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THE 'PERHAPS' WITHIN لَعَلَّكُمْ

The external insecurities and vicissitudes of life are familiar enough in our precarious generation. But the inclusive character of those decisions that are wholly inward is not always so evident. The careful reader of the Qurʾān must be impressed with the frequency of the personal 'Perhaps' running like a refrain through many Suras, both Meccan and Medinan. "Peradventure ye may reflect," "...that haply ye may find mercy," "Perchance ye may be warned"—as the translations go. No less than sixty-four times the phrase *la ʿallakum* occurs —'it may be that *ye* will...' Some forty-three times the same particle is attached to the third person—'perhaps *they* will...'

It is clear that the Prophet's preachings and warnings—for all their strenuous insistence on the final arbitrament of the Divine Will—laid the obligations of decision squarely upon the minds and wills he was addressing. We need not here pursue further the meaning of his course of action when his calls remained unheeded. The comparative study of the place of opposition in the shaping of Islam through the Hijra to Medina, and of Christianity in the climax of the Cross in Jerusalem, is deeply significant. For it is those two events, arising from situations partially comparable, that moulded so diversely and decisively the resultant faiths of Islam and Christianity. But our concern now is rather with the quality of decision which the preaching laid upon the hearers, with the 'Perhaps' that faced all who heard. On examination of the hundred and more reminders of this fact in the Qurʾān, it becomes clear that the issue, in the Quranic sense, is fourfold. There is the 'Perhaps' of understanding, of gratitude, of mercy and of welfare. Though the phrase we are considering also introduces several other verbs, these four are the most frequent.

Laʿallakum yaʿqilūn—'it may be that ye will understand,'—or possibly, in more striking phrase, 'it may be that ye will come to your senses' or 'recover your wits,'—occurs some eight times, along with other expressions referring similarly to the duty of reflection and of reasonableness. This, we may say, is the grand 'Perhaps'—the summons to intelligent apprehension of the prophetic call and to iconoclasm of the senseless idols and surrender before the living God.

Then there is the grateful 'Perhaps' re-iterated on some fourteen occasions. *Laʿallakum yashkurūn*—'it may be ye will be thankful,'—

thankful for warning, for example of peril, for renewal of opportunity of repentance, for the Divine mercy in the prophetic mission and in the lives of the patriarchs. Upon this 'if' of gratitude turns the great 'Perhaps' of mercy and of welfare. *Laᶜallakum yurḥamūn*—'Perchance ye may find mercy,' used some eight times, and *Laᶜallakum yufliḥūn*—'Haply ye may prosper,' each of them echoing the familiar phrases of the call to prayer, with its use of the Divine Name and its summons to good. Our last two editorials have pondered these phrases. Islam, we noted, is a call to *falāḥ*, or prosperity. It is, therefore, no surprise to find the same goal set forth in the Qurʾān as a choice before the hearers. The same concept is repeated as turning for its actuality upon response and obedience. 'It may be that ye will find the good.'

With these reflections, inspired by meditation in a Quranic concordance, we turn to the great meaning of Good Friday and the Easter Festival. Islam, to the believing Christian, is a perpetual summons to hopefulness in interpretation and intensity of desire for understanding. The individual Muslim, and indeed all mankind, is, for the Christian, the place of a great 'Perhaps.' All genuine religious concern must be, in the end, a person to person relationship. In such the individual Christian who cares detects in every fellow man a point of truth's relevance, a place of life's decisions, a party in the Divine compassion. He who finds that truth and life and love supremely at issue with falsehood, sin and death in the Cross and the Resurrection also finds the trust of the story a thing of immense hope and tremendous obligation. For here is the very yearning of God Himself, at grips with the indifference, the evil, the selfishness, which defy Him. Here, as it were, we are unmistakeably aware of God Himself waiting for our answer. The Cross is heard saying to all humanity and to all history: 'It may be they will understand... they will give thanks... they will take mercy... they will come into life.'

The Cross is no question mark. It is affirmation of Divine Love redeeming the world. But it is certainly the place for an answer. There is another Quranic verse which, in this context, can possibly be borrowed. *Laᶜallakum biliqāʾi Rabbikum yūqinūn*—'perchance ye may know for certain that ye are meeting with your Lord.' In Christ there are no more 'ifs' about God, but there is a supreme 'Perhaps' for us all.

LITERARY LIFE IN MODERN EGYPT IN ITS RELATION TO THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

THE BACKGROUND

One is justified in considering the 19th century as the beginning of Egypt's modern history. At the turn of that century a long period in Egyptian history came to an end. It had lasted from the beginning of the 16th century and was characterized by intellectual and cultural stagnation and lack of literary originality and creativeness. Towards the end literature reached a marked degree of poverty in substance and excessive ornamentation in form. Literary activity was limited to traditional religious poems; poems of artificial lyricism; riddles and puzzles exchanged by clever versifiers and recited in social parties; poems recording the appointment of a governor and the dismissal of another, the departure and return of a pilgrim, the death of a great man, the erection of a palace, the celebration of a wedding, the fulfilment or depression of the Nile, the appearance of a saint, and some natural or social incident. Al-Jabartī [1] preserved for us a wealth of this, truly representing the literature and language of those days.

With the advent of the 19th century, new factors and conditions set Egypt on the road to a political, social, and cultural renaissance. As a result, literary life in Egypt began to progress. New literary arts hitherto absent from Arabic literature were introduced and the relationship between literature and modern life was strengthened. Higher human horizons explored by Western literary men were opened before young poets and writers, adding to the heritage of world literature a new wealth. Modern studies were utilized in facing Egypt's linguistic problems, with an attempt to bridge the gap between the language of culture and the language of daily life. It can be said that the story of that development is the story of Egypt's struggle [2] to secure equality in the right to dignified life for all her citizens and share in the progress of human civilization and establishment of world peace.

This political struggle first manifested itself in the people's resistance to the three-year French occupation. The scholars of Al-Azhar were the leaders of that resistance. They succeeded, in 1805, in deposing the Turkish governor and installing Muḥammad ᶜAlī whose dynasty ruled Egypt until 1952. After getting rid of the French, Egypt began to build up her army and navy, extend her influence and strengthen herself by industrial, scientific and other means. Consequently, when the year

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[1] ᶜAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *ᶜAjāᵓib al-Āthār fī-al-Tarājim wa-l-Akhbār*, Cairo, 1322 A.H., 4 volumes.

[2] ᶜAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiᶜī wrote a history of the national struggle in Egypt since the French occupation in a series of volumes entitled, *History of the National Movement*, for which he was awarded in 1953, the State Prize for Social Sciences.

1882 came, the army, under the leadership of ᶜArabī, rose in revolt against the Khadive and Turkish domination. But England intervened on the side of the former. She subdued the revolt, banished its leaders, and occupied the country despite repeated promises of evacuation. Since then, the Egyptians have never ceased their resistance to foreign occupation. At the end of the First World War, under the influence of President Wilson's fourteen point declaration, Egypt declared its national revolution of 1919 demanding her right of self-determination. She manifested so strong a spirit of sacrifice and devotion that the British were forced to yield to some demands. Egypt's independence was declared with reservations in 1922 and her constitution proclaimed in the following year. Thus in 1924 her parliamentary life began, and with it all the partisan disagreements that followed. But this was not enough, the Egyptians further pressed their struggle to attain complete independence and achieve internal reform. In 1952 they proclaimed their modern liberation movement against despotism, corruption and the remaining semblance of foreign occupation. The Egyptian army led the movement and began to rebuild public life on a sound democratic basis. It has directed efforts toward construction and development, removed class distinctions precipitated by injustice and laid down projects designed to utilize the country's resources, increase its wealth and prosperity, and educate its people on the principles of power, discipline, unity, and work.

These successive stages of Egypt's struggle for freedom and independence have been accompanied and strengthened by stages of reform in all its aspects. The call for reform has derived from religion its vital force. Its seed was planted by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, who came to Egypt in 1871 and who urged all Muslims to a revival and liberation by adopting the means of civilization and resisting tyrants and despots. He was not alone in this. Similar voices calling for reform [3] were heard throughout Muslim countries. Of these the most outstanding was that of the Egyptian scholar, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh [4] who succeeded al-Afghānī in carrying the banner of reform. So were the leaders of the ᶜArabī movement and many other prominent modern thinkers, including Saᶜd Zaghlūl, Qāsim Amīn, Luṭfī al-Sayid, Muṣṭafa al-Marāghī and Muṣṭafa ᶜAbd-al-Rāziq.

The call for reform took several aspects. A part of its activity was directed to liberating Muslim thought from the bondage of tradition and to laying down the curricula of Al-Azhar on modern bases. The other was to found a modern Egyptian university and establish societies of culture, philanthropy and co-operation. And still another element, led by Qāsim Amīn, endeavored to liberate the Muslim woman and prepare her to play her role in social life. This feminist movement bore

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[3] See *Islam and Modernism in Egypt,* by Charles C. Adams, London, 1933.
[4] See Aḥmad Amīn: *Zuᶜamāᵓ al-Iṣlāḥ,* Cairo, 1948.

fruit during half a century. Girls began to be treated on an equal footing with boys through the stages of education. Women began to work with men in many fields. Their political rights were generally acknowledged. Peasants and poor classes received the attention of writers and thinkers, and voices calling for social reform and equality of opportunity were heard. In addition, movements of reform began to appear advocating a return to religious principles and the establishment of modern life on Islamic bases. Such movements were later consolidated in the Muslim Brotherhood which has since exerted an influence over hundreds of thousands of young men. This vital religious force was clearly evident in the recent liberation movement and in the tendencies of its leaders, thus, among other things, firmly establishing it in the souls of the people and assuring its victory and success.

On the other hand, political struggle and social reform have walked side by side with educational [5] and cultural progress in the country. Early in the 19th century, the religious leaders of al-Azhar came in contact with scholars accompanying the French forces. As a result, their minds were awakened to modern methods of thinking. From those were chosen the members of the early missions who were sent to Europe to study and who were the first to do translations [6] from European languages and take part in finding Arabic equivalents to scientific idioms. This movement found a suitable center in the School of Languages which under Azhar direction trained in the 19th century more than seventy excellent translators who turned out a great number of books on jurisprudence, history, geography, philosophy, education and other Western classics. Tens of volumes by those translators were published through the facilities of the Arabic Printing Press, including thirty by "Rifāᶜat", ten by ᶜUthmān Jalāl and nine by Ṣāliḥ Mujdī.

Furthermore, there was established in Egypt before the end of the first half of the 19th century ten schools of medicine, engineering, and military science. A Government education service was set up in 1836, later to become the Department and then the Ministry of Education.

During the last third of the same century, the educational and cultural activity increasingly flourished, and high schools were founded. Among them, the most significant for our present discussion was the Academy of Learning (Dār al-ᶜUlūm) [7] which specialized in training and preparing a group of Al-Azhar graduates for teaching the Arabic

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[5] See: ᶜIzzāt ᶜAbd-al-Karīm, *History of Education in Egypt,* 4 volumes, Cairo, 1945: ᶜAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiᶜī, *History of the National Movement*: George Zaydān, *History of Arabic Literature,* Vol. IV.

