprocal treatment. As regards bequests between fellow subjects of a territory or territories under Muslim rule, all Sunnīs agree that difference of religion is no bar and that no difference of domicile properly exists (for Islam is regarded as one and indivisible in the

text books): the disputed point is whether a legacy to a non-Muslim subject of a non-Muslim state (i.e., a *ḥarbī*) is valid. Here there is much disagreement even within the Ḥanafī school. The general view seems to be that a legacy to a *ḥarbī* temporarily residing in a Muslim country (a *musta'min*) is valid, although not recommended; but that a legacy to a *ḥarbī* who lives outside the realms of Islam is invalid. Now, however, that Muslim states necessarily live on terms of peace and amity with non-Muslim countries the Law has laid down a very sensible rule, based on the general principle, well-known to the Shari'a, of reciprocal treatment.

Arts. 26-28 concern bequests wholly or partially in favor of legatees of a definite number who are not existent at the time of the testator's death; and go into considerable detail regarding the disposition of such legacies, whether they concern the corpus or the usus of the property concerned, or partly the one and partly the other. We must content ourselves here, however, with observing that these provisions are all fundamentally based on the Mālikī view that bequests may validly be made in favor of persons who do not exist at the time of the testator's death, but who come into existence subsequently.

But Arts. 35 and 36, which concern bequests to embryos (as allowed by all schools provided they are subsequently born alive, and, if individually specified, were already conceived at the time of the bequest), are much more novel, and are designed to fit in with the new concept of the maximum period of gestation already noted in previous articles. Thus Art. 35 provides that such a bequest is valid if, where the testator acknowledges the conception, the embryo is born alive within 365 days of the bequest being made, or, where he does not, within 270 days therefrom—unless, in the latter case, its mother is already observing the period of retirement (*'idda*) prescribed for a widow or irrevocably divorced woman, when the legacy will be valid if the embryo is born alive within 365 days of her widowhood or divorce. If, moreover, the bequest specifies the infant's father the establishment of his paternity is also necessary. In all cases the income or proceeds of the bequest will be put on one side until the baby is born alive and then be his. Art. 36 provides that where the pregnant mother gives birth to two live babies (or more) either at one time or within six months of each other the bequest will be equally divided between them, unless the testator provides otherwise. If, however, one is born dead the other is entitled to the whole bequest, while if one dies after birth his share of the corpus of any such property goes to his heirs, and his share of any bequest of the use or income of property (*waṣīya bi' l-manāfi'*) goes to the heirs of the testator. These provisions depart from the Ḥanafī rules in several

important particulars, for the Ḥanafīs insist on the infant being born within six months of the bequest being made where the testator does not acknowledge his conception and his mother is still married or only revocably divorced, while they allow a period of two lunar years from the date of the legacy where the embryo's conception is acknowledged by the testator, or from the date of his mother's widowhood or divorce where her husband is already dead or has divorced her irrevocably. There is the authority of Muḥammad ibn al Ḥakam the Mālikī and of certain Ḥanbalīs for accepting a lunar year in the one case (instead of the Ḥanafī rule of two years, the Shāfi'ī of four and the normal Mālikī view of five years) and Ḥanbalī authority for accepting nine months (but again lunar) instead of six in the other: but the true basis of the adoption of 365 days is the medical opinion that the maximum period of gestation—about which the jurists of the past were much divided, and no conclusive "divine" text exists—can conveniently be put at a solar year, while the nine months' rule represents an abandonment of the minimum period of gestation for what may be regarded as the normal period. In addition, the Law provides by implication that the baby must be wholly born alive, thus preferring the views of the other schools to the Ḥanafī rule that if it was still alive when more than half born this would suffice.

As for conditions regarding bequests themselves, Art. 10 provides that the subject matter of a bequest (a) must be such that it would be susceptible to inheritance or to some valid contract during the life-time of the testator: (b) if it consists in "property" (*māl*) at all, must be such as can legally be held by the testator; and (c) if specifically defined, must be in the ownership of the testator at the time of the bequest; while Art. 11 goes into further detail and expressly confirms the validity of a bequest of "*khulū*" (a right to the indefinite lease of *waqf* property obtained by undertaking the expense of repairing that property when derelict, etc.) and of the right to enjoy the unexpired lease of property after the lessee's death. Fundamentally Art. 10 (a) rests on a normal Ḥanafī foundation; but Art. 11 clearly reveals extensions of this principle on Mālikī and Shāfi'ī authority, for in the Ḥanafī system *manāfi'* are never inheritable, while the Explanatory Memorandum even includes the right of "*ta'alli*"—or building and inhabiting a flat on the top of that of a third party. The rule in Art. 10 (b) is generally agreed between the schools, while that in (c) is stated to be Mālikī, but here the Ḥanafīs in fact substantially agree. Again, Art. 55 provides that a bequest of the "produce" or "fruit" of a garden, orchard, etc. in all cases includes any existent at the death of the testator and also what grows in subsequent years, unless the context indicates otherwise. This represents an adoption of the Shāfi'ī

principle of treating "produce" (*ghalla*) and fruit (*thamara*) on the same footing, in place of the Ḥanafī view that a bequest of "fruit" includes only what is existent at the testator's death, if any; and that only if none such is in existence at his death should the bequest be construed as applying to that of future years. Somewhat similarly Art. 54 states that if a property whose 'use' is bequeathed is susceptible to some use or means of profit other than that specified in the bequest, the legatee may use it in whatever way he likes provided this does not damage the property. Here, again, the Law has abandoned the Ḥanafī view that the legatee is limited to the right of use or profit expressly mentioned by the testator, on the broad principle that conditions which are beneficial to no one should be disregarded: and authority for this article may be found in both the Shāfi'i and Ḥanbalī schools.

Arts. 15, 47, 48 and 49 treat the position when the subject matter of a bequest perishes in whole or in part before the bequest falls due, and the complications involved where the bequest concerns an undivided share in some specific article or species of property, or an "undivided number"¹² of items of some species of property. Again, a good idea of the complex nature of some of the provisions of this law may be obtained from a study of Arts. 50-63, which concern bequests of the usus of property, and Arts. 64-70, which concern bequests of stipends. But for our present purpose a passing reference to two or three points of outstanding juristic interest in these articles must suffice. Thus Art. 61 covers bequests of the use of property to a definite person either 'permanently,' 'for life' or in absolute terms, and decrees that in all these cases the legatee is entitled to its use for the duration of his life provided his entitlement matures within thirty-three years of the testator's death. Here the Explanatory Memorandum attributes the general rule to the Ḥanafīs, but finds authority for the limitation in the final clause in the view of Ibn Abī Layla that bequests of usus (*manāfi'*) are never valid. This provides an admirable example of what some assert, and others deny, to be *talfiq*, for although the one opinion is here certainly applied to one set of circumstances (i.e., where the entitlement matures in less than thirty-three years after the testator's death) and the other to another (i.e., where it does not), yet the two opinions are themselves mutually contradictory and rest on entirely opposite foundations. Again, while Art. 52 provides (inter alia) that where the use of property is bequeathed either permanently or without time limit to an indefinite number of legatees whose extinction is inconceivable, or to some public charity, etc., the legatees are entitled in perpetuity, Art. 29

¹² e.g., a bequest of "ten of my horses."

decrees that where a bequest of the use of property is to more than two series of legatees of a definite number it is valid to these alone. This article finds its juristic authority for the proposition that the legacy is valid to the first two generations in the Mālikī view and for the proposition that it is invalid to any further generations in the view of those who deny the validity of any bequest of *manāfi'* whatever, so the comment regarding *talfīq* in Art. 61 is again applicable. Still more noteworthy, perhaps, is the parallel between the concepts underlying these two articles and the provisions now applicable in Egypt to charitable and family *waqfs* respectively, but discussion of this must be postponed until a subsequent article. As for a bequest of the use of property for a specified period to a definite number of legatees and thereafter to ones whose extinction is inconceivable, such as the poor or some public charity, mosque or hospital, Art. 53 provides that if none of the legatees of a definite number come into existence within thirty-three years of the death of the testator or within the period specified—or if they become extinct before the end thereof—the use of the property during all or the remainder of that period, as the case may be, is to be given to the public charity which is of most general benefit. The non-existence of the first series of legatees either permanently or for a number of years means that the legacy must temporarily be devoted to some other purpose, and on the Mālikī view, which is the source of most of these rules about legatees of an indefinite number, it would go to the testator's heirs. But a bequest which ends in a grant of the proceeds of property to those whose extinction is inconceivable plainly resembles a *waqf*; and according to the Ḥanafī rule concerning *waqf* the income, in all such cases, would go to the poor: and this is substantially the effect of this article. The choice of thirty-three years as the maximum period during which the rights of the first class of legatees may extend was presumably dictated by the maximum period during which actions can be brought in either the Shari'a or Civil Courts in such cases. Again, the only point, perhaps, that need detain us in the exceedingly detailed rules concerning bequests of stipends is the intrusion of modern ideas in the provision that the value of a stipend "for life" or "permanently" should be calculated on an expert opinion regarding the expectation of life of the legatee concerned. True, the Explanatory Memorandum attributes this to Mālik and Abū Yūsuf, but these jurists in fact made no mention of experts and probably intended a computation of the maximum period for which a man of the legatee's age could reasonably be expected to live—which is, of course, a very different thing.

Two of the major and most interesting of the innovations included in this Law, however, remain to be noticed, and both of these

are concerned with the "legal category" into which certain bequests may be said to fall. Authority may be found, of course, in the text books for classifying bequests under each of the usual five categories, according to their nature and circumstances. Thus a bequest which contravenes some unequivocal text by promoting some purpose the illegality of which is indisputable is clearly "forbidden," while one which is likely but not certain to be put to some illegal use, or which is legal in itself but prompted by an illegal motive—such as a bequest to a man's mistress, or one primarily designed to injure his heirs—is normally classified as reprehensible or "deprecated." Again, an example of a "legitimate" or legally indifferent bequest is provided by one to a person in no financial need as a mark of the testator's affection, and of a praiseworthy or "recommended" bequest by one to the poor or to some work of piety or public welfare, although it should be remarked that the appropriate category will sometimes vary in such cases according to whether the testator's heirs are themselves rich or poor and according to the size of his estate. Of "obligatory" bequests different examples are given by different jurists. Many emphasize the incumbency of bequests to fulfil religious duties left unperformed at a man's death, such as arrears of alms, the expenses of a deputy to perform the pilgrimage, or for the expiation of some vow. Others, again, mention moral obligations such as the payment of debts which creditors may not be able to prove against the estate. But the most interesting of all are the assertions of some authorities that the "Verse of Bequests" has not been abrogated—wholly, at any rate—by the "Verses of Inheritance" and that a bequest to relatives who are not heirs is still, in certain circumstances at least, a divine command.

The new legislation has made notable reforms in regard to two of these categories, namely the "deprecated" and the "obligatory." Thus the Ḥanafī law previously in force only regarded as illegal and void a bequest specifically devoted to an illegal purpose, such as a dance hall, or the hire of wailing women. Where, however, a bequest was made to some individual legally capable of owing property, the law did not enquire into the motive behind the bequest: so a bequest to a man's mistress would be valid, regardless of the fact that it might have been intended to encourage her to continue in sin or to reward her for past wrongdoing, while a bequest to charity would not be invalidated by the fact that the testator's sole motive was to injure his heirs. Art. 3 of the new Law, on the other hand, provides that it is essential to the validity of any bequest that it should not involve any disobedience to the divine law (*ma'ṣū'ya*) and that its motive should not be contrary to the purposes of the Lawgiver. As for the bequest of a non-Muslim, this is valid unless forbidden both in his

own religion and in the religion of Islam. Similarly Art. 4 provides (inter alia) that a bequest which is coupled with a condition which is contrary to the purposes of the Lawgiver shall itself stand but the offending condition shall be expunged (provided, of course, that the bequest and the condition are separable). Here the rule regarding bequests with a wrongful motive is contrary to the normal view of all four schools, and is based in reality on the argument of Ibn al-Qayyim that the vital point in contracts is their motive and purpose, and that if evidence exists that this is wrongful then the contract is itself vitiated.¹³ This would invalidate, therefore, a bequest to a mistress where the circumstances show that the motive was to encourage a continuance in wrongdoing, or a legacy however good in itself which was primarily designed to injure the heirs. As for the rule concerning the legacies of non-Muslims, this corresponds to the view of Abū Ḥanīfa except in so far as a legacy devoted to a purpose regarded as an act of piety by Muslims, but not by the testator, is concerned; for here the Shāfi'ī view has been adopted. The nullity of all conditions contrary to the purposes of the Lawgiver (e.g., those in restraint of marriage) is again attributable to Ibn Taymīya and Ibn al-Qayyim—for in *waqfs* and bequests all four schools normally enforce any condition which is not contrary either to some express command or to the interests of the legatees or beneficiaries without being of any corresponding benefit to anyone else. Against this the two Ḥanbalī reformers raised their protest, asserting that any condition contrary to the general purposes of the Lawgiver must be considered void, whether specifically forbidden or not.

But perhaps the boldest innovation of all—with the possible exception of the efficacy of a bequest to an heir regardless of the other heirs' consent—concerns what have been aptly termed "obligatory bequests," as provided by Arts. 76-79. Thus Art. 76 decrees that if the deceased has failed to make a legacy to the offspring of any child of his who died during his lifetime or at the same time as he did himself (either in fact or in law)¹⁴ to the amount to which such child would have been entitled by way of inheritance had he survived him, a bequest must be granted by the Court to such offspring to the extent of this entitlement, provided it does not exceed the bequeathable third—on condition always that such offspring were excluded from rights of inheritance and had not received from the deceased by way of gift *inter vivos*, etc., the equivalent of their entitlement (while, if they had so received something less than their entitlement, the balance only must be made up). This is to apply, in suitable circumstances,

¹³ *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'in*, III, 101ff.