[6] See: J. H. Dunne, *Printing and Translation under Muḥammad ᶜAlī of Egypt.*

[7] See: *Almanac of the Academy of learning,* Diamond Anniversary number, Dār al-Maᶜārif in Egypt, Muḥammad ᶜAbd-al-Jawād, publisher.

language through various stages of education. In addition, schools for girls as well as industrial, private, secondary and elementary schools were founded, along with scientific societies and institutions concerned with arts and books. Among them were the Society of Learning (Jamᶜīyat al-Maᶜārif), founded in 1868 to promote culture through writing, printing and publishing; the Geographic Society, which now occupies an outstanding place in the field of geographic research; the Islamic Welfare Society; the Opera House, established in 1869; and the Egyptian Library. This movement has gained momentum during the present century. The Egyptian University was founded in 1908, and in 1925 was brought under the control of the Egyptian Government. Since then it has been enlarged to include many colleges and has become the University of Cairo. Similar Universities were also established, namely the University of Alexandria, in 1942, and the second University of Cairo, in 1950. These Universities are at present attended by over 59,000 male and female students. The extension of education has now become the main concern of the Egyptian Ministry of Education, which for this purpose receives a considerable appropriation of the Government budget. It has promoted several projects to wipe out illiteracy and provide villages and towns with all kinds of schools.

Accompanying this progressive development in education was the practice of sending students on scholarships to study in Europe and in recent years in the United States. It has been coupled with another movement, namely inviting Western professors and educational experts to teach in Egyptian schools and universities and to give advice in regard to development projects. On the other hand, there has also been a continuous increase of activity in translating scientific and literary works by Western authors. Such activity has been carried out by individuals, institutions and Government cultural services, along with the Arab League. Recently, an agreement was signed between certain American cultural institutions and the cultural department of the Arab League regarding the translation of a selection of books by American authors.

It is evident, then, that Egyptian consciousness has depended in its modern revival on two fundamental factors [8]. One has been the Arabic and Islamic cultural tradition handed down from the glorious periods of Islam in Iraq, Syria, Persia, Egypt, North Africa and Islamic Spain. The Arabic press has long been active in publishing its treasure, digging out its manuscripts and drawing to it the attention of scholars.

[8] Ṭaha Ḥusain, *Arabic Literature Between Past and Present, Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī,* Vol. I, No. 1, October 1945. "We particularly notice that the life of our Arabic literature is composed, from its earliest days, of two important elements. One is subjective, emanating from itself and the nature of the nation that has produced it; and the other objective, acquired from other peoples in contact with the Arabs, as well as through various conditions. The former is what is considered imitation, and the latter modernism."

The other factor has been Western culture introduced into Egypt by means of translations, educational missions abroad, invited foreign professors, and international cultural organizations such as UNESCO, along with international academic conferences attended by Egyptian scholars. To such conferences the latter presented their studies and from them they gained experience and kept in touch with the advancement of knowledge. Thus, the Arabic language was enriched, and the Egyptian mind began to see new spirit in the literature and culture of the West.

The effects of these translations began to appear in the rise of new writing characterized by lucidity and a diminished emphasis on phraseology, unfamiliar words, and ornamented style. Such tendency was expressed by Rifāᶜat in his editorial to the first issue of *Rawḍ al Madāris al-Miṣriyyat*.[9] He announced that published essays would be written "in a style lucid in expression and clear in allusion; words eloquent but not unfamiliar or having to suffer the hardship of phraseology; and weighty meanings joined in an order agreeable in style whose expression will not be affected in a manner necessitating undue difficulty as was current in the language of the ancient Arabs. The public has no need for such a procedure, and the recording of knowledge is not dependent on it. The purpose behind its appearance as such (the method of writing advocated) is to reveal to the common people obscured knowledge and to lift the veils that hide..." This kind of mixed style between the old and the new was evident in the prose writing of three leaders of thought in that period, namely ᶜAbdullāh Fikrī, ᶜAlī Mubārak and Ḥusain al-Marṣafī.

POETRY

While this modernist trend was taking place, there appeared a poet of the military aristocracy who, since childhood, had taken to classical Arabic poetry, memorizing as much as his mind was able to hold and developing his poetic talent in accordance with its tradition. He then applied this talent in the fields of his experience: his life of childhood and youth when he drank to the full of the beauty of Egyptian nature; on the battlefields of Crete and the Crimea where he fought; and away from his own country, in Sarandīb, where he was banished with his companions following the failure of the ᶜArabī Revolution. To all

[9] A fortnightly periodical, the first of its kind in the history of modern Egyptian culture. The first issue appeared in 1870 under the supervision of Rifāᶜat, chief translator at the Department of Schools. His son, ᶜAlī Fahmī, was its managing editor. The magazine contained a variety of written and classified studies in the various branches of culture known to the thinkers of that period. Furthermore, the magazine comprised studies and lectures in Arabic literature, law and language. It published in addition serial installments of books by outstanding writers such as Ḥaqāᵓiq al-Akhbār by ᶜAlī Mubārak and Athar al-Afkār by ᶜAbdullāh Fikrī. Poems by promising young poets were also published.

this, his talent gave expression in poems of classical style, carrying the mark of his strong personality and passing beyond periods of artificiality and imitation to those of sincerity and creativity. His artistic taste led him to the poetry of Bashār and Abū Nuwās and Al-Sharīf Al-Rāḍī and Abū Firās, and his selection of forty thousand of their verses has since become a book of reference for every young writer.

He is Al-Barūdī,—to literary historians the founder of poetic revival in Egypt, and the poet who linked the rising modern Arabic verse with the immortal classical poetry. The banner was held after him by four poets of first rank, namely Ismāʿīl Sabrī who sang on the lute of his personal feelings, sweet and tender melodies; Ḥāfiẓ who wrote most of his poems on subjects relating to patriotism and social criticism, deserving from his countrymen the nickname of "Poet of the Nile"; Muṭrān who adopted the modern view [10] with regard to the function and methods of poetry, and who defined its nature in the preface to the first volume of his collection of poems; and Shawqī [11] who began his life as the poet of the Royal Palace, but soon proceeded to use his poetry as an expression of the Egyptian, Arabic and Muslim spirit, and to be a critic of the Egyptians, the Arabs and the Muslims in their ways of life and thinking. His achievement was recognized by Muslim nations when their poets unanimously agreed to hail him as their "Prince" in a special ceremony [12] held in Cairo in 1927. It may be said that this poet has influenced the development of Arabic Egyptian poetry more than any other, not only through

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[10] The poet Khalīl Muṭrān discusses the nature of the modernism which he pursued and advocated, in the introduction to the first volume of his collection of poems, 1908, as follows: "This is a poetry whose writer is not its slave, nor do the requirements of the meter and the rhyming word induce him against his intent. In it the right meaning is expressed with the eloquent word. Its author does not look for the beauty of the single verse, if it ignores its neighbor and quarrels with its brother, or if it antagonizes the beginning, renounces the close and contradicts the conclusion. He rather looks for the beauty of the verse in itself as well as in its position, and the totality of the poem in its construction and arrangement, harmony and co-ordination of content. All of this is done with rarity of imagination, originality of subject, conformity with reality, reflection of lively feeling, and pursuance of clarity of description and its fulfilment to a degree... However, I declare without fear that poetry along this method—and I don't mean my deficient poems—is the poetry of the future, because it is that of life, reality and imagination all together..."

[11] The present writer has treated some aspects of Shawqī's poetic genius in the following studies: *Psychological Light on the Poetry of Shawqī and Ḥāfiẓ, Al-Kitāb magazine, memorial issue,* Cairo, 1947: *Shawqī and the Function of Poetry,* a thesis still in manuscript, a digest of which was presented at the British Union in Alexandria, 1946: *Religious Aspects in Shawqī's Poetry,* a thesis, in manuscript, a digest of which was given at the Society of Muslim Youth in Alexandria, 1950.

[12] For an account of the ceremony held in Shawqī's honor, including the text of speeches and poems delivered therein, see in Aḥmad Shafīq's book, *My Accomplishments after my Memoirs,* 1941. Pages 95-96 contain a part of the poem recited in the concluding evening at "Karmat Ibn Hānī" by the present author.

his poems published on different public occasions and compiled in four volumes of *Al-Shawqiyyāt,* but also by his dramas written on the pattern of Western dramatists and based on events in Egyptian and Arab history. Among them were *Masraʾ Cleopatra, Qambīz, ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr* and *Majnūn Laila.* These plays were a new event in the history of Arabic literature and a step toward filling its gap with respect to fiction [13]. They are, moreover, a new proof of the vitality of Arabic literature and its response to inducements of development.

Shawqī was succeeded in the leadership of this kind of art by ʿAzīz ʿAbāza who borrowed his subject matter from Arabic mythology (*Qays wa Lubna*) and Egyptian and Muslim History (*Al-ʿAbbāsat, Shajarat al-Dūr*), as well as from the history of Arab Spain (*ʿAbdal-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir*). These plays were produced on the stage and were favorably received by the public and reviewed by the critics, thus earning him, two years ago, the Government's Prize for Literature.

The work of all those poets mentioned above clearly reflected the developments of general life in Egypt toward the end of the 19th century and during the first third of the 20th. This is particularly more evident in Shawqī. His poem recited at the Conference of Orientalists in Athens in 1864 portrays the growth of the Egyptian spirit in the modern school of poetry, the pride in ancient Egyptian history, as well as the glorious achievements of Islam and the Arabic language. It reveals the tendency to lengthiness in the modern poem. His other poems: *Declaration of 28 February, In Memory of Muṣṭafa Kāmil, Deliverance of Saʿd Zaghlūl and his Elegy, Inauguration of the Bank of Egypt, Fiftieth Anniversary of Dār al-ʿUlūm* and the like, depict political events and economic and educational progress. Poems like those on the wars of the Caliphate, Muṣṭafa Kāmil, Damascus and Lebanon, the ceremony in his honor, *Nahj al-Burdat* (in imitation of a poem by an ancient Arab poet), the birth of the Prophet and the Khadive's pilgrimage, describe the Muslim and Arabic values which oriented his poetical work and give a picture of the Egyptian literary taste in the first half of the present century.

Alongside Shawqī and other poets of his rank, there have been other trends in the Arabic poetry of modern Egypt. The spirit of ancient Arabic poetry is represented in the poet ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib;

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[13] The subject of the art of fiction among the Arabs and their shunning the drama, has occupied the minds of modern scholars. It was handled by Margoliouth in an essay published in *Islamic Culture* under the title "Wit and Humor in Arabic Authors". This essay was debated and commented upon by the present writer in his book, *Studies in Islamic Literature.* It was also handled by Ṭaha Ḥusain and Al-ʿAqqād in their essays and books. The most original contribution to this subject is that of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm in the introduction to his tragedy, *Oedipus.* I have attempted in my treatise, *Critique of Some Ancient Arabic Translations and Interpretations of the Book of Poetics by Aristotle* to point out to what extent those interpreters understood Aristotle's theory on the tragedy and the comedy. (Faculty of Literature Magazine, Alexandria, 1947).

pure classicism in Al-Jarīm; while the modernism[14] advocated by Muṭrān which in effect called for less emphasis on ceremonial poetry has found strong response with Al-ᶜAqqād and Abū Shādī[15]. The latter once gathered around him a group of modernists who endeavored to break their way and spread their method. To this end they published the short-lived Apollo magazine. Perhaps the most outstanding contemporary modernist poet in Egypt is ᶜAbd-al-Raḥmān Ṣudqī whom the Academy of Language granted the first prize in 1953 for his collection of poems, *Min waḥī al-Marᵓat*. With regard to younger poets, the position is not clear. Between themselves and the public there is something like enmity. But they are persisting in their attempts, seeking true expression of emotions and secrets of nature in their human experiences.

Together with poetry written in the classical language, there has

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[14] Among the manifestations of renewal in modern Arabic literature was the coming into being in New York of *Al-Rābiṭat al-Qalamiyyat,* a literary society comprising a number of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants. Its purpose was to infuse a new creative spirit in the body of Arabic literature and deliver it from stagnation and imitation with a view to becoming an effective power in the life of the nation. The preamble to the rules of procedure of this society include the following statement: "Not everything set with ink on paper is literature, nor is anyone who composes an essay or a rhyme a writer. Literature which we consider *the* literature is that which derives its nourishment from the soil, light and air of life... And the writer whom we respect is the writer who is endowed with refinement of sensitivity, clarity of thought, and insight into the undulations and fluctuations of life, and who has the ability to express the effects of life on his soul... This new spirit which aims at leading our literature from the stage of stagnation and imitation to that of originality in the best of styles and meanings deserves, in our opinion, every encouragement and help. It is the hope of the present and the cornerstone of the future. Moreover, the spirit which attempts with all its might to confine Arabic literature and language within the bounds of imitating the ancients in content and form is, in our opinion, the moth that eats through the body of our literature and language. If that spirit is not resisted, it will lead them to where there will be no rise and no revival...

"However, in our endeavor to encourage the new literary spirit, we do not intend to sever all relationship with the ancients; for among them there are illustrious poets and thinkers whose accomplishments remain a source of inspiration to many, in the future and beyond..." (See Mikhael Naᶜymah's *Gibrān Khalil Gibrān, His Life, Death, Work and Art,* Second edition, Beirut, 1943.

[15] Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī published in America a collection of poems entitled *From the Heavens,* New York, December 1949, containing most of his work between 1942 and 1949. In his introduction he stated that "poetical experiment is the first foundation of poetry. If it does not exist, neither rhyming nor strong composition and artificial imagery would be of any avail for art. These would all be words or phrases designed for poetical affectation and deception. Intrusion upon art has never created art, and the poet whose spirit does not envelope the eternal universals is only his own poet or the poet of his environment, period or limited subject." (pp. 10). Abū Shādī, moreover, advocates in the same introduction the avoidance of the informational style which is dependent on the single verse and the affectation of rhymed wisdom. He considers such a style an alien factor that has damaged the poetical experiment in our literature. He favors the symbolic and narrative styles and expresses optimism in regard to their appreciation by Arab writers in America. He further wishes that the practice of these two kinds of poetical styles would help to eradicate false inspiration and cultivate poetical talent.

been prevalent throughout the Arab countries popular poetry [16] such as *Al-Zajal, Al-Mawwal* and other forms. These are composed in the common language and express various aspects of public feelings, such as lyrical poems and poems on social criticism that appear in daily papers and radio broadcasts. Its output usually increases during days of crisis. Among those who in this modern period have demonstrated outstanding talent in its composition are Ramzī Nazīm, Shafīq al-Miṣrī and Bayram al-Ṭunsī. It betrays Western influence, since it was originated by the Muslims of Andalusia and from them circulated to the East.

PROSE LITERATURE

With respect to modern prose, its sphere has widened since the days of Rifāᶜat, ᶜAlī Mubārak, ᶜAbdullāh Fikrī and Al-Marṣafi. It has done so with the widening horizons of life and modern knowledge. There has been literature concerned with political and social reform produced by a successive variety of writers beginning with Jamāl al-Dīn, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Qasīm Amīn, ᶜAbd al ᶜAzīz Shawish, Al-Sayid ᶜAlī Yūsuf and Luṭfī al-Sayid; to Amin al-Rāfiᶜī, ᶜAbd al-Qādir Hamzat, Daūd Barakāt and Fikrī ᶜAbāzat, and ending with contemporary journalists whose profession plays a significant role in the life of the country.

There has also been literature of oratory which is mostly required in periods of revival and national revolutions. Each period has had its orators: ᶜAbdullāh Nadīm during the ᶜArabī Revolution; Muṣṭafa Kāmil, of the Nationalist Party, during the first decade of this century; Saᶜd Zaghlūl and his Parliamentary Group in the third decade; and in the past year the orators of the Council of Liberation—President Naguib and his military colleagues—who have mastered the art of addressing the public in a simple language and who dealt in their speeches with matters of daily life as well as projects of general reform.

In addition, there has been the literature of creative writing whose founder is considered to be Al-Manfalūṭī. He wrote, during the early part of the present century, novels of a romantic trend depicting love, misery and suffering, along with patriotism, courage and sacrifice. The majority of these were based on ideas borrowed from Western novels and then styled in a beautiful Arabic fashion. His work, including *al-Naẓarāt*; *al-ᶜAbarāt*; *Fī Sabīl al-Tāj* and *Majdulīn*, has, until recently, been a literary nourishment for many an educated youth.

This kind of creative writing has taken different patterns and styles. With Muṣṭafa al-Rāfiᶜī it has taken the characteristic of obscurity and symbolism, while with Al-Bushrī the rhyming and chosen word; with

[16] See Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddamat*, Iambic poems and other forms in Andalusia: A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, Chap. VII, Baltimore, 1946.

Ṭaha Ḥusain, pure Arabic diction and skill in the handling of phrase; with Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, the Jāhiẓite style and its old Arabic eloquence; with Al-ᶜAqqād, philosophical and psychological expression. In the writings of Haikal, the biographical style has been adopted; while in the stories and novels of Taymūr that of depicting scenes of life. Al-Maznī, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm and Aḥmad Amīn are known for their lucid and simple style.

Though creative writing in Egypt has employed the same kinds of prose known to the ancients, it has, however, explored modern horizons only to attain a high degree of excellence. Some of the first class writers have directed their efforts toward Islamic subjects and dealt with them in different literary forms. Ṭaha Ḥusain, for instance, has chosen fiction in his book *ᶜAlā Hāmish al-Sīrat*; Aḥmad Amīn, historiography in describing Arabic Muslim mentality in his series of books: *Fajr al-Islām, Ḍuḥa al-Islām* and *Ẓuhr al Islām*; Al-ᶜAqqād, biography in portraying Muslim prototypes in his books in the *ᶜAbqariyyat* series; Haikal and Ṭaha Ḥusain, biography in their historical analysis of founders of Islam or great historical phenomena in the former's books *Hayāt Muḥammad* and *Al-Ṣaddīq Abū Bakr* and the latter in his work *Al-Fitnah al-Kubrā*. It is of significance that yearly prizes for literature established by the Government for the encouragement of original literary writing were first granted to these four writers who have led in presenting Muslim subjects in a genuine literary form.

Among the horizons explored by modern prose and thereby complementing itself has been fiction. In the vanguard were Al-Muwaylihī in his book *Hadīth ᶜIsā bin Hishām* and George Zaydān in his historical novels recently reprinted, with a tremendous sale. Their work was followed by translated and original novels. Ḥāfiẓ wrote *Layālī saṭīḥ* and Ṭaha Ḥusain *Al-Ayyām,* an autobiography translated into several European languages. The latter also turned into Arabic some classical masterpieces of Western literature, such as Andromache and Oedipus, and wrote novels that attracted the general reader and awakened his social consciousness, including *Shajarat al-Buʾs* and *Al-Muᶜẓabūn fī al-Arḍ*. Al-ᶜAqqād produced *Sarah*; Haikal *Zainab,* and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm *Yawmiyyat Nāʾib fī al-Aryāf, Ahl al-Kahf, ᶜUsfūr min al-Sharq* and other novels, along with a number of critical plays of one or two acts recently compiled under the title *Masrah al-Mujtamaᶜ*. The latter also gave the tragedy of Oedipus a new presentation, introducing it with a skilful study which gives reasons for the absence in ancient Arabic literature of the art of tragedy and comedy. Taymūr, on the other hand, took to writing humanistic stories, using at first the common language but later reverting to the classical. He has produced a series of short stories depicting various aspects of Egyptian society. His subject matter has been, in some of his work, derived from ancient Egyptian mythology. He has

tried his hand at novel and play writing, as in *Salwa fi Mahab al-Riḥ, Al-Yawm Khamr* and *Hawwa al Jadīdat*. Another novelist, Farīd Abū Ḥadīd, has directed his interest to Arabic history as a source of subject matter for his fiction based on creative description, psychological portrayal of character and pure style. He has thus written, among other novels, *Abū al-Fawāris ᶜAntarat, Al-Zabbāʾ* and *Al-Wiᶜāʾ al-Marmari* (depicting the life of Saif bin Zi Yazan).

This literary art of fiction has taken its share of official appreciation. Al-Ḥakīm, Taymūr and Farīd Abū Ḥadīd were each granted the Government prize for literature; so was ᶜAzīz ᶜAbāzah for his achievement in the drama. Al-Zayyāt has recently been granted the prize for his accomplishments in the art of the literary essay.

However, there is a third sphere of prose writing which has also flourished in scope and output, namely the sphere of literary and Arabic studies. Among the first in this field was Shaikh Ḥusain al-Marṣafi, the blind Azharite scholar who lived in the second half of the 19th century and who studied the French language and taught at Dār al-ᶜUlūm during its earliest years. He wrote a huge volume entitled, *Al-Wasīlat al-Adabiyyat li-al-ᶜUlūm al-ᶜArabiyyat* (The Literary Method of Arabic Learning), a contribution new in its trend, attempting to present in a hitherto unknown manner the various traditional Arabic branches of learning, and to deliver them from the closed sphere of footnotes, annotations and marginal references into the wide horizon of direct treatment concerned with the substance of the subject rather than its form. The part in this volume regarding Arabic eloquence makes a novel approach betraying return to that of ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jurjānī and Ibn al-Athīr which advocates confinement of imagination and aesthetic arts to the nature of taste and human comprehension. In this, the work of Al-Marṣafi is considered the beginning of modern criticism.