¹⁴ e. g., in circumstances when it is impossible to ascertain which of the two actually died first.

to the first generation of the children of daughters and to the children of sons however remote provided no female intervenes between them and the deceased; while each ascendant is to exclude his own descendants only, and the share of each deceased ascendant is to be divided among his descendants, however low, in the same way as rights of inheritance would have been divided had the ascendant concerned, or any other intervening ascendant, survived. Art. 77 provides that if the deceased bequeaths to one entitled to an obligatory bequest more than his share thereunder, the excess is to be deemed a voluntary bequest; while if he bequeaths him less than his share the remainder must be made up. Again, if he makes bequests to some of those so entitled but not to others, the ones passed over are to receive their proper shares (or the balance thereof if only partially defrauded) from the remainder of the bequeathable third or, if this does not suffice, at the expense of any voluntary bequests. Art. 78 reinforces this last provision by stating that an obligatory bequest is to take precedence over all others; while Art. 79 provides that in all cases covered by the last two articles the remainder of any voluntary bequests shall be divided among the legatees concerned pro rata, in accordance with the appropriate rules.

The purpose of this bold innovation is not far to seek, for the gravest gap in the Islamic law of inheritance is that a man's grandchildren even through a son who pre-deceases him are completely excluded from a share in his estate by any surviving son. Openly to fill this gap in the law of intestate inheritance has seemed beyond the competence of Muslim lawyers, since it would involve adding to, and therefore in effect altering, the divine provisions.¹⁵ Instead, the Egyptian Law has accomplished the same purpose under the guise of bequests: and almost the only difference in practice is that, as bequests, the share of such grandchildren can never total, in aggregate, more than the bequeathable third.¹⁶ It is evident, moreover, that the Egyptian reformers have had the principles of intestate succession largely in mind, for the entitlement of their parent is such grandchildren's enforceable right without either pronouncement (*ijāb*) by the deceased or acceptance (*qabūl*) by themselves, while that share is divided between them individually on the principles of intestate succession (i.e., to the male twice the female's share).¹⁷

In discussing the juristic basis for this salutary reform several points must be distinguished. There is firstly the general proposition

¹⁵ Although this is exactly what has been proposed by certain Lebanese reformers.

¹⁶ But it can, on the other hand, displace "voluntary" bequests, in suitable circumstances.

¹⁷ A principle which is not normally followed in construing bequests.

that bequests to relations who are not heirs are still incumbent: and this is based, according to the Explanatory Memorandum, on the opinion of many of the Tābi'ūn and other early authorities (e.g., Sa'd ibn al-Musayyib, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ṭāwūs, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Dā'ūd al-Zāhirī, al-Ṭabarī and Ishāq ibn Rāhūya), together with the later jurist Ibn Ḥazm the Zāhirī, that the "Verse of Bequests" was not wholly abrogated by the "Verses of Inheritance." Secondly, there is the fact that the obligation to make bequests to relatives who are not heirs is regarded not merely as moral before the bar of eternity but as one which is enforceable by the Courts, regardless of the actions of the deceased: and this is said to find support in the views of Ibn Ḥazm, the statements of certain Tābi'ūn and one report in the Ḥanbalī school, based again, of course, on the "Verse of Bequests." Thus al-Ḍaḥḥāk is reported to have said that "He who dies without making a bequest to his relatives has ended his life with an act of disobedience"; while Ṭāwūs is alleged to have opined that "If a man makes bequests to strangers and passes over his relatives they must be taken from the former and given to the latter." It will be observed, therefore, that this proposition has two aspects: firstly, that the Court will apply a bequest which the deceased has not in fact made, and secondly that it will do so, if necessary, by preferring this bequest to a contrary one which he has made. Thirdly, the question arises as to whether this obligation to relatives who are not heirs is regardless of the financial position of the recipients or whether it depends on their need for such assistance. Such, apparently, was the view of Ibn Mas'ūd, who is said to have allotted such bequests to the neediest such relative; and the same opinion is attributed to Ṭāwūs: while others, it seems, made no such condition. Finally, the question arises whether all relatives who are not heirs are entitled or whether the obligation is fulfilled by making bequests to some only—and, if so, to which? Ibn Mas'ūd, as we have seen, held that the obligation was fulfilled by making bequests to the neediest; while some of the Tābi'ūn left this to the discretion of the testator or his executor. Here the Explanatory Memorandum asserts that the views of Ibn Ḥazm have been adopted: but Ibn Ḥazm appears, in fact, to have left this to the discretion of the testator, which may, perhaps, be regarded as authority for the proposition that any such provision as seems suitable will suffice. It is at this point, then, that the Egyptian Legislature has stepped in and made rules of its own devising: and this may be regarded as yet another instance of the Ruler enforcing, in the public interests, something regarded as permissible but not obligatory in the divine law.

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A SURVEY OF THE BEST MODERN ARABIC BOOKS

Orientalists in general have placed the weight of their scholarly attention upon the literature of the classical period. This has not been a mistake. In spite of the occasional statement to the contrary, we cannot begin to understand and evaluate modern Arabic literature or modern thought in the Arab world without the background of the classics; and, while some writers of the ultra-modern school would seek to cut their ties with the classical heritage, this is far from a *fait accompli* as we observe the present literary output as a whole. On the other hand, the student of the Arab world must know something of modern Arabic books if he is to understand the Arab world of today.

In an attempt to ascertain which of the modern works are of importance a poll was conducted among the leading writers, professors and public figures in Egypt. These people were asked to supply a list of the ten Arabic books of the last fifty or seventy-five years which they considered to be most significant, either from the literary merit of the book or its influence upon modern thought in the Middle East. Thanks to a very generous cooperation on the part of many of those who are best qualified to speak on such matters a significant calculation could be made. Those whose opinions were recorded represent a good cross-section of the educated population in Egypt; several cabinet ministers and prominent political figures, most of the leading authors, editors of the various newspapers and journals, university professors and a few professional people. The selections of fifty individuals were tabulated and the following list was made, the titles being set down in the order of the frequency of their mention.

- Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *al-Ayyām*.
Ḥusayn Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*.
Al-Muwayliḥī, *Ḥadīth 'Isa Ibn Hishām*.
Aḥmad Shawqī, *al-Shawqīyāt*.
Qāsīm Amīn, *Tahrīr al-Mar'āh*.
Mustafā al-Manfalūṭī, *al-Nazarāt*.
Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, *Ahl al-Kahf*.
Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *'Alā Hāmish al-Sīrah*.
Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, *'Awdat al-Rūḥ*.
" " *Yawmiyāt Nā'ib fī al-Aryāf*.
'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Islām wa Uṣūl al-Ḥukm*.
Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfah fī Miṣr*.
" " *Fī al-Shi'r al-Jāhili or Fī al-Adab al-Jāhili*.

- Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*.
 Al-Kawākibī, *Ṭabā'ī al-Istibdād*.
 Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*.
 Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, *Waḥī āl-Risālah*.
 Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*.
 Ibrahīm al-Māzinī, *Ibrahīm al-Kātib*.
 Aḥmad Amīn, *Zu'amā' al-Islāḥ al-Ijtimā'ī*.
 Jirjī Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*.
 Maṣṣūr Fahmī, *Khaṭrāt Nafs*.
 Salāma Mūsā, *Tarbīyat Salāma Mūsā*.
 Ḥāfiẓ Ibrahim, *Diwān Ḥāfiẓ*.
 Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḥayātī*.
 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Rāfi'ī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Qawmīyah*.
 Mustafā al-Rāfi'ī, *Waḥī al-Qalam*.
 Qāsim Amīn, *al-Ḥar'āh al-Jadīdah*.
 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, *'Abqariyat 'Umar*.
 Mustafā 'Abd al-Rāziq, *Tamhīd li-Ta'rīkh al-Falsafah al-Islāmīyah*.
 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, *Allah*.
 Maḥmūd Taymūr, *Salwā fī Mahabb al-Rīḥ*.
 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, *Ibn al-Rūmī*.
 " " *Sa'ad Zaghlūl*.
 " " *'Abqariyat Muḥammad*.
 Khalīl Muṭrān, *Diwān Khalīl*.
 Ḥāfiẓ 'Afifī, *'Alā Hāmish al-Siyāsah*.
 Mustafā al-Rāfi'ī, *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*.
 Aḥmad Shawqī, *Majnūn Lailah*.
 Ḥusayn Haykal, *Zaynab*.
 Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid, *Mukhtārāt min Maqālāt*.
 Rashīd Riḍā, *Ta'rīkh al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh*.
 Bint al-Shātī, *Qaḍīyat al-Fallāḥ*.
 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, *Muṭala' āt fī al-Kutub*.
 Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, *Masrāḥiyāt*.

Many readers will be acquainted with the names of the authors which appear on this list but, for those who have given less attention to the modern Egyptian literary scene, the following information is given. These notes may also serve to introduce a few books and authors not yet well known in the western world. It is hoped that, for those who may desire to undertake a study of modern Arabic literature, this survey may serve both as an indication of books which are of significance and as a brief introduction to their authors. Further analysis of the literary merit of these writings and their position in the development of thought in the Arab world must wait until another occasion.

How valid this list is as representing the best books of the entire

Arabic speaking world is a question of interest. The instructions of the poll did not limit the choice to Egyptian authors, yet we observe that all the authors on the above list were either born in Egypt or came to Egypt for the major portion of their maturity. It should be said that the two Lebanese authors, Jubrān Kahlīl Jubrān and Mikhā'il Nu'aymah, received mention but not sufficiently often to appear on a list of the first forty books.

1. TAHA HUSAYN (1889-) is Egypt's brilliant blind scholar and literary leader. Coming from a village family, he studied at al-Azhar and at the Sorbonne. He has held several important professorial posts and is, at present, Minister of Education. He has written a large number of books and articles which are widely read throughout the Middle East. He can safely be considered as Egypt's leading *litterateur*.¹

The choice of *al-Ayyām* (2 vols., 1929 & 1939), far above all other selections, indicates the place which Ṭaha Ḥusayn holds as a leader in modern thought and literature and gives recognition to the fact that the book itself is a *thing of beauty*. It is his biography. The style is excellent, the subject matter charming. Critics agree that the English versions fail to reproduce the subtle quality of the original.²

Three other books from the pen of Ṭaha Ḥusayn appear high on the list of selections. *Fī al-Shi'r al-Jāhili* (1926) is one of his first books and the one which created the greatest sensation. By application of scientific methods of literary criticism he concluded that much of the so-called pre-Islamic poetry is from the Islamic era.³ This, from the point of view of literary criticism, was a daring departure from the older method and, from the point of view of Quranic commentary, it was heresy.⁴ The book was withdrawn from circulation and re-appeared the following year, with the most objectionable parts removed, under the title, *Fī al-Adab al-Jāhili*.

Alā Hāmish al-Sīrah (3 vols., 1933, 1937, 1943) is a more conservative book. Some say that Ṭaha Ḥusayn wrote it in compensation for the heresy stir which had been caused by his book on pre-Islamic poetry. It relates in his inimitable style stories taken from the early days of Islam. *Mustaqbal al-Thiqāfah fī Miṣr* (2 vols., 1938) sets forth Ṭaha Ḥusayn's views of Egypt cultural relations and many of the ideas which he is now working out as Minister of Education.

¹ In addition to the works mentioned here: *Ḥadīth al-Arba'a* (1925), *Ma' Abū al-'Alā'fi Sijnihi* (1930), "*Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqi*" (1933), *Ma' al-Mutanabli* (1936), *al-Adīb* (1938), *Ṣawt Abū al-'Alā'* (1944) and many others.

² *An Egyptian Childhood*, tr. E. H. Paxton (1932); *Stream of Days*, tr. Hilary Wayment (1943).

³ Brockelmann, S III, p. 389f.; review by Margoliouth, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 902-4.

⁴ For the stir which was caused in religious and governmental circles see Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, p. 255ff.

2. AL-MUWAYLIHĪ (1858-1930). *Ḥadīth 'Isa Ibn Hishām* (1907) is widely read and enjoyed in Egypt, and upon this *hauptwerk* rests al-Muwayliḥī's literary fame. Written in the *maqāmāt* form, as is suggested by the borrowing of the name of 'Isa ibn Hishām from the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamdḥānī, this book is a satire on the social life of Egypt.⁵ Professor Gibb has given us a good description of the content, style and literary value of this book.⁶ He rightly says that it is not the story but the brilliant style and power of description which has won the book its reputation.

3. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN HAYKAL (1888-) is a well-known figure in Cairo. For many years he has played an important part in press and politics in Egypt. He is, at present, a member of Parliament and leader of the Liberal Constitutional Party. Through the newspaper *al-Siyāsah*,⁷ which he founded in 1922, he gave valuable leadership to the development of a modern literary movement. In recent years his attention has been directed more to political affairs and less to writing.⁸ *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* is epoch making in Egypt largely because it is an attempt, on the part of a Muslim, to write a life of the Prophet from the standpoint of the objective analysis of history. Much of its material is taken from western sources and western readers would not give the book such a high rating. The name of Ḥaykal is also known in connection with a book entitled *Zaynab*, which has been called the first novel in Arabic.⁹

4. AHMAD SHAWQĪ (1868-1932) is Egypt's leading poet of the modern era,¹⁰ and his works, of which *al-Shawqīyāt* (3 vols.) is the best, are widely read and highly regarded. His poetry is modern but conservative in style, being characterized as *neo-classic*.¹¹

5. QĀSIM AMĪN (1865-1908). The writings of Qāsim Amīn are of importance in respect to their place in social reform rather than from mere literary excellence. He was a pioneer in the feminist movement in the Middle East in a time when such activity was in much less favor than today.¹² His two books, *Taḥrīr al-Mar'āh* (1899) and *al-Mar'āh al-Jadīdah* (1900), did much to remove the veil and to pave the way for a better position for women in Egyptian society.

⁵ Abd-el-Jalil, *Brève histoire de la littérature Arabe*, p. 244; Brockelmann, S III, p. 194.

⁶ BSOS, VII, 1933, p. 5f.

⁷ No longer being published.

⁸ Other works: *Fī Awqāt al-Farāgh*; *Thawrat al-Adab*; *Fī Manzil al Wahī*; *Waladī*.

⁹ For a discussion of *Zaynab* and its literary worth see, Gibb, BSOS, VII, 1933, p. 10f.

¹⁰ See Farrukh, *Amīr al-Shu'arā' fī al-'Asr al-Ḥadīth*.