Shaikh al-Marṣafi was followed by George Zaydān who attempted to write the history of Arabic literature according to the Western method. Muḥammad ᶜAbduh started a revival movement in teaching Arabic eloquence at Al-Azhar, using as his main textbook the work of ᶜAbd-al-Qādir, entitled *Dalāʾil al-Iᶜjāz wa Asrār al-Balāghat*. He was succeeded by Hamzat Fatḥallāh, Ḥifnī Nāṣif, Al-Iskandarī, Al-ᶜAnānī, Al-Jarīm and others of the Academy of Learning (Dār al-ᶜUlūm) who wrote on literature and Arabic learning, adopting the Western method of authorship. In 1908 the Egyptian University was founded due, as I mentioned earlier, to the efforts of a group of cultural and intellectual leaders in Egypt. Several outstanding Egyptian scholars and orientalists were invited to teach at the University, and thus Egyptian minds began to open on Western methods in literary study and criticism. In 1914 a young blind Azharite named Ṭaha Ḥusain who was a University student presented a Ph. D. thesis in Arabic literature entitled *Dhikra Abī al-ᶜAlāʾ*. He opened it by a

critique of old Arabic methods, calling for the necessity of profiting in the study of literature by the conclusions of other studies as Westerners have done [17]. He was given, with two of his colleagues, University scholarships to study in Europe. In 1925 this University was brought under the auspices of the Government. Schools of higher learning were then attached to it in the form of colleges concerned with different courses of study. Consequently, the University of Alexandria and the Second University of Cairo were, as mentioned earlier, founded, bringing to five the colleges giving, in one department or another, Arabic studies such as literature, eloquence, criticism and the like. One of them is the College of Arabic Language of Al-Azhar; a second, the College of the Academy of Learning, recently annexed to the University of Cairo; and the other three are the colleges of literature of the various State Universities.

This revival regarding the setting up of universities was first fruitful in the sphere of literary study and criticism. It was effected through lectures, books and theses prepared for obtaining higher university degrees, as well as translated Western references relating to such subjects. The study of literature has been based on old works of criticism such as *Al-Wasaṭat, Al-Aghānī, Al-Muwazanat, Asrār al-Balāghat* and *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir*. It has taken into account certain stages of development in Arabic criticism in the 4th century A. H., and the rise of the science of eloquence during recent periods, the influence of Western thought on modern Arabic criticism, the attempt to write the history of Arabic literary criticism, together with studies regarding style and literary trends. Of all these aspects, the University of Alexandria has mainly concerned itself with two: the relationship between criticism and modern psychological studies as well as between the composition and inimitability of the Qur'ān and Arabic eloquence and criticism.

Such varieties of critical studies have given rise, among other things, to a problem of application and of education. It is the relationship between the science of Arabic eloquence and literary criticism. Does this science represent out-dated studies that should give way to modern criticism or does it represent a genuine factor in the formation of Arabic Muslim taste and should it be conciliated and amalgamated with modern methods of criticism? If the latter supposition is the truth, what then would be its impact on the method of teaching literary criticism and appreciation in secondary schools? This was one of the problems considered by successive Ministerial committees, the latest being formed in 1947. This committee comprised a number of professors of literature at the University and officials concerned with the

[17] See my book entitled *A Psychological View in the Study and Critique of Literature*, Cairo, 1947, Chap. V for Ṭaha Ḥusain's method of studying and criticizing literature and the intermingling of the Arabic and Western cultures in that method.

Arabic language at the Ministry of Education, together with experts in the fields of education. It arrived at a point of view presented by the Egyptian delegation to the first Conference on Arabic Culture convened in Lebanon in 1948 [18]. The Conference adopted that point of view and recommended its implementation in the schools of the Arab countries.

Along with such academic ventures there have been during the last thirty years practical efforts in the field of criticism. Among the most outstanding critics were Ṭaha Ḥusain, Haikal, Al-ᶜAqqād and Al-Mazīnī, who kept in touch with Egyptian literary life, criticising and comparing works by writers and poets. This, of course, led to discussions on the old and the new, and the characteristics of Arabic modern literary appreciation. Such discussions appeared in newspapers and periodicals, including *Al-Bilāgh, al-Siyāsat al-Isbuᶜīyyat, al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, Al-Risālat, Al-Hilāl, Al-Muqṭaṭaf* and *Al-Kitāb*. They were also published in books such as *Ḥāfiẓ and Shawqī* by Ṭaha Ḥusain, and *Egyptian Poets of the Last Generation and Their Environment* by Al-ᶜAqqād. Like other fields mentioned earlier, this field is still pursued by modern writers, guided by earlier pioneers. Its scope has expanded to include certain aspects of popular literature.

The conclusion arrived at by whoever studies the development of Arabic prose in modern Egypt is that it has brought up to date some of its ancient forms, that it has left behind certain forms based on ornamentation and skillful phraseology, that it has widened the sphere of its activity to include different requirements of life, that it has corrected its deficiency in the art of fiction, and that it has attained a standard whereby it can share in the development of world literature and thought. With respect to the art of criticism, the researcher will find that it somewhat differs from Western criticism, a peculiarity attributed to the Muslims' consideration of their sacred Book, (Al Qurᵓān) as the highest standard of eloquence. This book throughout the ages influenced Arabic methods of diction and criticism. Its supreme excellence in eloquence requires for its comprehension many of the conceptions on which the related sciences of Arabic eloquence are based.

PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE

There remains one element in the literary life, namely its essential medium, language. Throughout the Arab countries, including Egypt, the Arabic language is the classical which Islam, upon its advent, had

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[18] The writer was a member of the committee on improving the standard of the Arabic language and an Egyptian delegate to the First Conference on Arabic Culture and submitted to the Conference a study on *Criticism and Eloquence in Secondary Education*. A digest of this study was published in the book issued by the Conference.

found fully grown and already immortalized in the poems and *Muʿallaqāt* of Arabian poets, and in which the Book of Islam was handed down. On the basis of those ancient works of poetry, together with the Qurʾān, the grammatical rules of the classical language as well as its forms of wording and composition were laid down and defined during the ʿAbbāsid period. In addition, its way of writing was since then established. By this it has preserved its being throughout the ages and embodied the Muslim and Arabic learning, whether original or translated, all over the world. Alongside it there sprang up in the various countries common spoken dialects which, contrary to those of the Latin language, did not develop into media of literature and thought.

As a result of the modern revival, the classical language began to rid itself of ornamentation and excessive phraseology, a damage suffered during the Middle Ages. Gradually it has adopted the direct style easily comprehended by the public. Furthermore, scholars began to tackle some of its main problems such as transliteration, coining of words and derivation. They faced the problem of abundance of verbal forms, formations of plural nouns, and synonyms of certain meanings. The relationship between the classical language and the colloquial, and the bearing of such duality on the nation's intellectual achievements were also studied. The question arose whether it was more beneficial to put into general use a polished and cultivated colloquial language, or whether some kind of conciliation between the two languages should rather be attempted. Furthermore, Arabic writing received attention, and the question was whether the present way of writing, which is more expressive of the content of the word rather than of its form, creates undue difficulty for learning the language itself. If so, what are the means of its reform?

These and similar questions occupied the minds of Arabic scholars [19]. There were some who took them up in their writings and debates. This inevitably led to careful consideration by a number of specialists. The Academy of Language in Egypt was then founded, limiting its membership to twenty, chosen without regard to nationality, from among scholars known for their wide knowledge of the Arabic language and their research in Arabic philology. The Academy was also to include honorary and correspondent members. Its aims as set forth in the rules of procedure were as follows:

1. The Academy shall preserve the integrity of the Arabic language and make it adequate to meet the requirements of arts and sciences,

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[19] I published three essays in *Al-Thaqāfat,* Cairo, in which I called for the unification of language on the basis of popularizing the classical language and enriching it with elements of life and strength contained in the common language. See: *The Child and the National Language, Al-Thaqāfat,* February 6, 1939: *Simplifying and Improving the Arabic Language,* Ibid., No. 337, June 1945: *A Call for Realizing Linguistic Unity,* Ibid., No. 429, March, 1947.

and suitable for the needs of life in this age. To achieve this, the Academy may consider the rules of the language, choosing, if necessary, from its leaders' views any that would widen the scope of its regulations in order to be an easy medium of expression of scientific and other objectives.

2. The Academy may substitute for the colloquial and foreign words not yet translated, their equivalents in Arabic by first seeking such equivalents in their original sources. If these cannot be found, new names may then be formed in accordance with the known methods in this respect, such as derivation, figurativeness, and the like. In case this is not possible, it may resort to transliteration, maintaining as much as possible the alphabet of the language and its measures.
3. The Academy shall gradually compose and publish brief dictionaries of idioms relating to arts and sciences and other fields of knowledge. It shall compose an amplified dictionary compiling the anomalies of the language and explaining the development of its words, together with interpretations and lists of incorrect words and methods of speech that should be avoided.

In addition, the Academy shall conduct research regarding modern Arabic dialects in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab countries."

Upon its formation, the Academy's membership consisted, besides Egyptians and Arabs, of five orientalists from England, Germany, Holland, Italy, and France.

The Academy is still carrying on its efforts with the assistance of specialists in every branch of knowledge. It has issued to date six large volumes of its periodical containing linguistic studies and treatises prepared by its members together with scientific decisions adopted and words for various objects suggested by its committees and approved by the Academy. Many of those words have found their way to being used in writing and other requirements of life.

Among the questions that received the concern of the Academy more than ten years ago was the question of writing the Arabic language. Some of the members occupied themselves with its study. Al-Jarīm and ᶜAbd-al-ᶜAzīz Fahmī and others in the Arab countries advanced suggestions for reforming Arabic writing in order to become compatible with simplification and precision required by the present age. Most of these suggestions went too far in their innovations, particularly the bold and unconventional suggestion presented by the late ᶜAbd-al-ᶜAzīz Fahmī, the adoption of the Latin alphabet [20]. It gave rise to lengthy debates and arguments, resulting in its rejection by a majority of thinkers. It seems probable that Arab public opinion may accept reform based on maintaining the present way of writing with new additional

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[20] The suggestion of ᶜAbd-al-ᶜAzīz Fahmī and the objections raised against it, along with the replies to those objections were published in a book entitled *Latin Alphabet and Arabic Writing,* Cairo, August 1944.

letters for short vowels to be included in the body of the word as in the Western system.

This, then, is a problem awaiting solution. It is one that does not rest only with Egypt and the Arab countries, since Arabic is a common heritage for all the Muslim lands. Indeed, the solution of this problem concerns the whole world. A general Islamic conference attended by Western experts would be worth convening to consider proposals submitted by scholars.

The second problem mentioned earlier is the duality of language in Egypt and the Arab countries. Such duality impairs the progressive movement of thought and expression. It is not practical that people should have a natural language used in their daily life and various requirements, and when they come to writing, oratory, literature and science begin to effectuate another language with rules and regulations taught them in school without the opportunity to use it in conversation, as has been the case with the foreign languages they have learned. As a result, the number of those who can speak or write the classical language without difficulty is decreasing, and the energy exerted by students in their various stages of education is being strained by learning the language. Moreover, direct contact between Westerners and the Arab peoples has been impaired due to the fact that they have been compelled to study the classical language and derive its rules from books.

No doubt, development of education and other means of enlightenment such as the radio, journalism and the spreading of the Muslim spirit among the people will contribute toward closer relationship between the two languages. Such means raise the standard of the common language, refine the appreciative qualities of the public and simplify methods of expression in the classical language.

The problem, however, stands in need of a conviction based on the study of the nature of life, language and the spiritual and intellectual heritage. Such conviction would be instrumental in urging the people to lay down plans for unifying the language and adopting them without delay. I have long been convinced that the only way for the Muslim and Arab countries is to maintain and popularize the classical language, use it in the affairs of life and thought, reform its system of writing to simplify such use, enrich it with elements of life so abundant in the common language, and make it subject to whatever development and progressive methods are possible without destroying its essential characteristics.

Alexandria University MUHAMMAD KHALFALLĀH

'ISLĀM' AS A TERM

There is a tendency among certain Muslims to connect the name *Islām* with the idea of peace. If that were merely an expression of a view that those who accepted *Islām* found peace within their hearts, it would be understandable and would be noted as a statement of experience. It would seem that this is the point of view of Muḥammad Dīn in his article *Islam—The Religion of Peace,* which appeared in *The Moslem World,* 1924, pp. 363 ff. He declares that a Muslim is one "who has utterly resigned himself to the will of God." He then says that "he enjoys perfect peace of mind and contentment," and adds that 'peace' is the dominant idea in Islam. He sums up the early part of his article thus: "Suffice it to say that Islam is the only religion of practical peace. Peace is, therefore, the essence of Islam, being the root from which it springs and the fruit which it yields, and it is thus preëminently the 'religion of peace'." He does not explicitly state that *Islām* means peace; his argument rather appears to be that, because of resignation to God's will, man attains to peace.

Worthington Jukes, in an article *Islam and Moslem* in *The Moslem World,* 1927, pp. 147 ff., mentions various meanings applicable to different parts of the root *salama,* and accepts the twin ideas of submission and peace as the meaning of *islām.* He does not investigate the matter more fully, as his purpose is to argue that submission and peace are learned more truly in the Bible.

Amir ᶜAlī holds strongly that the word *islām* means peace. In *The Spirit of Islām* [1] he says, "*Salm* (*salama* in the first and fourth conjugations) means, in the first instance, to be tranquil, at rest, to have done one's duty, to have paid up, *to be at perfect peace,* and, finally, to surrender oneself to Him with whom peace is made. The noun derived from it means peace, greeting, safety, salvation. The word does not imply, as is commonly supposed, absolute submission to God's will, but means, on the contrary, *striving after righteousness.*" Here he stands alone, for while others argue that *islām* means peace, they do not deny that it also means submission.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī, in his notes to his translation of the Qurᵓān, explains *islām* as meaning both submission and peace. In note 156 he says, "From *aslama,* meaning he *submitted himself,* is derived the name of the religion which the Holy Qurᵓān preaches, i.e. Islám, signifying literally *submitting oneself* or *resigning oneself,* and Islam is therefore the religion of entire submission to Allāh." In note 400,

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[1] *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed or The Spirit of Islam* (London, 1891), p. 226; *The Spirit of Islam or The Life and Teachings of Mohammed* (Calcutta, 1902), pp. 117 f. For a more awkward form of the quotation cf. *A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed* (London, 1873), p. 159.

after speaking of Islam as the religion of every prophet and the natural religion of man, he says, "The word *Islām* does not only signify *submission,* it also signifies *entering into peace,* from *aslama,* meaning *he entered into peace.* In fact, the idea of *peace* is the dominant idea in Islam, and the goal to which Islam leads is called *the abode of peace.*"

In the more recent translation of the first nine *Sūras* published by the Qadiani branch of the Aḥmadiyya Movement [2] there is no suggestion that the word *islām* means peace. In note 119 *aslama* is explained as meaning (1) he embraced Islām, (2) he resigned, submitted himself, (3) he paid in advance; and the phrase *aslama wajhahu lillāh* as he submitted or resigned himself wholly to God, or he devoted his entire attention to God, or he resigned himself to God. Note 311 says that "Islām (complete submission)" means (1) complete submission to God; (2) the religion of Islam, the latter meaning being also based on the first.

ᶜAbdullāh Yūsuf ᶜAlī says in the preface to his translation of the Qurᵓān, "In translating the text I have aired no views of my own, but followed the received Commentators." [3] In his notes he does not suggest that Islām means peace; the nearest approach to this is the rather cryptic remark in note 5440, "the light of eternal Unity and Harmony which is Islam." He usually translates the various parts of the fourth form of the root *salama* in terms of submission, or bowing to God's will. In iii, 85, [4] after the word *Islam,* he adds in brackets "submission to God." In x, 84 he translates "if ye submit (your will to His)," and in ii, 133 "to Him we bow (in Islam)." In ix, 74 he translates *baᶜda islāmihim* as "after accepting Islam," and in xvi, 102 *lilmuslimīn* is translated as "to Muslims." From his translation one gathers that, except where *Islām* and *Muslim* become proper names, the fundamental idea is submission.

This brief selection of quotations shows that among Muslims there is no agreement that *Islām* in itself means peace. Let us here examine the claim of those who give it the meaning of peace by examining the use of the root in the Qurᵓān, noting Al-Baiḍāwī's comments, and finally quoting the lexicographers. The subject will not be confined to the word *islām,* but will also include other parts of the fourth form of the root.

(1) The Qurᵓān.

In ii, 106; iii, 18; iv, 124; xxxi, 21 a part of the fourth form of

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[2] *The Holy Quran with English Translation and Commentary,* Vol. 1 (Qadian, 1947).

[3] p.v.

[4] In this paragraph I quote A. Yūsuf ᶜAlī's numbers of Qurᵓān verses, but elsewhere, in quoting the Qurᵓān, I have followed Flügel's numbering.

the verb is followed by the noun *wajh* (face), obviously in the sense of surrendering oneself to God, for the use of 'face' is recognised as a figure of speech for the person. In all of these but iii, 18, where the context is different, the idea of doing good is added, with the suggestion that mere submission without right action is not enough to merit reward. xxxi, 21 uses the preposition *ilā* before Allāh; the other verses use *li*.

Other parts of the root also used with the preposition *li* to express handing oneself over, or surrendering to Allāh. The participle is used thus in ii, 122, 127 (Jacob's sons), 130; iii, 78; xxix, 45. The perfect is used with *li* in ii, 125 (Abraham); iii, 77; xxii, 35; xxvii, 45 (Queen of Sheba); the subjunctive in vi, 70; xl, 68; and the imperative in xxxix, 55. The quotation of one of these verses will suffice to illustrate the meaning. iii, 77 says, "To Him surrenders whosoever is in the heavens and in the earth, willingly or unwillingly." This is the only possible sense in which the words can be taken. They imply submission to God.

The word *Muslim* itself, most commonly in the plural, is often rather vague in its meaning. On the basis of its meaning when followed by *li* one may argue that it indicates people who submit themselves to God; but there are times when it seems to be a proper name to distinguish those who have accepted the religion. One might tentatively suggest that in the following verses the word means people who submit to God: x, 73, 90 (Pharaoh); xi, 17; xxi, 108; xxvii, 31, 83, 93; xxx, 52, xxxiii, 35; xli, 33; xliii, 69; xlvi, 14; lxvi, 5. Equally tentatively one might suggest that the word has become a proper name in the following verses: iii, 57, 74; xv, 2; xvi, 91, 104; xxii, 77; lxviii, 35; lxxii, 14. There may be an element of arbitrariness in making such a distinction. The word *Muslim* has came to have a technical sense, but the question remains to what extent this may be said to exist in the Qurʾān itself. In Medina Islām attained self-consciousness, for Muḥammad at last realised that Jews and Christians were not waiting to receive him with open arms, and that what he taught differed in some respects from their teachings; so Islam became a separate religion. The members of the new faith required a name to distinguish them, and the word *Muslim* was used for this purpose; but while it developed this technical usage, it doubtless still retained something of its basic meaning of one who resigned himself to God. It is, therefore, difficult to separate the technical and the ordinary use of the word in the Qurʾān.

Muslim is used in the Qurʾān not only for Muḥammad's followers, but also for people of earlier times; e.g. in iii, 60 Abraham is called a Muslim; in li, 36 Lot's family is said to be the only Muslim one in Sodom; in x, 84 Moses summons his people to trust in God and be Muslims; in xxvii, 38, 42 the word is applied to the Queen of Sheba's people, in iii, 45 and v, 111 the disciples of Jesus witness that they are Muslims, and in xxviii, 53 the People of the Book are represented as

saying that they believe in Muḥammad's message and that they were Muslims before it came. The meaning in these passages can only be that the people concerned submitted themselves to God. The same may be said of some verses expressive of the desire or the command to die as Muslims (ii, 126; iii, 97; vii, 123; xii, 102). Of these only iii, 97 refers to Muslims proper. ii, 126 is spoken by Abraham, vii, 123 by Pharaoh's magicians, and xii, 102 by Joseph.

Although people of earlier times are called Muslims, there are three verses (vi, 14, 163; xxxix, 14) in which Muḥammad is called the first of the Muslims. The word may have the sense of submission in these verses, which is the way both A. Yūsuf ʿAlī and Muḥammad ʿAlī take it. A. Yūsuf ʿAlī says in note 4262, '"The first" need not necessarily be chronological; it may also refer to the first rank in zeal, and in readiness to suffer for the Cause.' These verses are normally said to be Meccan, but Bell places them all early in the Medina period. If he is correct, as he may well be, the question arises whether this may not indicate the beginning of the technical use of the word.

Four verses which cannot well be classified may here be taken together. xxxvii, 103 is interesting, for *aslamā* is there used of Abraham and Ishmael obviously in a particular sense. It is not a question of a general submission to God, but of submission to His will regarding the sacrifice of Ishmael. In iii, 19, where *aslamtum* is used with the interrogative, one may hesitate between the meaning of submitting to God, or accepting Islām. In v, 48 reference is made to prophets who *aslamū*, which can only mean that they submitted themselves to God. In xlviii, 16 it is said that the Bedouin will be called to fight with a warlike people, or these people *yuslimūna*. This probably means that they will accept Islām, but it may mean that they will surrender, with which the idea expressed in ix, 29 may be compared.