¹¹ Other works: *Kliyūbātrā* (1929); *Aswāq al-Dhahab* (1932); and others.

¹² Zaydān, "*Ta'rīkh Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah*," IV, p. 316.

6. MUSTAFĀ AL-MANFALŪTĪ (1876-1924). *Al-Nazarāt* (3 vols., I & II 1910, III 1920) is the most noted work of Mustafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī and contains the best essays of this literary figure of the last generation. This collection of essays and his *al-'Abarāt* (1915) are widely read throughout the Arab world.¹³ The statement that his writing is "heavy and pessimistic, and now outmoded"¹⁴ is not fully accurate. The style of al-Manfalūṭī is indeed a mixture; the archaic and the modern, the florid and the simple, the heavy and the musical;¹⁵ but these essays are still highly regarded. For some they stand as the model for Arabic writing and for many they hold a charm not to be found in more modern works.

7. TAWFĪQ AL-HAKĪM (1902-) is one of our better known living writers with a long list of works to his credit.¹⁶ His first important literary effort was *Ahl al-Kahf* (1933),¹⁷ based upon the Quranic story found in the Sūrah of the Cave. This story, usually referred to as "The Seven Sleepers," has various versions in Muslim commentaries. Instead of seven, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm has chosen the first Quranic alternative, "They were three, their dog the fourth." In the form of a novel, *'Awdat al-Rūḥ* (1934)¹⁸ is an excellent portrayal of Egyptian society at the time of the nationalist revolution under Zaghlūl Basha. *Yawmīyāt Nā'ib fī al-Aryāf* (1937)¹⁹ is a well written novelette in which we are given glimpses of the woes of Egyptian village life as well as some of the difficulties which hinder the smooth flow of justice.

8. 'ALĪ 'ABD AL-RĀZIQ (1888-). The name of 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq stands high on our list because of the influence of his single book, *al-Islām wa Uṣūl al-Ḥukm*, upon the modernist movement in Islam. He was educated at al-Azhar and Oxford and then became a judge in the *sharī'a* court in Cairo. In 1925 he published this book outlining some advanced views concerning the caliphate in Islam and presenting the idea of the separation of religion and government. A severe controversy over this book ensued which cost 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq his position.²⁰

9. AHMAD AMĪN (1887-) is a well known Cairo professor and writer of remarkable erudition. He has been considered a compiler rather than a literary stylist but the number of his books which ap-

¹³ Abd-el-Jalil, *Brève histoire*, p. 230.

¹⁴ *Middle East Journal*, July 1948, p. 316.

¹⁵ For a full discussion of al-Manfalūṭī the reader is again referred to Professor Gibb's article, *BSOS*, V, 1929, pp. 311-22.

¹⁶ In addition to works on our list: *Taht Shams al-Fikr* (1938); *'Ahd al-Shayṭān* (1938); *Qissas Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm* (2 vols., 1949); *Masrah al-Mujtama'* (1950); and others.

¹⁷ Trans. into French.

¹⁸ Tr. French, *L'ame retrouvée*.

¹⁹ Tr. French, *Journal d'un substitut de compagne*; tr. English, *Maze of Justice*.

²⁰ See Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, pp. 26of.

pear on our list indicates the esteem accorded to his writings by Egyptian readers. Most of his works concern the history of Islamic culture but his recent attempt at autobiography in *Hayātī* (1950) is being very well received.

10. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN AL-KAWĀKIBĪ (1849-1902) was born in Aleppo. He lived in various countries of the Middle East and finally settled in Egypt where he spent the latter years of his life.²¹ He was a forerunner of political and social reform in the Muslim world and it is for this reason that his book *Tabā'i al-Istibdād* is of significance. His other work of importance is *Umm al-Qurā*.

11. AHMAD HASAN AL-ZAYYĀT is editor of *al-Risālah*, one of Cairo's better literary journals. He is an exponent of the classical style in modern Arabic and his writing is enjoyed because of the beauty of this formal phraseology which is still cherished by many readers. *Wahī al-Risālah* (2 vols., 1940-1944) is an excellent example of his writing, being a collection of short essays which originally appeared in *al-Risālah*.

12. MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH (1849-1905) and his works are so well known that we need only observe with interest that he continues to hold a place of esteem in the minds of Egyptian readers.²²

13. IBRAHĪM 'ABD AL-QĀDIR AL-MĀZINĪ (1890-1949) was born in Cairo and has written several volumes of poetry, essays and stories. *Ibrahīm al-Kātib* (1931) is his best known work.²³ The book itself is considered by Egyptian readers with only fair enthusiasm. The high rating given to the book is due to its significance as an early attempt to introduce the novel into Arabic literature.²⁴

14. JIRJĪ ZAYDĀN (1861-1914) was born in Beirut but moved to Cairo where he took an important part in the literary and publishing world. He founded *al-Hilāl* in 1892. Besides articles and essays he wrote a series of historical novels which have been widely read.²⁵ The works which have given him greatest credit in the Arab world are *Ta'rikh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* (5 vols., 1902-1906) and *Ta'rikh adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah* (4 vols., 1911-1914).

15. MANSŪR FAHMĪ (1886-) was educated in Cairo and in France, receiving his doctorate from the Sorbonne.²⁶ He is a member of the Royal Academy of Arabic Literature and has been Dean of the Fac-

²¹ Zaydān, *Ta'rikh adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah*, IV, p. 303.

²² The best treatment in English of Muḥammad 'Abduh to be found in Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*.

²³ Other works: *Al-Shi'r wa Ghayatuḥu* (1915); *Ḥiṣād al-Hashīm* (1925); *Ṣandūq al-Dunya* (1929); *Fī al-Tarīq* (1937).

²⁴ See Gibb, BSOS, VII, 1933, p. 18ff.

²⁵ See Kratchovsky, "Der historische Roman in der neueren Arabischen Literatur," *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. XII, 1930, p. 69ff.

²⁶ Adams, op. cit., p. 250f.

ulty of Arts and Sciences at Fuad al-Awwal University. *Khaṭrāt Nafs* is a collection of brief essays on various subjects of art and literature written in an attractive classical style.

16. SALĀMA MŪSA (1888-) studied in France and in England and has been strongly influenced by western literary ideas. He is the leader of the extreme modernist school of writers in Egypt. In respect to style and to ideas he has been a strong exponent of a truly modern Arabic literature. He believes that Arabic should be written simply and directly; free from the florid archaisms to which some present day writers cling. He believes that the inspiration for literature must come from the west and not from the dead past of Islamic culture.²⁷

17. HĀFIZ IBRAHĪM (1871-1932) stands next to Shawqī in the realm of poetry and together they are, by far, the most important Egyptian poets of the twentieth century.

18. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN AL-RĀFI'Ī is an ex-Cabinet Minister and a leader in the more moderate branch of the Nationalist Party. He is a historian of repute and has given us, in his *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥarakah al-Qawmiyah* (3 vols., 1929-30), the best record of the development of the nationalist movement in Egypt.

19. MUSTAFĀ AL-RĀFI'Ī (-1937) devoted his earlier literary efforts to poetry, then turned to prose in which medium he has become the outstanding example of the ultra-classical school. His writing stands at the opposite extreme in style as compared with such writers as Salāma Mūsa. He prefers the elegant mode of expression with its archaic flavor and classic reference. *Waḥī al-Qalam* (2 vols., 1936) is a collection of essays on various intellectual and philosophical subjects and is the best example of his writing.²⁸

20. 'ABBĀS AL-'AQQĀD (1889-) is a well known figure in Cairo literary circles. With very little formal schooling he came early to know English and has read widely the works of many English authors. His writings are numerous and many would class him as one of the leading authors of the Arab world. The fact that he rates a comparatively low position in this poll has brought more comments than any other point. Some argue that, since he has written a large number of good books, it is mathematically improbable for any one title to be selected enough times to cause his name to appear higher in such a poll.²⁹ Others say that his somewhat unusual style has not been in his favor and coupled with this is the feeling that he has, in recent years, turned from the more vigorous creative writing to politics and to escapist pursuits among the heroes of Islam.

²⁷ Other works: *Mukhtārāt* (1924); *Nazarīyāt al-Taṭawwur* (1925); *Al-'Aql al-Bāṭin* (1928).

²⁸ Other works: *Awrāq al-Ward*; *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*.

²⁹ In addition to titles mentioned here we should note: *Dīwān* (1916); *Sa'āt Bayn al-Kutub* (1929); and several others in the 'Abqarīyah series.

21. MUSTAFĀ 'ABD AL-RĀZIQ (1885-1947) was educated at al-Azhar and in France. For a number of years he was professor of Islamic philosophy at Fuad al-Awwal University and was then appointed rector of al-Azhar, a post which he held at his death. *Tamhīd li-Ta'rikh al-Falsafah al-Islāmīyah* (1944) is highly regarded in the Arab world as a history of Islamic Philosophy.³⁰

22. MAHMŪD TAYMŪR (1894-) is regarded by many as Egypt's leading living short story writer. The short story in Arabic, as well as drama, is strongly under European influence, especially French, but some interesting work is being done with this form of literature.

23. KHALĪL MUTRĀN (1870-1949) was born in Lebanon. He spent his early life as a journalist, first in Beirut and then in Cairo. In later years he devoted more time to serious writing, especially poetry, of which his *Dīwān* is the best selection.

24. HĀFIZ 'AFĪFĪ (1885-) is a well known business man in Cairo. He has been Ambassador to London, Minister of Foreign Affairs and is now president of Bank Miṣr, a leading Cairo Bank with many affiliated financial enterprises.

25. AHMAD LUTFĪ AL-SAYYID is an ex-rector of Fuad al-Awwal University and has had an important part in the development of the modern movement in Arabic literature. His literary efforts have been largely essays which have appeared in Cairo journals. *Mukhtārāt min Maqālāt* and *al-Muntakhabāt* are collections of these articles. He is, at present, president of the Royal Academy of Arabic Language.

26. RASHĪD RIDĀ (1865-1935) was a disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduh and an important leader in the reform movement begun by this famous shaykh. In *Ta'rikh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh* (3 vols., 1908-1931) we have some collected writings of Muḥammad 'Abduh and voluminous biographical material.

27. BINT AL-SHĀTĪ. This is the pen name of Dr. 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān.³¹ Her works concerning the Egyptian peasant have been well received and her position as a writer is becoming more widely recognized. Besides the title in our list we should mention *Raj'at Fir'awn*, which she herself would select as her best book.³²

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³⁰ For brief review of contents see, Anawati et Kuentz, *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes imprimés en Egypte en 1942, 1943 et 1944*, p. 37.

³¹ Wife of Dr. Amīn Bey al-Khūly, a professor of literature in Fuad al-Awwal University.

³² Also, *al-Rif al-Miṣrī*.

BOOK REVIEWS

A New World. By W. B. Bashyr-Pickard. Woking, Surrey, Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, 1946. pp. 171.

This book, printed at Lahore, presents broad-minded, irenic, yet definitely Islamic thinking of a British-trained Muslim about the brave new world he would see arising after the destruction of World War II. Most of the discussion is concerned with social and economic stumbling blocks and their removal. A few excerpts will show his thought on religious matters.

Recognition of God as Creator and Lord of all, in Whom all things form one vast universal harmony, will be the basis of the new world. Man must see that nature is not hostile to him, but his friend. By this recognition "a sense of universal kinship" will be born in his heart. Man must become a cooperating unit of this harmony. "Without the new spirit the new world is already dead."

The object of all religions is to worship God and do good. Yet religions form an obstacle to world brotherhood. The difficulty is not in the religions themselves, but in the widespread ignorance of the actuality of the various religions. It can best be removed by calm discussion, quiet showing forth of the fruits of each religion in life, and study of the original books from which the religions derive. "The pure teaching of Jesus how excellent! But we must not cast aside our love and knowledge of many other true prophets." Let each sincerely direct his worship toward God, and practise brotherly tolerance toward his differing brother.

Christians regard Christianity and religion as synonymous; all but Christians are therefore in dark ignorance. However, Christianity is difficult to practise, hard to understand completely, and inadequate for or at variance with the demands of modern life. In true religion there must be nothing false. A religion that offers a mixture of things that are good and things to which we cannot subscribe without painful misgivings is not the true religion. God has made all His creation good, including man. If Christians can be satisfied to call themselves "miserable sinners" all their lives, and to cast aspersions on their mothers by repeating, "in sin did my mother conceive me," if they feel no incompatibility between religion on Sunday and business six days in the week, if they can receive priestly absolution and then go away carefree as to the commission of future sins, if they have no uncomfortable doubts, no longings for a better way, let them hold fast to the Christianity of the Church. "God giveth grace to whom He will. But if you long for a vision of actual truth, embracing this life and the next, the seen and the unseen, bethink you that such truth exists, and has been revealed, and is in accordance with the true teaching of Jesus (without the obscurantism of the Church), and may be found by the grace of God in a religion coming from the East, . . . whose Scriptures remain uncontaminated to this day. Pray that the way to this religion of peace and triumphant truth may be revealed to you."

JOHN E. MERRILL

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The Eastern Orthodox Church. By R. M. French, London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1951. pp. 186. 7s. 6d.

Like its companion volumes in Hutchinson's series this is intended to be but a plain and simple introduction to its subject, and that purpose it serves admirably. It is concerned not with the Eastern Churches as a whole but with what we more commonly call the Greek Orthodox Church, a Church which interests readers of our QUARTERLY because of its long and intimate connection with Islam in the Near East. Fundamentally it represents the expansion of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and even today the various members of this group, the Orthodox Church of Greece, the Russian Church, the Church of Cyprus, the Albanian and the various Balkan Churches, the Monastery of Sinai, and the scattered Churches following the Byzantine rite in other countries, even in Australia and the U.S.A., still maintain a formal connection with the mother Church in Constantinople.

From the very beginning Islam was in contact with the life of this Church. In the Qur'ān itself many of the Biblical names, such as Yūnus, Fir'aun, Sulaimān, etc., appear not in their Semitic form but in the Graecized forms used by the Melkites on the borderlands of North Arabia who were in communion with the Church at Constantinople. As Islam later developed its theology and its jurisprudence it found it convenient to take over ideas and institutions from this Church, and in its turn Islam was to leave its impress in many ways on the Byzantine Church.