When the word *islām* is used it has different senses. Sometimes it is clearly the name of the religion. iii, 17 says that the religion with God is Islam. iii, 79 speaks of people who follow some other religion than Islam. v, 5, which speaks of the religion being perfected, says, "I have approved Islam for you as a religion." These are all Medina passages, and so it may be assumed that in them Islam is not merely submission to God, but has developed to the stage of a proper name. lxi, 7, which speaks of one who invents falsehood against God when he is called to *Islām* is not so clear. The word has the definite article attached, and so it may represent the proper name. This is strengthened by the fact that the *Sūra* is Medinan. But it is possible that here it may merely mean that he is called to submit himself to God. vi, 125 and xxxix, 23, which speak of the breast being enlarged for *Islām*, are not certain as to their meaning. If they are Meccan, as is usually said, one would require to interpret the usage as meaning to submit oneself. If, as Bell suggests, the verses are Medinan, the word may be a proper name. Here also it has the definite article. ix, 75, which has *baʿda*

islāmihim, must mean either after accepting Islam, or after submitting to God. But xlix, 17 clearly means to accept Islam, for it refers to people talking of their action as if they had conferred a favour on Muḥammad.

This review of the uses of the fourth form of the root in the Qurʾān suggests that, where a technical sense has not developed, the meaning conveyed is that of submission.

(2) Al-Baiḍāwī.

In his commentary on the four verses which use *wajh* (face) after *aslama* (ii, 106; iii, 18; iv, 124; xxxi, 21) Al-Baiḍāwī interprets them in terms of consecrating oneself, or giving oneself wholly to God. In iii, 18 and iv, 124 he strengthens this by adding that God is the sole object of one's worship.

When he comments on verses which use parts of the verb proper Al-Baiḍāwī varies somewhat in his interpretation. He explains *aslamtu*, used by Abraham in ii, 125, as meaning that he hastened to submit and to consecrate his inner being to God. He interprets *tuslimūna* in xvi, 83 in terms of considering God's benefits, then believing in Him and becoming resigned (*tanqādūna*) to His rule. xl, 68 is explained as meaning to be resigned to God and sincere in one's religion, and xxxvii, 103 as meaning that Abraham and Ishmael submitted to God's command regarding the sacrifice. In xxxix, 55 he explains the imperative *aslimū lahu* as a command to act sincerely. As this is preceded by a call to repentance, he argues that what he here calls sincere action is not enough to escape punishment; there must first of all be repentance. He explains the command *falahu aslimū* in xxii, 35 as an order to draw near, or remember God sincerely with no admixture of polytheism. He seems to take vi, 14 as meaning simply to accept Islām, or to become a Muslim, and the same meaning is applied to iii, 77; xlviii, 16; xlix, 17.

The word Islām is sometimes explained as the name of the religion (iii, 17; v, 5). In expounding vi, 125, which speaks of the breast being enlarged for Islām, Baiḍāwī says it is a reference to causing the soul to accept the truth, being prepared for its coming into it, and purified from what prevents and repels it. In the parallel passage in xxxix, 23 he speaks of one having a firm footing in it and of the soul being well prepared to accept it and not refusing to do so. He uses merely the pronoun *it*, which suggests that he is understanding Islām here as a proper name. In lxi, 7 he speaks of Islām as something whose truth is apparent, which necessarily produces the best in this world and the next for the one who is summoned to accept it. In commenting on iii, 79 he holds that Islām means the declaration of God's Unity and resignation to His rule. ix, 75 is explained as meaning acceptance of Islām. In all these passages it would appear that Islām is treated as a proper name.

His comment on xlix, 14 is of interest. This is the verse which says that the Bedouin said, "We have believed (*āmannā*)." They are told that they have not believed, and so are ordered to say *aslamnā*, for belief had not yet entered into their hearts. The word Islām does not occur in this verse, but it is used by Al-Baiḍāwī in his commentary, where he says that Islām is resignation, entering into *al-silm*, proclaiming the *shahāda* and abandoning warfare (sc. with Muslims). The interesting phrase is "entering into *al-silm*." It occurs also in his comment on xxxiii, 35, where he says that Muslims are people who enter into *al-silm* and are resigned to God's rule. In neither place does he explain what he means by the phrase. But in ii, 204 there is a command to enter into *al-silm* (the only occurrence in the Qurʾān of the form *silm*), and in commenting on that verse Al-Baiḍāwī says that *silm* (or *salm*) means submission (*istislām*) and obedience (*ṭāʿa*), and on that account it is used for peace, or reconciliation (*ṣulḥ*) and Islām. He thus considers submission the basic meaning of the word, this leading to the meaning of peace or reconciliation. To digress for a moment, attention may be drawn to Bell's translation of the phrase, "enter into the bond of peace", and his note that "the verse is an appeal for unity amongst the Prophet's followers." A. Yūsuf ʿAlī translates *al-silm* as "Islam", but both Muḥammad ʿAlī and the Qadiani translation give "submission".

The form *salm* occurs twice in the Qurʾān. In explaining xlvii, 37 Al-Baiḍāwī says, "Do not call for reconciliation (peace) in weakness and submissiveness (*khawaran wa-tadhallulan*)." His comment on *al-salm* in viii, 63 is "reconciliation (*ṣulḥ*), or submission (*istislām*)." It is clear that when he uses the term *ṣulḥ* in interpreting *salm* he connects it with some degree of abasement. All the translations mentioned above [5] give "peace" for *al-salm* in these two verses, but the reference in both verses is to bringing an end to fighting, and so the question of the word being an alternative for Islām does not arise.

It is unnecessary to deal in detail with Al-Baiḍāwī's comments on verses where the word Muslim is used, as the meanings given agree with what we have seen already. Muslims are people who are sincere and obedient (ii, 122, 130; iii, 78), who keep fixedly to Islām (vii, 123; xi, 17; xxvii, 93), who obey God's rule (x, 73, 84; xvi, 104; xxx, 52), who accept Islām (vi, 163; xxviii, 53; xli, 33). While ii, 126 is explained as meaning that Abraham followed Islām, the comment on iii, 60 says that it does not mean the actual religion known as Islām. The other verses are explained in terms of sincerity, or obedience (iii, 74; v, 5; xxi, 108; xxvii, 31, 83; xxix, 45; xxxix, 14; xliii 69; xlvi, 14; lxvi, 5).

A consideration of Al-Baiḍāwī's comments leads to the same result

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[5] i.e. all but the Qadīan translation, which does not go beyond *Sūrah* 9.

as that already reached by an independent review of the Quranic verses. The most important matter is the meaning he attaches to the phrase "entering into *al-silm*," and we have seen that he interprets this fundamentally in the sense of resignation to God's rule.

(3) Lexicographers.

Jawharī says comparatively little in his *Ṣiḥāḥ* which is of interest for our purpose. He quotes an opinion that "enter into *al-silm*" (ii, 204) means into Islām. He then says that *salm* or *silm* means *ṣulḥ* (peace or reconciliation), but later, when he explains that *aslama* means that one has entered into *al-silm*, he adds that *al-silm* is submission (*istislām*).

In *Lisān al-ᶜarab* we are told that *islām* and *istislām* mean resignation (*inqiyād*). Islām is also manifestation of humility, attestation of the *sharīᶜah* and adherence to what the Prophet brought. When these characteristics are present, one's life is spared and freedom from all unpleasantness may be demanded. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bashshār is quoted as saying that to call someone a Muslim has two explanations, (1) he is submissive to God's command, (2) he renders sincere worship to God. Traditions are quoted to the effect that Muslims are brethren and do not injure one another. Illustrations are given of *aslama* meaning "to hand over" in different senses. There is a discussion of the difference between *Islām* and *Īmān* (belief), the upshot of which is that *islām* in itself is merely an outward acknowledgment; but it is added that the perfect example of *islām* is shown by him who not only makes a display of obedience, but also believes in it. With regard to "enter into *al-silm*" we are told that it means Islām and all its laws. A verse by Aḥwaṣ is quoted,

> They drove the enemy of *al-silm* from the middle of their house,
> and firmly fixed the pillar of the religion after it swayed.

With this is compared a verse by Imruᵓ al-Qais b. ᶜĀbis,

> I am not substituting a lord for Allāh, nor am I substituting a religion for *al-silm*.

To this is added a verse by a Kinda poet,

> I summoned my tribe to *al-silm* when I saw them turning their backs in retreat.

He then adds that the word means Islām, humbling oneself (*istikhdhāᵓ*), resignation (*inqiyād*) and submission (*istislām*).

Tāj al-ᶜarūs is in the main dependent on the *Lisān* so far as meanings which concern our present purpose are concerned. The only relevant addition is the note that *aslama* means, "he entered into Al-Islām, he became a Muslim."

Tahānawī [6] says that Islām is a word expressing obedience (*ṭāᶜa*) and resignation (*inqiyād*), being applied generally in the law to acquiescence in the performance of the external acts, such as the testimony that there is only one God whose prophet is Muḥammed, the observance of prayer, the payment of legal alms, fasting during Ramaḍān and performing the pilgrimage. Thereafter his main interest is in discussing the distinction between *islām* and *īmān*, which does not concern us here.

Fīrūzābādī gives as the meanings of *silm*, (1) one who makes peace, (2) peace, or reconciliation (*ṣulḥ*), (3) safety (*salām*), (4) Al-islām. In this he is followed by *Aqrāb al-mawārid*. If the order in which he gives the meanings is or importance, he evidently looks at the matter differently from Al-Baiḍāwī. But the way he details the meanings suggests that he separates between the ideas of peace and of Islām. Regarding *aslama*, the only meaning he gives is "he became resigned (*inqād*) and he became a Muslim."

Lane, who is dependent on a variety of Muslim lexicographers, explains *aslama* in terms of resignation and submission, and says that entering into *al-silm* means *istislām*, which he explains as *the state of resignation*, or *submission*. Islām he explains as humility, or submission, of outward conforming with the law of God. But while Lane gives the normal explanations of Muslim lexicographers, Freytag explains entering into *al-silm* as *salutem, pacem et incolumitatem ingressus fuit*.

CONCLUSION

Is seems clear from what has been presented that the word Islām does not mean peace. The Qurᵓān itself must be the basis for the meaning of the word, whatever meanings may have been developed with the passage of time. We have seen that an independent consideration of its usage gives no justification for saying that Islām means peace, and this is upheld by Al-Baiḍāwī, who is a representative commentator. It is further upheld by the testimony of the lexicographers. While the basic meaning of Islām is resignation to God, it comes to be a proper name to designate the religion. Beyond that one is not justified in going.

As was said at the beginning, no attempt is being made here to suggest that those who resign themselves to God do not experience peace in their hearts. A. Yūsuf ᶜAlī has expressed this idea in his Introductory Commentary (C. 38) where he says,

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[6] *A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans,*

But Islam meant
The willing submission of his will to God,
the active attainment of Peace through Conflict.

My only purpose here has been to discuss a linguistic matter and to try to show that Amir ᶜAlī and those who follow him are not justified in saying that Islām means peace. To say that is confusing, for it almost inevitably conveys the idea that Islām is a religion which has nothing to do with war, a conception which history disallows.

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RESEARCH IN SAUDI ARABIA

The time has happily arrived when Western writers no longer deal with Arabia and most of the other Arab and Muslim areas of the world as only a part of Western commercial, political, and cultural interests. These countries and their peoples are being studied for their own importance. Even in treating of international subjects touching their own interests, the writers of Western democratic lands now picture the Arab and Muslim peoples as their equal partners and allies in a new era.

Orientalists in the United States, and all Americans who have lived and worked in Eastern countries, rejoice that a new era is also dawning in American interest and activity in Arabic and Islamic studies. Of course, there has always been some interest on part of Americans, and at times considerable interest. From one popular historian of American literature and thought, Van Wyck Brooks, these notes were taken at random:

John Pickering of Boston included Arabic among the twenty languages which he learned in travel and in formal study. He was the first president of the American Oriental Society which has for a century and a decade provided opportunity for discussion and publication in the field of Arabic and Islamics. Noah Webster, the great American lexicographer of New Haven, Connecticut, kept on his circular desk around which he walked in study, dictionaries of Arabic as well as of two dozen other languages. A number of the scholarly ministers of religion in New England, and elsewhere, knew Arabic as well as other Oriental tongues. Outstanding was Theodore Parker, the son of a farmer in Massachusetts. Besides knowing Latin and Greek and several modern languages of Europe, he read Coptic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, and Arabic. Elihu Burritt, of Worcester, Massachusetts, for many years earned his living at the blacksmith's forge. Humble and unaffected, he desired only "to stand in the ranks of the workingmen ... and beckon them onward and upward to the full stature of intellectual men." But because of his genius, his accomplishments, and his abilities, he was called into government service, and was sent to Birmingham, England, as American Consul. While in Europe he organized peace conferences both in England and at Brussels, Paris, and Frankfort on the Continent. Later retiring to a farm near New Britain, Connecticut, he resumed his linguistic studies by which he had already learned forty tongues, and wrote grammars of Sanskrit, Persian, Hindustani, Turkish, and Arabic. The lawyer-scholar George Perkins March, who had served as United States Minister to Turkey, produced among many books at Burlington, Vermont, a learned and entertaining

study of *The Camel.* This book is "filled with curious and amusing lore gathered in his Oriental travels..." [1]

An interesting and instructive volume could be written on the history of earlier American commerce with the Arab and Muslim East. It is well known that the famous trading ships of New England, and of other areas, carried to the Mediterranean and the Near East, to Zanzibar and Muscat, to India and Java, not only the products of factories but also cargoes of natural ice. Sometimes, as happened in the waters of North Africa, there was "rough sailing" from acts of man as well as acts of God. But usually the vessels by no means returned empty. Especially in New England, in seaboard homes as well as in libraries and museums, there are found to this day many documents, souvenirs, and other evidences of our earlier and long-continued commercial and cultural exchange.

However, up to our times, American interest in Arabic and Islamics was largely ancillary to philanthropic activities, such as educational and medical missions, or to the work of Biblical and Near Eastern archeology. Thus, the pioneer American explorer Edward Robinson could find at Beirut, over a century ago, an indispensable Arabic-speaking companion in his fellow-American Eli Smith. Smith had helped make a new translation of the Bible into Arabic for the American Mission Press, established in Lebanon about half a century before the beginnings of the American University of Beirut. He aided Robinson in tracing the names of historical sites from Arabic back to the older Semitic forms. The practical use of Arabic in connection with archeology has continued through the more than fifty years of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad, and through the even longer history of American exploration in the Near East conducted by universities and museums.

From this discursive introduction we may pass to describe a new opportunity which has come to those devoted to Arabic and Islamic studies, in Arabia itself. Americans and Arabs have met there on that surest ground of friendship, namely, the ground of mutual, long-term economic interests, and have associated themselves on this basis in an attitude of mutual respect and cooperation. And, therefore, in connection with a large-scale industrial enterprise, an American company has seen the wisdom of developing not only a practical center for translation of correspondence and reports but also a center for historical, geographical, and other research. Americans in our research division in Dhahrān thus have the privilege of carrying on the studies dearest to them in the historic homeland of the Arabs and of Islam. On the basis of experience they can testify that access to the best

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[1] These references may easily be found by looking up the proper names cited, in the indices to: *The Flowering of New England,* and *New England: Indian Summer,* by Van Wyck Brooks.

research libraries in the Western world is no adequate substitute for actual life and work in Arabia. A few of the greatest Western scholars, such as Nöldeke of Germany, have been able to make their historic contributions to Oriental learning without leaving their homelands. None of us claims to be a Nöldeke. But we are assured that even for such as he, direct experience in Arab lands and among the Arab peoples would have been an advantage. It has been pointed out that Nicholson of Cambridge, one of the keenest students and most successful translators of Arabic poetry, misinterpreted allusions regarding details of daily living. The reason was that he had not been among the Arabs to read the open book of their lives. We believe that it is difficult even for a scholar in other Arab lands to be sure of himself with regard to the life and thought of the Arabians, not to speak of details of the geography and the tribal organization of the country, without actual experience in Arabia itself.

We are proud, too, to have our small share in the present reconstruction and advancement of historic Arabia, by which its people, as their ruler had hoped, are coming more fully into the heritage divinely prepared for them. We believe that the results are benefiting also, both directly and indirectly, other Arab countries—even those which are as yet without the kind and measure of industrial resources which have become the basis for a broader and richer economic life for Arabia and for Iraq. We were of those who strove unceasingly to wake our fellow citizens regarding the peoples and movements of the modern Near East. We believe that constructive enterprises such as that with which we are connected can also do much toward helping the Arab peoples in the solution of their problems and in their future progress. We hope, too, that such enterprises will help to restore the full friendship of the Arabs for our country.

The research program for the Company by which we are employed calls for numerous details of practical information. What, for instance, are the differences between the Sunnite and the Shi'ite calendars for the year, so that adjustments may be made for religious holidays involving thousands of employees? Or, what would be the most appropriate name, of a number of names of local topographical features, for a new oil well location—or even for an entire new field? Or, what are the varieties and names of Persian Gulf fish, for knowledge of the fishing industry of the region and projects for its improvement—with due attention to what is *allowed* and what is *forbidden* by religion and custom? Or, what local trees, shrubs, or other plants might aid in control of blowing sands for protection of communication routes, agricultural projects, and communities? Or, who are the tribal leaders and local government officials in a new district of Company operations within its concession area? Or, what books should newly arrived Western employees read for information about the Near East and the Arabs beyond that given in the handbooks prepared comprehensively

by the Company? These are only a few examples of an endless variety of questions of information.

Of course, we do not attempt to answer such questions out of our heads. And many of them cannot be answered from books. Much of our information about such matters, including details of local or town history, or the *dīrahs* and relationships of tribes, comes from living sources. We have the benefit of a group of tribal representatives attached to our research office. We have also the possibility of making inquiry of other employees or of local people. And, when needful, we have the opportunity of consultation with local officials or officers of the central Government.

Indeed, considerable time is spent upon research activities for the Government itself. While such services for the Government are less in extent, they are of no less importance. They relate chiefly to maps and to studies of areas of the country, for which the busy officials cannot spare the necessary time. Even had our Company not freely obligated itself for assistance to and cooperation with the Government in numerous ways under the concession agreement, we should still like to follow the admonition of the poet ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ of Asad:

> "Be of help in the land where you find yourself,
> and say not, 'I am a stranger here.'"

In addition to answering questions of heterogeneous information, there are frequent tasks of checking the Arabic of various translated documents. There are occasional projects of archeological nature (such as was admirably accomplished by our associate Mr. Ricardo Vidal, who is a trained anthropologist in excavating the ancient burial mound of Jawān near Rās Tanūrah). There are also a number of long-term research endeavors on which various members of the division, often in groups, are more or less constantly working. Examples are the following:

1. Maps for the Company and for the Government. The maps which our division prepares are of course for research purposes. They do not attempt to replace or duplicate the professional cartographical work carried on under direction of the Company's geologists and engineers. Indeed, the Research Division cooperates with and gains much help from the experts in this field. And it often uses the basic maps prepared by them for the recording of research information. One such map was requested by the Government for use in its rapidly expanding schools. A more detailed map, both as to additional names and as to more recent topographical information from the Exploration Department, from surveys in the concession area, is to be prepared in the near future. It will be for the use of Government offices.

2. Toponymic studies. Closely related to the making of research maps is the constant study, correction, and filing of place names. Careful endeavor is made to ascertain from both written and living

sources the unquestionably correct Arabic spelling for all kinds of topographic features and for historical sites, ancient and modern. This is of course a difficult and complicated procedure. In addition to searching among written sources, there is constant checking and rechecking with people who know the places or areas concerned. And there must be constant reference to Arabic linguistic forms of the names, as well as to their probable meanings. Especially for place names on which we have no authoritative written source either in the Classical Literature or in modern publications, the only dependable sources are the people of the country themselves. These living sources include both the common folk and learned men.

Skill in phonetics on the part of the recorder, although useful, is not enough. And very few Western writers on Arabia are both trained in phonetics and disciplined in the formology of Arabic grammar. Therefore, most of the Western maps, either as separate documents or as accompaniments to books, are at least in details unsatisfactory. So often, travellers and explorers have written down either the local, popular pronunciation of the name—or what they mistakenly *thought* they heard the sound of the name to be—without sufficient inquiry or without reference to linguistic form.

The common people often depart from the exact classical form, especially in affixing or inserting an additional vowel, and sometimes by shifting the pronunciation *to* the inserted vowel. Familiar examples of such in geographical names are: *Abqaiq* for *Buqaiq, Ansab* for *Niṣāb, al-Dahána* for al-Dahnāᵓ, *Wadi Sahába* (or even Ishába) for Wādī Saḥbāᵓ, *Dharúma* or *Dharáma* for *Dharmā*.* [* ضَرْمى] An interesting example of a personal name is the element *Raḥmah,* which, when used as the name of a created being is pronounced by the people as *Raḥámah.*

Because not every traveller or explorer can have by him a learned Arabian, many have been misled by such a simple deviation from the norm as the use of a *fatḥah* instead of a clear *dḥammah* in the first syllable of the diminutive. This is true especially of names the first consonant of which is of a nature to influence the quality of the vowel. Another difficulty, for Westerners, with the often-used diminutive form is that the people make the sound of the first vowel so "diminutive" itself that it is doubtful. Hence the appearance on Western maps of such names as *Anaizah* instead of *ᶜUnaizah,* and *al-Biraimi* or *al-Baraimi* instead of *al-Buraimī.*

Of course, Westerners often shake their heads over the complexities of Arabic. They do so when they are told that the name of the town is *ᶜUnaizah,* the name of the mountain is *Jabal ᶜAnāzah,* and the name of the tribe is *ᶜÁnazah*—each one of them to be pronounced with a strong, clear *ᶜain* which is a most difficult sound for non-Arabs to achieve—and each one of them to be spelled in English with a final

h— which, however, as a terminal linguistic device in Arabic, is in pause practically silent, and which, yet again, if in liaison with a following sound is to be pronounced not as *h* but as *t*!