The present volume is divided into two parts. In the first it sketches very briefly the history of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, its struggle with the other Patriarchates, its expansion, especially in Slavic countries, its conflict with Islam, greater conflict with Rome, and its present situation. The second part deals with the worship, the doctrine, the monasticism, and the practical religious life of this Church. There is a Bibliography of works in English and an Index, but unfortunately no Maps.

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Spuren Christlicher Glaubenswahrheiten im Koran. Von Josef Henninger. Schöneck/Beckenried (Schweiz), Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. 1951. pp. iv, 135.

This work appears at No. X in the *Schriftenreihe der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, and gathers together a number of papers the author had published in the *NZM* between 1945 and 1950. The author draws largely on the labors of earlier scholars, and not infrequently quotes this QUARTERLY and the works of its former editor, S. M. Zwemer. He has performed a very useful service in gathering up, arranging in systematic order, and critically discussing the various elements built into the fabric of Islam that may have been drawn from Christian teaching. He is well aware that there are many cases where it is quite impossible to decide whether a particular element came into Islam directly from the Jews or was mediated through Christian sources, and also cases where an element, though it corre-

sponds closely enough to something in Christianity, may have been a spontaneous development in Islam. There remains, however, a very considerable amount of material where the evidence seems to point clearly to a borrowing from Christianity.

The material is arranged in nine sections: (i) the teaching about the Holy Spirit; (ii) the stories about the child Jesus and his mother; (iii) the accounts of the mission and death of Jesus; (iv) the place of Jesus as Saviour; (v) polemic against Christian teachings; (vi) the teaching about angels; (vii) the teaching about evil spirits; (viii) on Paradise and Hell; (ix) on the Resurrection and Final Judgment. There is an abundance of notes giving relevant references to the discussion of these points by other scholars and at times some criticism of their interpretations. What is of particular value is the way in which the author has been at pains to discuss for German readers the tendential nature and general unsatisfactoriness of the German translation and commentary on the Qur'ân by M. Sadr ad-Din published by the Ahmadiyya Mission in Berlin.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

A Tenth-century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism. The Sections on Poetry of al-Bâqillânî's *I'jâz al-Qur'ân*, translated and annotated. By Gustave E. von Grunebaum. Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1950. pp. xxii, 128.

Literary criticism is an attempt to rationalize the emotional reactions to literary expression. No matter how often this attempt has been repeated in intellectual history, it has by necessity never succeeded. No scientific norms have been found which would be recognized as generally valid and applicable. While literary criticism may, in this sense, be considered a failure, it has played the all-important roles of both yardstick and ferment of literary activity. A flourishing literary life has always stimulated the growth of a penetrating literary criticism. In turn, refined literary criticism has promoted the search for new forms of literary expression.

It is, thus, hardly surprising that the golden age of Arabic literature saw the birth of a highly complex form of literary criticism. Under the impact of the Muslim predilection for classification, literary criticism in Islam developed a rather unsystematic system of descriptive and aesthetic categories. With the love of poetry being all but universal among Muslims, this literary criticism occupied a key position in the intellectual life of mediaeval Islam. To the study of its history and ramifications, of parallel manifestations in antiquity and western civilization, of the significance of all that for our understanding of human civilization, G. E. von Grunebaum has for many years devoted most of his scholarly labors. He has made important contributions to a field which hitherto had been only marginally known and imperfectly investigated.

Grunebaum's present book is concerned with a work on the "inimitability (*i'jâz*)" of the Qur'ân. Its author was the theologian and jurist al-Bâqillânî (d. 1013), a "second-generation" pupil of al-Ash'arî (Brockelmann does not call al-Bâqillânî a direct pupil of al-Ash'arî, as Grunebaum says, p. XIII, fn. 1). A long article on him may be found in the Turkish *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. Bâkillânî (Istanbul 1943).

In connection with the inimitability of the Qur'an, one of the points al-Bâqillânî wanted to prove was that all the categories of literary expression known to the critics also occurred in the Qur'an. Another point he made was that, no matter whether poetry or prose could claim to be the superior form of literary expression, even the greatest poets, such as Imru'ulqays of pre-Islamic times and al-Buhturî of the "modern" (Abbâsid) period, constantly committed aesthetic mistakes and, thus, fell short of the perfection which is uniformly noticeable in the Qur'an. These are the passages from al-Bâqillânî's work which Grunebaum has selected for his translation.

That an author of al-Bâqillânî's station in life could show himself so well versed in literary criticism is an indication of the importance of that discipline in his time. Al-Bâqillânî's knowledge of the terminology of literary criticism was derived from personal contact with leading contemporary critics and from an eclectic use of their works (cf. the synoptic table of figures of speech, pp. 116f.). It is obvious that he did not do any independent research in the field. As Grunebaum shows, in one or two instances, he slightly mixed up his terminology. He certainly did not mean to make an original contribution to the discipline of literary criticism as such. Still, his knowledge of it is admirable.

Most of the numerous verses he quotes also are eclectically derived from secondary sources. Whether he gleaned one or another from his own readings of the original works is hard to say. The Quranic passages which he quotes as illustrations for the various categories of literary expression may have been largely selected by the author himself. Much of his negative criticism of Imru'ulqays and al-Buhturî would also seem to be original with him. It often appears to have been made for the sake of the argument and does not always indicate al-Bâqillânî's considered opinion.

In his introduction and in the copious notes to the translation, Grunebaum gives much useful information on the history of the technical terminology of Arabic literary criticism. The translation itself excels in the rendering of that terminology. With a sure grasp, Grunebaum has succeeded in nearly all instances in finding the word which will convey to the reader the import of a technical or aesthetic Arabic term as directly and clearly as possible. This is a very considerable achievement.

In general, the translation is a literal one. It is surprising to see how often it has been possible to give a literal translation even of the metaphors so frequent in Arabic belles lettres. Occasionally, a misunderstanding might slip in. The "quiet of a bird," as a metaphor for "sedateness" (p. 56), sounds strange unless one knows that a quiet such as birds require in order to sit still in a place is meant.

A few cases in which the translation needs correction may be subjoined here. The translator used the edition of the *I'jâz al-Qur'an*, Cairo 1349 (cf. p. XXII). The editions in the reviewer's possession are those of 1315 and 1317 (the latter in the margin of al-Suyûtî, *Itqân*). As far as the passages mentioned below are concerned, the texts of the three editions show no divergences. In general, however, there are a few passages in the translation where it might have been advisable to consult at least the one or other manuscript of the work.

P. 52, ll. 26-29: For: "His way of handling the antithesis is very beautiful, and when in his quest for what is sound and desirable he delves deep into the various kinds of poetical technique his diction remains easy," read: "He handles the antithesis frequently and beautifully, and when he delves into the various kinds of poetical technique it is in quest of soundness and out of a desire for easy diction."

P. 53, l. 26f.: For: ". . . or in some other rhythmically bound form (*ṣan'atan mutṭaṣilatan*) . . .," read: ". . . or in some constant (coherent) technique . . ."

P. 54, l. 33f.: ". . . which we have recounted and to (the examples of) which we have added (from our own) . . .," read: ". . . which we have recounted and which we have attributed to the (poets, literary experts) . . ."

P. 55, ll. 3-6: ". . . although it is correct (to say) that these (rhetorical) forms have put their imprint on the entire (Qur'ān), contributing their share to its beauty and elegance, wherever they are employed, (always) free from distasteful affectation and hideous artificiality," read: ". . . although it is correct (to say) that these (rhetorical) forms are generally effective and have their share of beauty and elegance wherever they are employed in speech without distasteful affectation and hideous artificiality."

P. 61, l. 21f.: "For the latter the striving for happiness would be the only natural thing, though he might weep . . .," read: "For the latter, it would be natural only to strive to show sympathy by weeping . . ."

P. 62, ll. 5-8: For: "Al-Aṣma'î mentions amongst the beauties of (this poem) that (the traces) are remaining. We, however, regret this testimony. Had they been wiped out we would feel (more) at ease, (and this) because (as the text stands now) this is one of (the poem's) ugly features," read: "Al-Aṣma'î mentions amongst the beauties of (this poem) that (the traces) are remaining; thus, we are sad that he (the poet) sees (them), and if they had been wiped out we would feel at ease. This deserves rather to be (considered one of the poem's) ugly features."

P. 63, l. 2f.: For: "So (Abû 'Ubaydah) is still farther off the mark," read: "So (Imru'ulqays) rather committed a mistake."

P. 65, l. 7: For: "exaggeration," read: "understatement."

P. 66, l. 14f.: For: ". . . though (in his comparison) Imru'ulqays takes into account the meat, he disregards the fat . . .," read: ". . . Imru'ulqays uses (grammatical) determination in connection with the meat ('its meat') but not with the fat . . ." Note 31, on p. 66, imputes to al-Bâqillânî a mistake which he did not commit.

P. 67, l. 8f.: For: ". . . his joy at entertaining his girl-friends is in bad taste and so is his exultation over what he serves to his guests . . .," read: ". . . his joy at entertaining his girl-friends is in bad taste, even though it is permissible to exult over what he serves his guests . . ."

P. 80, l. 19f.: For: ". . . even if we had all his poems read (to you) . . .," read: ". . . even if we investigated all his poems . . ."

P. 110, l. 6f.: For: ". . . and (such over-precision) is considered

objectionable in good Arabic style," read: ". . . and to mention it expressly is objectionable."

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The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. By Joseph Schacht. London, Oxford University Press, 1950. pp. xii, 348. 25s. net.

Dr. Joseph Schacht, the well-known authority on Muslim law, has here made a notable contribution to the study of origins. This is a penetrating work displaying great critical acumen in which the author takes his readers systematically through the theories of doctors and schools and shows how legal doctrine and technical legal thought developed by devious ways from slender beginnings.

The work is divided into four main divisions: I. The development of legal theory. II. The growth of legal traditions. III. The transmission of legal doctrine. IV. The development of technical legal thought. In Part I the contribution of Shāfi'ī to the development of legal thought is emphasized, he being the scholar more than any other responsible for the development of the theory of the four principles of law, Qur'ān, *Sunna* of the Prophet, Consensus, Analogy. In Part II there is a most illuminating discussion of the growth of legal traditions in the period before Shāfi'ī. In Part III the transmission of legal doctrine is traced from the late Umayyad period in which, it is argued, Muḥammadan jurisprudence had its starting-point, down to the beginning of the literary period. In Part IV, after a discussion of some general tendencies, the reasoning of certain prominent scholars is described. The whole work is well co-ordinated and puts forward a most convincing argument.

The main thesis is that Islamic legal thought started from the Umayyad administrative and popular practice, and that legal traditions cannot be dated earlier than A.H. 100. It is argued that the main body of legal traditions from the Prophet originated in the middle of the second century, but that many traditions in the canonical and other collections are subsequent to Shāfi'ī's time. The idea of the *sunna* of the Prophet was not an early basis of Islamic law. The early schools of law were guided by what Dr. Schacht calls the 'living tradition,' this representing precedent and generally agreed practice. The doctrine of the overriding authority of traditions from the Prophet was an innovation on Shāfi'ī's part. The manner in which he repeatedly emphasizes the doctrine is just one indication of this, for obviously he would not need to lay such stress on it if it were already a fundamental basis. The view put forward is that 'living tradition,' based largely on individual reasoning, came first. It was then put under the aegis of Companions, and was disturbed by traditions from the Prophet which were put into circulation by traditionists in the middle of the second century. For these Shāfi'ī secured supreme authority. He is also shown to be not only the one who had the greatest influence on the development of legal theory, but the one in whom legal thought reached its culmination.

An important feature of this work is its thorough-going investiga-

tion into the development of legal traditions. In spite of Goldziher's work which drew attention to the doubtful nature of the material contained in the books of Tradition, there has been a tendency to hold that there is a basis of genuine tradition coming from the Prophet which has been overlaid by numerous accretions. In this work Dr. Schacht argues most cogently that in the legal traditions we have nothing which goes back to the Prophet. In *JRAS*, 1949, pp. 143ff., he published an article entitled "A Revaluation of Islamic Tradition," in which he indicates the principles put forward in his book. His argument is that the traditions do not come from the Prophet, Companions, or even Successors, but were put into currency at a later date and eventually acquired an *isnād* tracing them back to the Prophet. Many illustrations of the process are given, and one can only admire the critical insight which has enabled the author to come to his conclusion and support it so convincingly.

The *isnād*, which has been called half the science of Tradition, has always been an important element in the study of Muslim Tradition, and traditionists have normally judged traditions in virtue of the quality of their *isnād*. Dr. Schacht also lays emphasis on the *isnād*, but uses it differently. He finds that the study of *isnāds* often makes it possible to date traditions. In an early part of the book (p. 39) he states that the *mursal* "reflects the interval between the real origins of Muhammadan law and the much earlier period in which its fictitious authorities were being sought." Later he argues not only that reference to traditions from Companions is the older procedure, but that reference to Successors preceded reference to Companions. An important chapter on "The evidence of *isnāds*" (pp. 163ff.) sums up the argument which has been put forward from time to time in earlier parts of the book. It is pointed out that "*isnāds* were often put together very carelessly," this being shown by the use of alternative names in otherwise identical *isnāds* where other considerations make this impossible. Examples are given of traditions which have imperfect *isnāds* at an earlier date, but later acquire perfect *isnāds*. This is followed by examples of the creation of additional authorities or transmitters for the same doctrine or tradition, the purpose being to meet the objection to "isolated" traditions. Examples are also given to show that *isnāds* consisting of members of the same family are merely used as a device to secure the appearance of authenticity. Then comes the most interesting part of the argument, where it is pointed out that there is a common link in the transmission of many traditions. The suggestion made is that a certain transmitter, or someone using his name, put a tradition into circulation at a certain time. This would be taken over by one or several transmitters, "and the lower, real part of the *isnād* would branch out into several strands." Even the higher, fictitious part of the *isnād* reaching back to the Prophet might receive additions and improvements. But the man who originally put the tradition into circulation would generally remain as the lowest common link. The conclusion drawn is that "the existence of common transmitters enables us to assign a firm date to many traditions and to the doctrines represented by them." The whole argument is supported by numerous proofs.

It has been customary to consider Medina as the home of the

sunna and the center from which Muslim law developed. This is the Muslim theory, and it has generally been accepted by Western scholars. One might think it normal that Muslim law should have developed in the town which the Prophet made his own, as the people of Medina would be well aware of his *sunna* and be able to establish it. But Dr. Schacht denies this theory and produces strong proofs in support of his view. He gives examples to show that cross-references in the pre-literary period proceeded almost invariably from Iraq and not from Medina. He argues that the systematic collection of traditions was more developed in Iraq and that it was "the intellectual centre of the first theorizing and systematizing activities which were to transform Umayyad popular and administrative practice into Muhammadan law." He therefore concludes that Muhammadan jurisprudence originated in Iraq. The argument is supported by a detailed discussion of the views of early authorities and a critical analysis of the teaching of the schools.

A valuable feature of the work is the detailed discussion given on different schools and individuals. Here the methods and doctrines of the schools are described and the relative value of men commonly quoted as authorities is assessed. The geographical and historical manner in which this material is arranged is very valuable. The place held by the Qur'an in early Muhammadan law is discussed, and the conclusion which is reached may come as a surprise to some readers. There are two useful appendices, a very full bibliography of Arabic and European works, an index of legal problems and a general index. By these the value of the work, which in itself is arranged in a very orderly manner, is enhanced.

This book is one of outstanding importance. The law is normally presented as firmly based on four foundations, but Dr. Schacht has dug below the foundations and given a clear description of the soil on which they have been laid. He has thus opened up new ground for exploration. A revered Edinburgh minister of a former generation had a habit of recommending to his congregation books which he felt it was imperative that they should read. On occasion his enthusiasm for a book made him most insistent in his recommendation, his favorite phrase being "sell your bed and buy it." One feels that Dr. Schacht's book comes into this category, as it is indispensable for everyone who has an interest in the early development of Islam.

JAMES ROBSON

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Muhammadan Festivals. By G. E. von Grunebaum. New York, Henry Schuman, Inc., 1951. pp. 107, with fourteen illustrations. \$2.50.

Professor Gustave Edmund von Grunebaum is a specialist in Arabic and Islamic culture. He is now on the faculty of the University of Chicago.

Muhammadan Festivals is a book for the scholar. It is comprehensive, concise and clear. The author's facts are accurate, well thought out and well expressed.

The book is written with such appreciation that no fanatic Muslim would find offense. The author brings out the close relation between Islamic practices and those Jewish customs which form part

of the background of Islam. Professor Grunebaum is to be congratulated on giving us such a clear description of the history, philosophy and ritual of Islam in 94 pages. The format of the book is excellent and makes it a welcome addition to any library. Any scholar interested in Islam would be delighted with the book.

There are five chapters in the book with thirteen pages of bibliography, references and a good index. A glossary of Arabic words should have been added at the end to facilitate the understanding of unfamiliar Islamic terms by the general reader.

The first chapter deals with the foundation of Islam, life of the Prophet and his call to be the leader of the Arabs who at that time were idolaters.

The second chapter deals with the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Every Muslim is expected to make this Pilgrimage at the time of the Feast of Baqr 'Id at least once in his lifetime. Professor Grunebaum gives a very good description of how the Pilgrimage is to be performed at Mecca. The illustrations also help in fixing in the mind of the reader the complicated events in connection with Mecca, which is a forbidden city to all except the faithful. The author mentions a story about an Afghan pilgrim who broke off a fragment of the sacred Black Stone in 1932. He was executed and the piece refitted by King Ibn Saud himself. The author gives many such interesting little stories and bits of information not generally known.

Chapter three deals with the Fast of Ramadan and the Festival of 'Id-ul-Fitr which comes at the end of the long fast and is such a joyful occasion for Muslims. He likens the Fast of Ramadan to the Christian Quadragesima and the Manichaeon practices.

Chapter four deals with the Prophet and the Saints of Islam. The author describes how the saint worship finally evolved as a cult. He says (p. 68): "Every prophet is given a miracle—Moses threw his staff and it turned into a snake; Jesus blew life into a bird of clay—but Muhammad's miracle is the fact of Revelation, the book itself a miracle superior to those of his predecessors in that it is permanent while theirs were passing." The Prophet will intercede for the faithful on the Day of Judgment. The author says that the birthday of Muhammad is not known. On page 73 he says: "According to the Sunnite historians and theologians, the first *maulid* (birth) celebration is that arranged by Muzaffar ad-Din Kökbürü, a brother-in-law of the famed Saladin." The author gives a description of this first celebration which is very interesting. In this chapter, the author also gives a description of the Nebi Musa (Moses) festival which takes place in Palestine every year.

The last chapter deals with the Tenth of Muharram and the events which led up to the celebrations of Muharram by the Shiah. This includes the murder of Imam Husain, grandson of the Prophet, on the plain of Kerbala. The author gives portions from the Passion Play of Islam which has been translated by Sir Lewis Pelly.

On page 89 there appears to be some mistake in the use of the word *ta'zia*. The author says: "The *taziya*, or Passion Play." A *ta'zia* is a *tābūt* or model of the tomb of Husain at Kerbala. It is made of a light frame of woodwork, covered with paper, painted and ornamented. *Ta'zias* are illuminated within and without. They are kept

in the Imambaras or private houses of the Shiahhs and venerated for the first ten days of Muharram and on the tenth taken in a huge procession and buried in the local burial ground also called Kerbala. The author's English at times seems a little stilted because he uses such words as bovine for cow in explaining the animals sacrificed at time of Baqr'Id which is called the 'Cow Festival'; tennous, dotation, polyhistor and so on.

JUDITH AMES APPASAMY

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Atlas of Islamic History. By H. W. Hazard and H. L. Cook. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1951. \$4.00.

The body of this atlas consists of fourteen maps each displaying the political situation in the Muslim world (only as far east as Kabul) during a century. The facing pages give a chronological summary of the events shown on the maps. The major emphasis is on the exchange of territory between Islamic, Christian, and "Other" powers. While this is certainly a useful approach to the earlier centuries, it produces a rather startling result in the last map covering the period 1900-1949 CE. There are also special maps covering the Crusades and the history of the Ottoman Empire. The physical background of the history is exhibited in two maps.

In addition there is a tabulation of the latest available population statistics for all countries having appreciable Muslim populations, a conversion table giving the precise CE date for the beginning of each AH year down to 1395 AH (=1975 CE), and an index of place names.

Only four half-page maps are devoted to the Middle and Far East. The coverage here is so slight that criticism should perhaps be directed rather at the title. The atlas must in fact be considered on its merits as a treatment of Islamic History in the West and the Near East.

It is perhaps easier to amass a long list of perfectly valid criticisms of an atlas than of any other type of publication. This is no exception. Every user will have his own list. But on closer consideration with few and unimportant considerations the shortcomings are strictly imposed by the limitations of size and method. One would wish that the maps would show more detail, or that they would cover a shorter span of years, or that other features than political might be shown. But all of these would materially increase the bulk and the cost. On the whole this is very close to the best that could be produced. Every bit of the space has been utilized, even to the front cover, and the text is concise and pertinent.

The maps are well drawn. The whole book is well printed on heavy paper. The design and execution are of high standards throughout. The compiler, cartographers, and the Princeton University Press are to be congratulated.

H. A. GLEASON, JR.

Hartford Seminary Foundation

Histoire du Maroc. Vol II. By Henri Terasse. Casablanca, Editions Atlantides, 1950. pp. 509.

On p. 217 of Vol. XL, No. 3, the July number of *THE MUSLIM WORLD*, is printed my review of the first volume of Henri Terasse's definitive work, *Historie du Maroc*. That volume covers five books: a geographical introduction, pre-Islamic Morocco, and three chapters on early Muslim history. It ends with the rise of the Beni Merin and the date A.D. 1244, representing the approximate peak of Muslim culture in Morocco. Volume II, comprising the record of a cultural decline, contains four books: (5) The Beni Merin and the Decline of the Berber Domination in Islam; (6) The Turning Point in Moroccan History—The Beni Wattas and the Sa'adi Dynasty; (7) Morocco in a State of Isolation and Anarchy—The 'Alāwi Dynasty; (8) An Overall Picture of Moroccan History. In 5 through 7 Terasse offers cultural resumé's for each period, as before; the eighth contains an analysis of Moroccan cultural history and an explanation of the role of the French in Morocco.

The Beni Merin, Zenatan horsemen from the Algerian plateaus and the Saharan borderlands, rose as the Almohades declined. Having won a battle in Spain, they moved their camps northward and westward into the Muluwiya country, where their descendants still live. Meanwhile their leaders and warriors gradually took northern Morocco away from the Almohades, setting up a government in Fez in A.D. 1244. This they maintained for over two centuries. Two events served to bring on their fall: the ascendancy of the Bedouin on the Moroccan plains, with the Beni Hillal north and the Maqil south of the Atlas; and the gradual decay of Muslim power and civilization in Spain.

Felling fruit trees and reducing villages to grainfields and pasture, the Bedouin set up a second Bled es-Šibā' on the plains. In an attempt to control its territory the government introduced many mounted mercenaries, including 1500 Kurds, 400 Christians, 500 renegade archers, and 2000 unspecified crossbowmen. Meanwhile refugees from Granada reenforced in Fez the last haven of Andalusian culture, which can still be discovered in the suqs and workshops of Fez. While the Beni Merin restored the Maliki legal code, families of marabuts arose in the country, particularly in the mountains. Many of these claimed sharifian descent. These men ruled, as some still do, by the power of *baraka*, the divine touch. Universities were built to combat sufism, and the brotherhoods moved out of the cities.

The Beni Wattas, who were also Zenata, came originally from the Saharan borders of Tripolitania. Starting as a family of vezirs they gradually took over the rule from the Merinid sultans, and, in 1546, the throne. Theirs was a difficult period. While the Ottoman Empire spread to the eastern borders of Morocco, the Portuguese and Spaniards, whose seapower was growing, captured and held most of the seaports of Morocco, as well as the inland city of al-Ksar al-Kebir. To this menace the government offered no organized resistance, but a number of small, local sharifs and marabuts organized minor jihads in which they found a way to increase their power.

The symbolic agency by which this strengthening was achieved, the belief in the *baraka* of descendants of the Prophet, was also the

vehicle for the introduction of the next two dynasties. A century earlier the date-farmers of the Dra'a country had imported a family of sharifs from Yanbo, a Hejazi seaport, to bless their date trees and thus assure them a good crop. This family was said to be descended from the Beni Sa'd, who fostered the Prophet. The Tafilelt farmers, not to be outdone by their rivals, introduced the 'Alāwi family from the same port and for the same purpose. These two families were to produce the Sa'adi and 'Alāwi dynasties, of which the second is still enthroned.

Assuming command of the Sus and Dra'a, where the Beni Wattas exercised no power, the Sa'adi sharifs fought the Portuguese at Agadir and Safi, took Marrakesh, and, in 1548, conquered Fez, later moving the seat of their government to Marrakesh. During their reign, which lasted until 1666, the Christian menace eased, while that of the Turks grew. To fight the latter the Sa'adis actually allied themselves with the Spaniards. Being related to no powerful local stock, the Sa'adis depended mostly on the renegades and foreign Muslims for support. Their regime fostered the marabut movement which had created it, and which was essentially a system of political dispersal and fragmentation. "They took over Morocco in disorder and left it in anarchy."

The 'Alāwi dynasty, which existed for 246 years before the Protectorate and still carries on in semi-captivity, covers the period of Moroccan history most interesting to Europeans and Americans, with all the jockeying for power which took place between France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and England up to 1912. Through its maintenance of a balance of power this rivalry did for Morocco what geographical isolation achieved for Yemen: it preserved an archaic Muslim state virtually intact until the lifetime of men still living. France and Spain assumed power only after the expected political trading in terms of peoples whose wishes were hardly consulted; Britain settled for favored rights in Egypt, Italy in Tripolitania, and Germany, after a display of power, in Ubangi and the Congo.

Rival date-blessers of Tafilelt, the 'Alāwis waxed as the Sa'adis weakened. In 1666 the 'Alāwi sharif Mulay Rashid was proclaimed sultan in Fez, and he eventually took over most of Morocco. His partly negroid brother, Mulay Isma'il, furnished Morocco, between 1672 and 1727, with one of its most stable governments, which he set up at Meknes. Cruel and energetic, he created an army of three principal elements: the 'Udaya, a corps of Maqil Arabs brought from the Saharan side of the Atlas; the Bukhāris, a guard of Negroes who took their oath of allegiance on al-Bukhāri's *Ḥadīth al-Ṣaḥīḥ* instead of on the Qur'an; and companies of Christian renegades commanded by their own officers, including the writer Thomas Pellow of Penrhyn.

Having reduced most of the Bled eṣ-Ṣibā', Mulai Isma'il built sixty fortresses to contain rebellious tribes, to protect the highways (after the manner of Shah 'Abbās in Iran), and to guard the cities. He pushed out the encroaching Turks and kept the Christians at bay, reconquering all the coastal places except Mazagan (Portuguese), Ceuta, Melilla, the Peñon de Velez, and the Isle of Alhucemas (all Spanish). For ten whole years an uneasy peace reigned in the land, and, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa said, a Jew and a woman could walk unmolested

from the Sus to Ujda. Only 200 years later did the French achieve the same result. Mulai Isma'il traded much with Europe. To balance his trade deficit, for Morocco imported more than it exported, he ransomed captured Christians through the intermediacy of two Catholic monastic orders.

Peace returned under Sidi Muḥammad ben 'Abdallah (1757-1790), who kept on good terms with Turk and Christian alike, established a sound currency, created a navy with European vessels, and tried to spread the Wahhabi doctrine at the expense of the ṣūfī brethren and marabouts. Mulay Sliman (1792-1822) continued this Wahhabi propagation after a meeting with 'Abdallah ibn Sa'ūd in Arabia in 1812. Mulay 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ben Hishām (1822-59) reigned during the time of the French conquest of Algeria. He took and gave up Tlemsen; helped the Kabyle patriot 'Abd al-Qādir and then pursued him; made a commercial treaty with the British which lasted fifty years, and started the system of indirect government through the great qā'id's, in the Atlas and south.

His son Muḥammad (1859-73) resisted a Spanish invasion, allowed the foreign diplomatic corps to establish itself at Tangier, and accepted the principle of foreign protection for Moroccan commercial representatives of Christian houses. Mulay al-Ḥasan (1873-94) allowed the institution of extraterritorial rights for special foreigners, which American citizens still enjoy. In 1881, after the Madrid conference, the Tangier agreement was made, giving twelve western European powers and the United States equal rights. Carrying his father's dealings a step further, Mulay al-Ḥasan permitted the rise of the three great despots of the Grand Atlas (whom the French have perpetuated), the Mtugi, the Gundafi, and the Glawi. In fact, he gave Si Madani Glawi the Krupp cannon with which the latter blasted out the last remnant of Berber freedom from his part of the mountains.

From 1894 to 1909, Mulay al-Ḥasan's son Mulay 'Abd al-'Azīz ruled. For the first ten years the actual power was in the four hands of a mulatto vizir, Ba Aḥmad, and the youthful monarch's Circassian mother. From 1900 to 1908 Mulay 'Abd al-'Azīz conducted a playboy regime with a palace full of Christian cronies whom the Qā'id MacLean served as major domo. By instituting non-Qur'ānic tax reforms as well as favoring Christians, Mulay 'Abd al-'Azīz antagonized many of his subjects, who here and there revolted. Two principal rivals arose: Bu Hamara, a Zerhuni sleight-of-hand artist, who set himself up as sultan in Taza, and 'Abd al-'Azīz's brother Mulay Ḥafid, who was proclaimed monarch in Marrakesh. In 1908 Mulay Ḥafid was accepted in Fez, and 'Abd al-'Azīz retired to Tangier. In 1912 Mulay Ḥafid signed the treaty granting France its protectorate, Tunisian style.

The history of European relations with Morocco from 1900 to 1912 is exceedingly complicated, and Terasse handles the threads in masterly fashion. The deals between France on the one hand, and Italy, Spain, and England took place mostly in 1900 and 1904, but Germany was harder for the French to handle. In 1904, following set agreements, the French took over the customs, postal service, and telegraph system, as well as installing military instructors. The Germans, apparently disputing their right to do these things, provoked

an incident; in 1905 the Kaiser Wilhelm II landed in Tangier. In 1906 the interested powers met at Algeciras, and France's priority was replaced by an international set-up. In 1911 the Germans made another threat, by sending the gunboat Panther to Agadir. Meanwhile, in response to riots and murders, the French moved westward from Algeria and eastward from the Atlantic, seizing the Ujda region and the mountain of the Beni Znassen, as well as Casablanca and the Shawiya country. In 1910 they took Fez, connecting the two areas. Two years later the Protectorate became official. Twenty-four years later the Bled eṣ-Ṣibā', owing to French military action, had ceased to exist.

Terasse's factual exposition of the purely Moorish side of the historical record, including its geographical and ethnographic aspects, sets an example for clarity and objectivity. But in his estimate of the role of his own countrymen one suspects that he is still a little too close to the scene. In the record of events before 1912 he can see no fault or mistake, other than timidity, in the conduct of the French; they were gentle and considerate, they held back as long as possible from executing the onerous duty for which inexorable fate had chosen them, and they were continually hampered by the Germans. In his estimate of the future Terasse is more critical, if still restrained. Like most Frenchmen (and many other Christians) he favors the Berbers over the Arabs, and seems uneasy over the proposition that by destroying the Land of Insolence his countrymen have yielded the Berbers to the mercy of the invaders who, in over twelve hundred years, had failed to conquer them.

He appeals both to "Frenchmen too easily absorbed in the European life which has arisen on African soil, too much and too exclusively concerned with the matters of the present hour," and to "Moroccans too prone to view the history of their country in the atmosphere of a gilded myth" . . . to get together and use history as a tool in the solution of their mutual problems. This history ends at 1912, thus avoiding much political controversy. Concerning the superlative quality of Henri Terasse's scholarship and his skill at writing history, there is no controversy at all: he is a master.

CARLETON S. COON

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La ville de Rabat jusqu'au protectorat français, histoire et archéologie. By Jacques Caillé. Paris, Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1949. Vol. I, pp. 596; Vol. II, 187 illustrations; Vol. III, 80 photographs.

This three-volume work is another in a long series of excellent publications which have been prepared under the auspices of the Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines at Rabat; collectively, these studies constitute one of the major sources of information concerning Morocco. This very scholarly work by Dr. Caillé, "Directeur d'Études" at the Institute, is a comprehensive study of the history, archaeological remains, and more recent buildings of architectural importance, of the city of Rabat, now the political capital of the French protectorate of Morocco. Like most of the Institute's publications,

Dr. Caillé's books are of interest primarily to the serious student; however, the text is presented in easily readable French which should occasion no difficulty to the reader possessing a sound, general knowledge of the language. The author has largely avoided the highly technical vocabulary with which such a study might have been laden.

Volume I consists of 570 pages of textual matter and a useful ten-page bibliography. Volume II consists entirely of plans of important historical buildings, walls, and other monuments at Rabat, and of drawings of the decorative designs which are so characteristic of, and add so much charm and beauty to, Moroccan architecture. Volume III consists of photographs of many of the buildings and monuments referred to in the first two volumes. Both the drawings and the photographs are correlated with the textual materials by means of a special index at the end of Volume I. Many readers will find the last three maps in Volume II of particular help in locating the place names mentioned throughout the text.

Before commencing the actual study of the history, archaeology and later architectural developments of Rabat, the author devotes a chapter to a study of the city's physical setting. In the remainder of Volume I, the author has utilized the procedure of first discussing the historical developments of a given era, then following this with a substantial section describing the important buildings and public works constructed during that period. As far as possible, he compares their present state with the original, describing alterations or restorations that have been made throughout the centuries, and indicating the buildings still in active use. Through all the text, the author also discusses a great deal of general Moroccan history, as it is related to that of the city of Rabat.

Most of the buildings and public works described by Dr. Caillé were constructed during and since the twelfth century. The reason for this, Dr. Caillé makes clear, lies in history. Although the general area now occupied by Rabat is known to have been inhabited since prehistoric times, as well as during periods of Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Roman control of the area, it is probable that no earlier city of any importance ever occupied the location. Following the Islamic invasions of North Africa, the present site of the city served primarily as a battleground between orthodox Muslims and heretical or dissident sects until the establishment of Rabat in A.D. 1150 as one of the capitals of Morocco. Constructions prior to 1150 apparently consisted almost entirely of fortifications. Because of the establishment of the modern city on the site of these ruins left by the earlier civilizations, few excavations have been possible.

RUTH J. TORRANCE

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No Woman's Country: Travels in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. By Michael Langley. New York, Philosophical Library, 1951. pp. 221. \$4.50.

Being a Briton in colonial service, the author builds up a thoughtful picture of the accomplishments of the British government in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. His travels across and around the Sudan permitted him to describe the conditions of people of various racial

groups, giving enough of the history of each to point up those advantages they now enjoy. The appreciation of basic character in several situations affords interesting reading.

The writer inspected agricultural and industrial projects thoroughly. His estimate of potential improvement in development of natural resources of the Sudan affords an excellent viewpoint for any foreigner interested in that area. His contacts with officials, British and Sudanese, enabled him to describe their peculiarities with humor and tolerance. His clear admiration of some of the national leaders, and his evaluation of present politics in the Sudan, display an insight which commends opinions offered.

The account includes a few references to Christian mission work, but without detail or interpretation. The author maintains a government representative's detachment from such activity. However, persons interested in the people of the Sudan, Arab and pagan, will find much of value in the descriptions offered of local situations and customs, and in the historical background which has been woven into the picture. The writer manages to leave impressions with the reader without stating conclusions too often, through the use of effective description.

The book carries fifty excellent illustrations, photographs skillfully taken and well selected. Several times the author establishes his contention that the Sudan is too rigorous for ladies to enjoy.

H. E. KELSEY

Philadelphia, Pa.

The Middle East: A Physical, Social, and Regional Geography. By W. B. Fisher. London, Methuen & Co. Ltd. Also New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1950. pp. xiii, 514. 27s 6d.

This book is an attempt, in large part successful, to provide a "full understanding of human society" in the Middle East rather than merely a description of geographical facts. The author has divided *The Middle East* into three parts: Physical Geography, Social Geography and Regional Geography. The first section deals with the general physical form and aspect of the region, its climate and soil. The second is devoted to the people of the Middle East, their social, religious, historical, and economic relationships. A separate chapter is devoted to the oil resources. Having established a framework and base of reference, the third part discusses the individual physiographic regions of the Middle East, one by one.

The book is at its best in the generalized discussions, the background information. The author does a great service in presenting the geographical and human complexities of the region and warning of the pitfalls that lie in wait for the superficial expert. If nothing else, this book should serve to destroy any remnants of the conception that the Middle East is all desert and that Arabs are all alike. In these days of Point Four Programs and the development of "undeveloped areas," the author stresses the respect due to the empirical results of centuries of experimentation. He will earn the gratitude of many if his book only helps kill the popular thesis that desert and water are the sole ingredients necessary for flourishing agriculture,

or if the social economists take to heart the statement "Nomadism represents the only possible utilization of limited geographical opportunities." Too often we have been treated to the spectacle of the agriculturist forgetting that the ultimate source of his irrigation water is rain, or of the sociologist overlooking the source of the meat supply of desert-oasis civilizations.

A tremendous amount of useful information is assembled in the form of both tables and maps. This reviewer was particularly grateful for the city and harbor maps which are not usually readily accessible. There is, however, a certain amount of discussion in the text of places that cannot be found on the accompanying maps, and the statistics are sometimes useful only for illustration, not for reference. Despite some faults, the book is far better in these respects than the majority of works of this type.

The part on Social Geography contains much useful information assembled in convenient form. Nevertheless, it is the weakest part of the book, and needlessly so. It is questionable that a geography need present interpretations of controversial subjects for the purpose of supplying background material. For example, despite the author's *caveat* on the connection between environment and religion, many would quarrel with his strong implication of a necessary causal relationship between monotheism and deserts. H. A. R. Gibb, whose assistance is acknowledged by the author in the Introduction, begins his *Mohammedanism* with: "The old legend that Islam was born in the desert is taking a long time to die." In contrast to the warnings on the need for conservatism and respect for empirical practices in the purely physical and economic spheres, much of this part, as it deals with people and history, seems based on the premise of the inevitability of progress and the eventual triumph of science over all.

Of the part of the book devoted to the Regional Geography of the Middle East, this reviewer is competent only on the chapter on the Arabian Peninsula. It is most disappointing. Inasmuch as Britain itself has produced most of the best explorers of the Peninsula, it is hard to understand why Professor Fisher has not made more use of sources which are readily accessible. No one of the descriptions of the various areas of the Peninsula is free of error. Of many erroneous statements, the most inexcusable is the perpetuation of the old error of treating "Rub al Khali" and "Dahana" as synonyms. Piling insult on injury, Rub' al Khali is referred to, in quotation marks, as "Philby's Empty Quarter" as if the name were Mr. Philby's own creation.

The book suffers the defect of all books which are designed for use by both laymen and experts. The geological portions, for example, are hardly satisfactory to a geologist and, at the same time, too technical for the interested layman. But the numerous errors and the plethora of unsupported deductions are in total the book's most serious defect. A good many of these are in the interesting tidbits which contribute little or nothing to the main argument, or in footnotes. Out of a long list of errors or misstatements compiled by this reviewer, who did not check many that seemed questionable, the following samples are illustrative:

P. 73—"the rise of Islam . . . can be traced to slight changes in

environmental conditions within the steppe lands of Eurasia. (Chapter VII)" No evidence is adduced to support this questionable statement, either in Chapter VII or elsewhere.

P. 110—"After some three centuries of existence . . . the Wahhabi have recently come into great prominence . . ." Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabi movement, was not born until the early part of the 18th century and did not make his compact with the House of Sa'ud until the middle of the century. In the early part of the 19th century the Wahhabi state was as extensive as it is today and moreover was threatening the whole Ottoman Empire.

P. 117—Footnote 1. "It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel." Inasmuch as the hump of a camel is composed largely of fat, it certainly is worthy of note if any Wahhabi tribesmen ever existed on water from such a source.

P. 230—"Production [of oil from the Burghan field of Kuwait] in 1945 was at the rate of 200,000 barrels per day." P. 244—The footnote on Kuwait production in the table of "Annual Crude Oil Production (Middle East)", states "Production began 1946."

P. 496, Appendix II—The end results of adiabatic cooling and heating are correctly stated, but the explanation of the thermodynamics is incorrect. It need only be noted that a parcel of air ascending in the atmosphere and expanding in volume does not become a "larger mass."

If the bibliography lists all the references used by the author, more use should have been made of up-to-date material. To take the bibliography for Chapter XVIII, "The Arabian Peninsula," as an example, the only work of Philby's which is cited is an article from the *Geographical Journal*. No mention is made of his great books nor of Freya Stark, van der Meulen, Alois Musil or Bertram Thomas, to name a few of the modern explorers. The treatment of the western desert of Egypt could be improved by a study of Gautier's *The Great Sahara*.

It is to be hoped that the author will correct and revise *The Middle East* at the earliest opportunity to make the book as useful and authoritative as it could and should be.

THOMAS C. BARGER

Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Britain and the Middle East from Earliest Times to 1950. By Sir Reader Bullard. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1951. pp. 195. Map each end. 7/6.

There is no doubt that this book fills a gap; there is no doubt too that it is worthy of companion volumes in the series. It ranges through the whole gamut of Britain's relations with the (so-called) Middle East. The author himself at the close of his service was a "Middle Easterner," for he was H. M. Minister and then Ambassador to Persia. Hence his paragraphs on Iran should be carefully read these serious times. (The Index by countries will be found most useful).

But Sir Reader writes with more than documentary authority on the other countries; and (if it may be forgiven) it is not until the Epilogue that lesser "readers" might find their views divergent or at least diverging.

Apart from this and the Introduction there are seven "parts" which cover nearly a millennium and a half. Some of the remarks in their short trenchancy might refer to today even though the original reference is to bygone ages. "Not piety alone took men to the Middle East." "Oriental words (travellers) employ in their writings are usually distorted and sometimes unrecognisable"—and we are somewhat forcibly reminded of some broadcasts. Then there are the interesting little facts of history—the Abbasid coins found in the Orkneys; the English coin the Shah obtained from merchants in order to send his conscience money to the Prophet in Mecca. We are glad of the reference to Edward Pococke and his connection both with Aleppo and Laud, for it was Pococke who made the earliest translation of a large section of the Book of Common Prayer into Arabic. Was he also partly responsible for "cedars of Libanus" found round Oxford? It is because of Aleppo that the author mentions Pococke in the Chapter on the "Merchant Adventurers." This follows the beginnings of the "relationship" through pilgrims and Crusaders. So we reach the start of the "Eastern Question," and the interplay of European countries with those of the "Middle East." "Only Germany made a good impression on Turkey by asking for nothing." This was not to last however. The author is candid in his criticisms and takes us to the origin of many of the "problems" that now confront our Western Governments.

Egypt, Palestine, Iraq (we would have a little more about Cyprus and Greece), with the difficulties becoming more intricate in and through the first world war, are dealt with in turn. It is as if he visualized through intimacy the countries which he describes. The growth of the problems of the Suez Canal and the Sudan, the antagonism to the Mandate scheme, the sorry procession of the commissions which came to Palestine, and all the other "causes of friction" are considered and estimated. The emergence of the "Oil Question" since the first prospecting in Persia half a century ago is a story in itself,—not yet ended. Then there are the names that have helped in the making (or is it changing?) of history—Cromer, Faisal, Ibn Saud, Weizmann, Zaghul and many another. We content ourselves with two quotations from the Epilogue, not just because they are thought provoking in themselves, but because they come from a book that ought to be read, especially by the friend who says from time to time, "How am I to understand these manifold problems in all their outreach?" The answer is to read this book; and here are the quotations:—"It can be said that the frontier of Britain is no longer even on the Rhine but in the Middle East." "The great need is . . . for keen young doctors . . . who are prepared to work in the country districts." A list of books for "supplementary reading" follows the Epilogue; which to the reviewer means that this book should be read *first*.

Glasgow, Scotland

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine. By Philip K. Hitti. New York, Macmillan, 1951. pp. xxvi, 750. \$10.00.

Students are grateful to Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Professor of Semitic Literature in Princeton University, for placing at their disposal another history of the Near East, an area well known but about which so many misconceived and erroneous ideas have been formed through lack of complete, impartial and accurate information. In his *History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine*, Dr. Hitti synthesizes and relates the abundant facts which have been reported through the ages but which had so far not been examined and organized from the viewpoint of a comprehensive historical study of geographical Syria. The author discharges his tremendous task with scholarly accuracy, in a style which is both lucid and entertaining.

The *History of Syria* supplements his previous work, the *History of the Arabs*, in that it develops certain phases of Near Eastern history briefly discussed in the latter and places greater emphasis on the social, cultural and economic aspects. The early chapters about the pre-literary age, which include recent anthropological and archaeological data, are a stimulating introduction to a region which has revealed evidences of important links with the origin of man and of his primitive achievements.

The advent of the Semites from the Arabian Peninsula in successive periods of migration is covered in both books, but in the volume under review the spotlight shifts from the Arabian scene to the destination of the migrants—Syria (in the ancient geographical sense), where they absorbed indigenous peoples and developed flourishing civilizations, namely those of the Amorites, Canaanites or Phoenicians, Aramaeans and Hebrews. Though a relatively small area, continually under the political dominance of greater powers, it made some of the world's greatest contributions to mankind: Monotheism, an unsurpassed system of ethics and morals, and the alphabet.

The culmination of Syria's attainments occurred during the Greco-Roman and Arab eras, which Dr. Hitti describes so admirably. Few accounts of these periods, with their incredibly complicated interminglings of religious, ethnic and linguistic groups, have been better from the point of view of clarity, accurateness and equity of treatment. Particularly praiseworthy are the sections which shed new light on the relationships of the various sects emanating from the main bodies of Christianity and Islam.

The final chapters of the book relating to the Ottoman period and the contemporary scene are greatly condensed in comparison with the space devoted to preceding periods. Since this is the era which forms the immediate background for the contemporary scene and in which many of the modern political, social and economic trends and attitudes have their roots, an expansion of this section would have bridged the gap for those who are seeking to interpret present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel in the light of their past history.

The book abounds in rich biographical and geographical material, expert definitions, technical information, excellent illustrations and maps, which make it an extremely useful reference book for students of the Near East.

FRANCES E. ROBERDS

Washington, D. C.

Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon. By George Haddad. Beirut, Dar al-Hayat Press, 1950. pp. XVI + 264.

Dr. Haddad's book is primarily written for the Western reader who has no background of Near Eastern affairs. Further, it is intended to be merely as a guide for those who seek a general, non-technical account of the Levant countries. The author makes no attempt to be critical of his subject nor does he analyze any of the pending issues of modern Syria and Lebanon. The book is a straightforward factual account of the political, economic and cultural development of the Levant States from the Stone Age to the present with particular emphasis on the last fifty years.

The subject matter is divided into eight chapters: one on geography, two on the history of Syria and Lebanon from the Stone Age to the end of World War I, one on the period from 1918 to the present, and two on the governmental, cultural and social development of Syria. The last chapter, which might have been incorporated in the first two chapters, deals with the archaeological and tourist sites in the Levant. There is a short bibliography at the end, and the book is full of rather unartistic illustrations.

Dr. Haddad's work suffers from a number of drawbacks. In certain sections the sequence of events is not clear and the narrative is ambiguous; in others there are some rash and not quite accurate statements. The book also suffers from a number of misprinted and misspelled words which probably the author is not entirely responsible for.

MAJID KHADDURI

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Washington, D. C.*

King Abdullah of Transjordan, Memoirs. Translated from the Arabic by G. Khuri and edited with notes and a foreword by Philip P. Graves, New York, Philosophical Library, 1950. pp. 278. \$3.75.

This translation presents certain perplexing problems at the outset. Although the editor expresses the opinion that 'Abdullāh "has made history," the translation was not intended for the historian, but, in the translator's words, "to suit the English general reader" and therefore "some passages which are of no interest to the general reader have been left out, and a few chapters are given in summary." It is impossible to distinguish between the work of the editor and the work of the translator. The editor states that he has been working with "an incomplete transcript, sometimes a summary of a translation," and that "any communication with the translator on doubtful points" has been impossible because of the Palestine war. No data concerning the Arabic original is given. The book obviously is based upon 'Abdullāh ibn-al-Husayn, *Mudhakkirāti* [My Memoirs], (Jerusalem, Maṭba'ah-Bayt-al-Muqaddis, first printing, 1945).

This edition is not a complete translation of the original. The appendices of the original, consisting of the author's speeches on the anniversaries of the Arab Revolt and his speeches from the throne, and an interesting "Epitome of Islamic History" are omitted entirely.

The section divisions and headings of the original have not been adhered to. Much of the book is a summary, not an exact translation, and even though the general sense of the original is preserved, 'Abdullāh's opinions, sharply clear in the original, are softened and blurred by the telescoping of clauses and sentences. In many cases, whole pages, paragraphs, and even sentences and phrases have been rearranged in such a manner that the text has been distorted. Moreover all this has been combined with the insertion of material, especially dates, not in the original. Finally, some of the material omitted is of interest. To add to the confusion, there are two instances in the translation (pp. 205f., 207) of the use of square brackets to enclose material translated or summarized from the original (pp. 186, 188) in which brackets are not used, and in the first of these two cases material not in the original is inserted but without any indication of this fact. The editor has supplied footnotes and notes at the end of chapters, so perhaps one may assume that the omissions, rearrangements, and additions are the work of the translator.

The first 111 pages, covering the period up to the beginning of World War I, is a complete distortion of the original text. The text has been rearranged and connective passages and dates have been added without any indication. Only the most important case will be described in any detail here. Of great interest, of course, is 'Abdullāh's account of his conversations with Kitchener. The original (pp. 71-4) relates only one series of meetings with Kitchener, which occurred on a single day. This is clearly dated to 1912 in the original by the statements that it was a year before the appointment of Vehīb Bey as Vāli of the Hijaz and that Sa'īd Pasha was Grand Vizier; one of these passages is omitted and the other is misplaced in the translation. The translation makes the first paragraph of this account occur in 1912, (pp. 93f.), separates the rest and relates it as a second meeting in 1914, and to add continuity adds the sentence "It was at this time—the early days of 1914—that I met Lord Kitchener again" (pp. 105-7). This second part is combined with events related by the original as having occurred in 1914, or about two years later according to the original. This reconstruction may be correct, but that is not the way the original reads. This rearrangement obviously has been made to harmonize the *Memoirs* with Kitchener's correspondence and the notes of George Antonius, both in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, X/I, 827, 831-2, which is quoted in the notes of the editor.

The remainder of the translation follows the arrangement of the original more closely. The only rearrangement is not a serious one: the rearrangement of 'Abdullāh's appreciation of Churchill. There are no important insertions of material in these pages. The dates on pp. 123, 190, 200, 226 are not in the original, but the dates inserted are well-known dates. There is one slip of importance: p. 212 reads, "the 'Idwair rebellion" for "the 'Adwān Rebellion" of the original (p. 196). Otherwise this part is reliable, but much of value has been omitted. Where the original (pp. 167, 171, 172, 177) gives the names of notables present upon certain occasions, the translation (pp. 190, 191, 193, 201) omits them. Likewise, the names of the members of the various ministries given in the original (pp. 183, 184-5, 188, 196,

200-1, 206, 208-9, 209-10, 210-11, 212, 214, 215) are left out of the translation (pp. 205, 206, 207, 212, 214, 217, 219, 220, 221). A mis-translation of interest is in the text of a speech delivered by 'Abdullāh on May 15, 1923 in which the translation (p. 209) renders as "His Majesty King Husain" the words "Jalālāh amīr-al-mu'minīn maw-lāna al-Ḥusayn" of the original (p. 192). This was nearly a year before Ḥusayn assumed the title of Caliph. In August 1924 'Abdullāh applied the same title to Ḥusayn in another speech given in the original (p. 204), and again the translation reads, "His Majesty King Husain" (p. 216).

The most serious deletion in this part is from the text published as "Appendix One" (pp. 243-51) in the translation, but not as an appendix in the original (pp. 237-46). This is actually an important diplomatic document throwing light upon Arab politics during the preparatory stage of the formation of the Arab League. The chapter heading in the original, not given in the translation reads, "The position of Iraq and Jordan toward the Syrian-Lebanese-Najdi coalition and the promotion of a high policy toward it, the position of Egypt as mediator in the execution of an unknown policy. . . ." The first paragraph reads in the translation, "In view of current discussions, and the urge of the Arab people to bring their movement to its logical Arab conclusion, it will be useful here to outline the principles of the great Arab Revolution." A comparison with a complete translation of the original will indicate the way in which a large part of the text has been altered by omission and telescoping. The original reads, "In view of the conversations and maneuverings taking place today, and in connection with the fact that opinion now making progress may send the Arab movement (*sayr*) step by step toward its completion, it is a duty of trust that the principles and aspirations of the Great Arab Revolution be put into this communique for the information of His Royal Highness the Regent and Their Excellencies the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the former Prime Minister of Iraq." The editor dates it "early in 1944." Since "the former Prime Minister of Iraq" is referred to it must have been written after the resignation of Nūri al-Sa'īd on June 4, 1944, and from the way in which Naḥḥās Pasha is spoken of, before his resignation on October 8, 1944. It is therefore a proposal on the part of 'Abdullāh that Iraq and Transjordan present a common front at the Alexandria Conference. The significance of the document is that it is the only published official evidence that Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia had combined at this date to oppose 'Abdullāh's Greater Syria scheme and that at this time, Egypt had not yet taken the strong position on this question which has characterized Egyptian policy since the beginning of 1945.

This translation may be of interest to the general reader whom the translator had in mind, but the serious student will have to refer to the original.

C. ERNEST DAWN

The University of Illinois

Portrait of a Turkish Family. By Irfan Orga. London, Gollancz, 1950. pp. 303. 16s.

Irfan Orga was born in Istanbul, educated at Kuleli Military School and Harbiye Military College, Istanbul, and has lived in

Lisbon, Portugal, South Africa and London. He has also been an officer in the Turkish Air Force.

The vivid depicting of life in Turkey as found in this book could only have been so successfully accomplished by one who had himself experienced that life. The reader is carried back to the pre-World War I period when one day followed another filled with the activities and enjoyments of a well-to-do family of Istanbul. Not only does one enjoy the life of home and garden on the Marmora but also that on one of the famous estates on the Bosphorus. All too soon the realities of World War I fall on Istanbul. The reader relives those days of terrible suffering and struggle with the author until finally he emerges into the forward-looking days of the Republic.

One is tempted to wonder if the author has not gathered into his own life story the many threads of the history of his nation through this period.

An outstanding contribution of the book is its continued picture of the changing position of women. Both in the life and experiences of his mother and grandmother, and those who served them, the reader becomes acquainted with typical women of the period.

For all who would like to catch for a while the flavor of old Turkey with its customs and traditions and at the same time to feel the glow of the new day as the Republic emerges and gains confidence, this book offers an excellent opportunity.

RUBY P. BIRGE

Istanbul, Turkey

NOTICE

Beginning January 1, 1953, the subscription price of THE MUSLIM WORLD, for 1953 and after, will be \$3.00 (12 shillings) a year and 75 cents (2 sh.) a copy, postpaid. Until then, subscriptions for 1953 on will be received at \$2.00 (8 shillings) a year.

Christ's Ambassador to the Muslim

The Rev. L. Bevan Jones, a veteran missionary to the Muslims of India and author of *The People of the Mosque, Christianity Explained to Muslims* and, with Mrs. Bevan Jones, *Woman in Islam*, has permitted us to quote from his article recently issued by The Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems.

"In view of the supreme issue at stake our reaction as Christian evangelists to . . . the customary attitude of Muslims, should be a like concentration upon our primary obligation, viz. the presentation to them of Christ as the only Saviour from sin, once crucified, dead and buried, but risen from the dead, and alive for evermore.

"Now, it cannot honestly be claimed that such concentration has been the most characteristic feature, always and everywhere, of the Christian approach to Muslims. It ought to have been, but it is disturbing to reflect how many a missionary, in the course of his study of Islam, or resulting from his disputation with Muslims, or consequent on a sense of disappointment at the lack of results, has side-stepped into themes and projects that cannot be deemed of supreme moment to the Muslim, if we have in view his spiritual need.

"As illustrating less urgent matters upon which some have "wasted their precious time," consider the following:

"A man spent some of the best years of his life preparing a translation of the Qur'an in the provincial dialect, to which he appended a commentary. In itself it was a valuable "handbook" for the Christian evangelist; but it was also sold to Muslims, and they were definitely offended and alienated by the thing. The author, on the eve of retirement, confessed that, given his life over again, he would have concentrated on expounding the Bible. . . .

"But all this is not to say that the missionary to Muslims can afford to dispense with a knowledge of Islam and its literature. On the contrary, if he would understand the mind and heart of the Muslim he must acquaint himself with the contents of the Qur'an, its commentaries and the Traditions, and with the history of the development of Muslim theology; moreover, he must keep himself informed through the daily press, as well as study the record of Muslim objections to Christianity. There can be no evading such study, but experience has repeatedly shown that it is wise to keep the knowledge so gained in the background. The patient garnering of such knowledge yields subsidiary benefits of great practical value to the missionary:

"(a) such equipment enables him to appreciate promptly, and at their right value, a Muslim's "leading questions," misrepresentations, and misunderstandings regarding Christ and the Christian Faith.

"(b) it serves not only to underline what is lacking of spiritual values in Islam, but also confirms the missionary's assurance that the deeper craving of Muslim souls, uttered or unexpressed, can only be met in Christ, the Saviour he proclaims.

"The missionary addressing himself to this task is called to a devout and holy life, one of strict discipline and exacting study. It goes without saying that the foundation of such preparation will be laid

in the homeland, but an essential part of it must be carried out on the field, in a Muslim environment. The western missionary must, in his early years, learn to orientate himself, through friendly association with Muslims, to their modes of thought, their ways of speech and their social customs. In fact, he should make it his purpose to practise the principle the Apostle Paul applied to his own life, and seek to become a Muslim to the Muslims that he may win them for Christ. . . .

“Will your young missionary be competent to deal with the soul of a Muslim in [any] desperate case? *That* is the question! And, in all seriousness, he has no right to expect that he will be if, in the course of his preparation in the homeland, he has not already known what it is to seek to win men for Christ, and experienced something of His redemptive passion for souls. More important than a thorough study of Islam, necessary as that is; more important even than a mastery of Christian theology and the history of doctrine, is this knowledge of how to lead a sinner to the Saviour.

“Thus we narrow down the whole enquiry to *one supreme issue*, that of bringing the Muslim face to face with the Living Christ, in the confident assurance that He has the will and the power to draw such to Himself. But, again, whence comes this confident assurance of the missionary? It must be grounded in his personal experience of Christ’s Grace and Power in his own life. *Nothing short of that will suffice!* Yet this is a matter which should humble him, for he goes to the Muslim in his sin, as himself a sinner, saved by Grace.

“Moreover, the Christian makes his approach with a Book in hand, the Bible. We are known to the Muslims as the ‘People of the Book,’ and the missionary must merit that high tribute. He must know his Bible, not as a quarry for proof-texts, but its sources, its compilation, and, if possible, something of its original languages. He should possess the scholar’s view of its progressive Revelation and an informed view of Inspiration, assured that in Christ is to be found the key to all Scripture, and its consummation. This is ‘the Book which demands a verdict,’ and ‘no other agency can penetrate so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly, and influence so irresistibly.’

“But the chief aim, always, will be to present Christ as Saviour and Lord. The record of His life and teaching, His amazing claims and promises, the story of His Passion and Death, Resurrection and Ascension, must be left to do their own work in the mind and heart of the Muslim; until, moved by the Holy Spirit, he too becomes aware of the Word of God to his own soul and is constrained to ask: “Who can this be?”—until another miracle of God is wrought and the Fact of Christ becomes a fact of conscience, bringing conviction of sin, and then an assurance of forgiveness.”

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENTS AND CHRONOLOGY. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Summer, 1951. pp. 337-352).

Covers March 1 to May 31, 1951.

DOCUMENTS. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Summer, 1951. pp. 353-359).

Includes the text of the Nationalization of Oil in Iran and the Tunisian Decrees of February 8, 1951.

L'ÉVOLUTION HISTORIQUE DES COPTES D'ÉGYPTÉ. P. Rondot. (In *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*, Paris. 1950, no. 2. pp. 129-142).

Discusses the history of the sect, its place in Egyptian society and its contacts abroad.

L'INSTITUT DES BELLES LETTRES ARABES. P. Schildknecht. (In *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Missionswissenschaft*, Schweiz, 1951, part 3. pp. 230-231).

Tells of the purpose and present accomplishment of the Institute opened in 1949 by the White Fathers at La Manouba near Tunis and used by religious and laymen preparing to work with Muslims.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY AT ANKARA. (In the *Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, Washington, D. C. August 27, 1951. pp. 1-3).

Although founded as recently as 1946, Mr. Adnan Otügen, the librarian, has developed a collection of 150,000 volumes and is organizing cultural activities, such as music and art, as well as the usual library services.

II. ARABIA

RECONNAISSANCE IN SAUDI ARABIA. Dr. Henry Field. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. April-July, 1951. pp. 185-197).

Describes an eleven day trip along the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line to collect surface archaeological material, specimens of flora and fauna and tribal and anthropometric data.

SAUDI ARABIA'S GOLDEN JUBILEE, 1901-1951. (In the *Bulletin of the Near East Society*, New York. June, 1951. p. 8).

Lists the amazing accomplishments of King Ibn Saud's long reign.

THE TRANSPLANTING OF THE YEMENITES. (In *Commentary*, New York. July, 1951. pp. 24-33).

Includes the "Old life they led" by S. D. Goitein and "In the new land" by Constantine Poulos.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE AND DECADENCE OF ISLAMIC NATIONS. Mehdi Bazargan. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. June, 1951. pp. 8-12).

For centuries Islam has been weakened by the selfish indulgence of rulers and of the pious; however, a sincere return to co-operation with God's will and teachings will save Islam.

THE FRONTIER STATES OF DIR, SWAT AND CHITRAL. Lt. Col. E. H. Cobb. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. April-July, 1951. pp. 170-176).

A historical-geographical article.

MUHAMMAD FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ AND HIS UNIQUE DIWĀN IN MADRAS. Hadi Hasan. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April-July, 1950. pp. 77-107; 145-186).

Discusses Falakī's poetry and presents new historical information about Dimitri of Georgia (1125-1156) and Minūchihr (1120-1150).

THE RELATIONS OF THE MUGHALS WITH THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH WEST. R. C. Verma. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. October, 1950. pp. 249-260).

An account of events during the reigns of Babur and Humayun.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AL-FARABI: HIS LIFE, TIMES AND THOUGHT. E. L. Fackenheim. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. February, 1951. pp. 54-59).

Discusses the work and influence of this original Muslim thinker.

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1950. pp. 60-71).

Concludes a study begun in an earlier issue and covers the Sufi's theories of government.

ISLAM IN MAURITANIA. A. Leriche. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. June, 1951. pp. 19-23).

Account of the present position of the four great Brotherhoods—the Sufiyya, the Qadiriyya, the Shadhiliyya and the Tijaniyya—especially in relation to France.

THE ORIGIN OF SPECULATIVE THOUGHT IN ISLAM. Khwaja Azdul Hamid. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1950. pp. 187-196).

Growing from the temperament and character of the Bedouin Arab, religious pondering developed during the first century A.H.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN EGYPT. Rashid El-Barawy. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. March, 1951. pp. 75-84).

Presents the condition and proposals for its solution.

AN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMME FOR EAST PAKISTAN. Werner Klatt. (In *The Twentieth Century*, London. July, 1951. pp. 43-51).

A survey of food and farm conditions with recommendations to legislators, economists and technicians to work on raising living standards and increase production.

ECONOMIC REVIEW: DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN IRAQ. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Summer, 1951. pp. 362-370).

Consists of the "Dujaylah Land Settlement" by Norman Burns and the "Wadi Tharthar Flood Control Project" by Brad Fisk. ISRAEL. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. May, 1951. pp. 155-179).

Includes three well-documented and informative articles—"Israel's Foreign Policy and International Relations" by Walter Eytan; "The Social Development of Israel" by S. N. Eisenstadt; and "Working Conditions and Social Security in Israel" by P. B. Nortman.

MIDDLE EAST MOSAIC. S. Yin'am. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. April, 1951. pp. 126-130).

An analysis of Arab League politics.

MINERAL PROSPECTS IN EASTERN PAKISTAN. Nafis Ahmad. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. April-July, 1951. pp. 151-157).

Slender resources in coal, oil and iron oxide can be carefully developed and the Government has wisely laid down rules for the granting of concessions in these fields to avoid selfish exploitation.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY. Bernard Lewis. (In *International Affairs*, London. July, 1951. pp. 320-331).

Discusses the advance of freedom and democracy culminating in the election of May, 1950, and stemming from the economic, political and social reforms initiated by Atatürk.

A REVIEW OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN EGYPT DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS. Dr. Hafez 'Afifi Pasha. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. May, 1951. pp. 16-20).

Deals with work accomplished in laws, trade unions, workers' health, social problems, etc.

THE WOMAN OF THE LEBANON. Mrs. Gertrude Joly. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. April-July, 1951. pp. 177-184).

Describes the work and characteristics of the astonishingly numerous and varied occupations open to women in town and country.

YOUTH AND POLITICS IN THE NEAR EAST. Z. N. Z. (In *The World To-Day*, London. March, 1951. pp. 102-109).

Analyzes the various groupings of educated young Arabs and their importance to the life of the world.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

DECISION IN THE NEAR EAST. Sidney Wallach. (In *The Yale Review*, New Haven. March, 1951. pp. 504-517).

The United States should offer practical suggestions to the Arab States and to Israel and should back up the suggestions with force if necessary.

ERITREA: UNITED NATIONS PROBLEM AND SOLUTION. Barid Abue-tan. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. February, 1951. pp. 35-53).

A detailed review of the case of Eritrea and praise for its solution.

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE NEAR EAST. Alford Carleton. (In *The Ecumenical Review*, Geneva. July, 1951. pp. 325-338).

The president of Aleppo College presents in particular an analysis of the Arab-Jewish situation, but finds that the entire Near East is smoldering with fear, frustration and hatred which may explode disastrously unless handled by the West with decision and skill, but also with Christian forbearance.

VII. IRAN

CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN IRAN. Edward Ashley Bayne. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1951. pp. 578-590).

The United States must work with Britain to rebuild Iranian trust in them and to make Iranians want to develop their country themselves.

DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE OF IRAN. Geoffrey Neville Bagot. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. May, 1951. pp. 26-29).

An examination of the oil crisis.

AN OUTLINE OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF IRAN. M. A. Djamalzadeh. (In *The International Labour Review*, Geneva. January, 1951. pp. 24-39).

Gives statistical data largely from Persian sources.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PERSIA. M. Philips Price. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. April-July, 1951. pp. 102-111).

If absorption by Communist interests is to be avoided, the standard of living must be raised, social injustices must be eliminated and the gulf separating rich and poor must be narrowed.

WHAT NEXT IN EXPLOSIVE IRAN? G. F. Hudson. (In *Commentary*, New York. July, 1951. pp. 45-50).

The author believed that a catastrophe could be averted by a stronger Anglo-American policy, even to the extent of using force of arms.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

"HE CAME INTO THE BORDERS." F. E. Scott. (In *Under Syrian Skies*, London. October, 1951. pp. 52-55).

Contrasts the former simplicity of mission work in Syria and the Lebanon with the red tape and obstructionism encountered now that the two countries have become so politically self-conscious and so nationalistic.

THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN EAST JORDAN. Winifred A. Coate. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. October, 1951. pp. 444-449).

Despite the amazing work done by UNRA and other relief organizations, there is still desperate need for—1. Food and clothing. 2. Work. 3. A sense of security. 4. Experienced welfare and mission workers. 5. Training for adolescents.

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This Society was founded in 1823 "for the investigation of subjects connected with, and for encouragement of, Science, Literature and the Arts in relation to Asia." Its Journal contains original articles on the archaeology, art, history, language, literature, beliefs, customs and religions of the East, as well as reviews of publications on Oriental subjects.

The subscription for Fellows is £3.3 a year and for members abroad £1.10, which entitles them to the Journal. It has counted, and counts, among its members and honorary members the most renowned Oriental scholars, as well as rulers of Oriental Kingdoms and States. It keeps in close touch with a number of Branch & Associated Societies in Oriental countries.

A few of the latest publications of the Society.

- Tibetan Literary Texts & Documents from Chinese Turkestan.
Vol. I. By F. W. Thomas, 1935. 20s.
Purusa pariksa or Test of a Man.
By G. A. Grierson, 1935. 12s.6d.
Tracts in Listening to Music.
By J. Robson, 1938. 12s.6d.

R.A.S. Monographs.

- Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam.
By J. W. Fischel, 1937. 12s.6d.
The Rise of the Ottoman Empire. By P. Wittek, 1938. 2s.6d.
The Magadhas in Ancient India. By B. C. Law, 1946

Prize Publication Fund.

- The Early Iranian Calendars. By S. H. Taqizadeh, 1938. 4s.
Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and The Lebanon. 1250 to 1900.
By A. N. Poliak, 1939. 5s.
Adventures in Siam in XVII Century.
By E. W. Hutchison. 12s.6d.
A Translation of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan.
By T. Burrow, 1940. 7s.6d.
Sogdica. By H. W. Henning, 1940. 7s.6d.
Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi on China, the Turks & India.
By V. Minorski, 1942. 15s.