One must of course choose whether he will represent in his transliteration the Classical or literary form of a name, or the popular pronunciation. We, being lovers of Arabic, prefer the former, and we consider it to be correct. This does not mean, however, that one should be pedantic and try to speak always in Classical Arabic, even if he could. But for the recording of information to be used by others it is certainly best to employ the standard form of the language.

There are a few simple procedures which will help to clear up the difficulty of a place name. One may inquire of his source of information: What is the dual form?: What is the plural form? (Or, if the name occurs in the dual or in the plural, what is the singular form?): What is the meaning of the name and the occasion or reason (which the people often know) for the name?: What would a man from the place be called?: Is the name or its meaning mentioned or referred to in any proverb or verse of poetry?:

Take the case of two similar names: 1) that of the escarpment just east of the Dahnāʾ and 2) that of a wādi in the Yemen in the district of Jabal Ṣabir. Some of the people might pronounce them nearly alike, so that between popular pronunciation and variations in the names on maps the recorder might be confused. But the informant would probably pronounce the dual of the first as *ᶜAramatain* and the dual of the second as *ᶜArmatain* (both in popular form). Therefore, despite variations in the pronunciation of the singular, one would perceive that the first name as *al-ᶜAramah,* and the second *al-ᶜArmah.* If there should still be doubt—although there would hardly be in this case—the informant would probably say that a man associated with the first place could be called an *ᶜAramī,* and one associated with the second an *ᶜArmī.* Further inquiry would not be needed, after the test of the dual form in each case, for clarification of the ending of the names. But that the ending was *tā marbūṭah* could be proved by having the informant pronounce the names in a construct relationship, thus: Mecca lies in *al-Ḥijāz*; therefore you may say, *Makkatu-l-Ḥijāz.* So, what do you say of al-ᶜAramah of Najd and al-ᶜArmah of al-Yemen? The answer (although the informant might fall back into popular variations of the singular form) would be something like: *ᶜAramat Najd,* and *ᶜArmatu-l-Yaman.*

Of course these two names are attested in literature. The first is given by both Yāqūt and al-Ḥamdānī, and the second is given by al-Ḥamdānī alone. Further, Yāqūt quotes about al-ᶜAramah a verse from al-Aᶜshā, one of the greatest poets of historic al-Yamāmah.

In case of a name for which there is no literary source, and for which the ending sound "a" might represent *tā marbūṭah,* or *alif maqṣūrah,* or *alif,* or *alif hamzah,* the solution is more difficult. How-

ever, the tests suggested will usually, with patience, bring reasonable assurance of success. An initial difficulty, at times, is to persuade a new informant to concede that theoretically there could be two places or topographical features having a name, when he well knows there is only one! And hence that a dual form of the name is reasonable.

Inquiring thus, and then checking with other individuals who know the name concerned—and then rechecking after a lapse of time, with the original source of information—and meanwhile relating the difficult name to grammatical forms and dictionary or popular meanings—one gradually adds new names in written Arabic to the rich resources to be found in the geographical and general literature of Arabic.

Of course, there will always remain some uncertainties. We have found no assurance, for example, regarding the name of the desert trail leading southeastward from al-Hufhūf (or Hufhūf, or al-Hufūf, or Hufūf, or al-Aḥsā', or al-Ḥasā!) toward al-Kharj, and parallel with Darb Mazālīj. The name is pronounced somewhat like: *Darb Ḥuwwijān,* or *Ḥawwijān,* or *Ḥuwijān.* And it is explained by some as having connection with the idea of "being needy," *iḥtāja, yaḥtāju.* But we are still seeking a clear and convincing solution.

We should like to know, also, the origin of the name *al-Baḥrain.* As all know, this was in earlier times the designation of the large eastern area of Arabia, but has now for some centuries been restricted in application to the well-known islands lying between Rās Tanūrah and Qaṭar in the Persian Gulf. The original form of the nominative must have been, of course, *al-Baḥrāni.* But the oblique form of popular usage for the nominative may be found in works of the golden age, such as those by al-Ḥamdānī.

The authors upon whom Wüstenfeld depended for his interesting but not wholly satisfying study [2] appear to have given him one sufficiently logical idea beyond which he did not go. This was that the name came from popular association of the small inland lake, *Buḥairat Hajar,* with the larger *baḥr* which was the Persian Gulf.

However, al-Ḥamdānī (Müller, p. 183) says that the designation came from the two *rivers* (or irrigation canals or other kind of water channels), namely: *Nahr al-Muḥallim* and the *nahr* of *ᶜAin al-Juraib.* This explanation omits any reference to the Persian Gulf.

There is an intriguing and brief allusion to another theory in the famous *Mirāt al-Mamālik* by the Ottoman Turkish admiral Sīdī ᶜAlī Raᵓīs (Kātib Rūmī), who was in the region about the middle of the 16th century. The admiral tells how he drank some of the sweet water drawn up from the submerged springs under the salt waters of the Gulf. And he makes connection between this long-known phenomenon

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[2] Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Baḥrein und Jemâma nach Arabischen Geographen beschrieben," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Neunzehnter Band, Jahre 1874, pp, 173-222 (map, facing p. 264).

and both the origin of the geographical name and the Quranic verse: "He hath let loose the two seas which meet each other," مَرَجَ ٱلْبَحْرَيْنِ يَلْتَقِيَانِ (Qurʾān 55.19; cf. 25.55.)

It is interesting to note that Vambery in two editions of this work[3] has left the misprint of *al-Bahreia* for *al-Baḥrein* or *al-Baḥrain* (which may go back to an error in the original Turkish). And he also takes what is really a verse of the Qurʾān for a "proverb"! It is even more interesting to know that before water wells were drilled around Dhahrān our Company obtained its water supply from the same submarine springs.

I have thought that the name *al-Baḥrain* came from the general aspect of the Persian Gulf. For its waters are divided into "Two Seas" by the sub-peninsula of Qatar and the islands both west and east thereof. This theory *may* be supported, as Lyall thinks, by a verse of the famous poem by al-Akhnas b. Shihāb of Taghlib. The poem, which praises several tribes and describes in general terms their *dīrahs*, in preserved in both *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt* and *The Ḥamāsah* (of Abū Tammām). Of Lukaiz, a division of ᶜAbd al-Qais in al-Baḥrain, al-Akhnas says:

And to Lukaiz belong the Two Seas and all the coast (or the Sīf), وَلُكَيْزٌ لَهَا ٱلْبَحْرَانِ وَٱلسِّيفُ كُلَّهَا

In his translation of *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, Lyall unauthorizedly renders *al-Baḥrāni* as "the Twin-Sea Cape," and says in a note: "This name is probably to be understood of the waters washing both sides of the jutting promonotory of Qaṭar..."

However, other sources (even one included in Lyall's edited work; see p. 104) picture Lukaiz as dwelling south of Qaṭar, with its *dīrah* extending as far as Oman. And other divisions of ᶜAbd al-Qais are described as dwelling "in the peninsula of Qaṭar and the coasts of al-Baḥrain." Therefore, the poet may have here another meaning. He may be fancifully portraying Lukaiz as controlling the "two seas" formed by the promontory of Oman—just as in glorifying terms he speaks of Bakr as controlling all or most of Iraq.

I still incline to the view that *al-Baḥrain* originally meant the two portions of the Persian Gulf as formed by Qaṭar and the isles, before the designation was applied to the coasts and hinterland of Arabia adjacent to those two portions. But I shall keep an open mind, and

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[3] Arminius Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral...* London, Luzac, 1899; and "The Travels of Sidi Ali Reis" (section title: "The Mirror of Countries, or the Adventures of Sidi Ali Reis"), in *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East,* Vol. VI: *Medieval Arabic, Moorish, and Turkish,* New York and London, 1917.

continue to look for references. In research, one does not try to prove his points, but rather to point his proofs.

Another famous geographical term in Arabia we should like explained. It is the so-called "Empty Quarter." In the first place, is the form *rabᶜ* or *rubᶜ*? It is quite possible that we do not yet know enough about the name, and the occasion for it, to say which is better. The term in strangely absent from earlier written Arabic sources. Although we ourselves have had neither time nor materials to trace the discussions by various authorities and theorizers, or even to locate its first occurrences in Arabic, I have a suspicion which I will ventilate as only a modest and hesitant suggestion. It is that the name may have come from the misunderstanding by a Western traveller of the real meaning of a phrase often used by the more southerly peoples of Arabia.

If you were in one of the oasis pockets of al-Jiwāʾ, you would roughly on the 54th parallel of longitude and north of the northern portion of "the Empty Quarter." Yet, if you asked someone in what direction Qaṭar lay from your position, he would be likely to reply "In the Empty Quarter." By this he would mean, of course, northwest. And if after some time you inquired of the same person in what direction lay Oman (for in continuing inquiry the individual might vary his figures of speech), it is quite possible that he would reply, "In the Empty Quarter." And on both occasions he would be indicating directions *away from* the region to which Westerners apply the phrase as a name.

Now, unfortunately, I have never been among the palms of al-Jiwāʾ, between the sands of al-Ḥumrah, al-Kidan, and al-Qafā, and the brackish waterholes of al-Miḥradh. But, on maps, I have travelled with tribesmen in imagination around much of the so-called "Empty Quarter." And most of the times that I have inquired about directions from given places to other places which happened to lie between the cardinal points therefrom, the answer has been, "In the Empty Quarter." Neither did the direction matter, whether between north and east, or between east and south, or between south and west, or between west and north. Nor did it matter whether the resulting indication led toward the great deserts or away from them.

Therefore, and hesitantly, until there can be further investigation of the phrase itself, its occurrences, and its possible connection with both scientific and popular concepts of cosmography, I suggest this: Perhaps some Western traveller in Arabia found his informants giving such answers regarding places, which, while lying between two cardinal points from where he happened to be at the time of the inquiry, were also in the direction of some portion of the vast desert area of south-central Arabia. As a matter of fact, the informant would have meant simply that the place in question lay in a direction between the two cardinal points which applied to the case. But the traveller, unsuspecting

—but perhaps aware that there was no general term in Arabic literature applied to the whole vast area—took the directional phrase for an actual geographical designation used by the people.

The temptation to include a few amusing experiences with place-names is one we are not morally bound to resist. Everyone knows, of course, the story of the mapper who seriously recorded *Mount-I-do-not-know*. For that was the answer he got to his inquiry, "What is the name of that mountain?"! I've never actually seen the name on a map; but this is supposed to be a true story! In some other Arab country it was possibly *Jabal Mushārif*, from *Mush ᶜĀrif*!. In Arabia it would, more likely, be *Jabal Ma-adrī*. Professor W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University tells of a strange name in the Plain of Sharon. On an exploration trip, he saw an interesting unexcavated mound. When he asked some people in the vicinity the name, the answer was, *Tall Abū-l-Būm*. All ears, then, to learn some interesting name-lore, he was soon disappointed. The name came from the more or less recent purchase of the land on which the mound lay, by a man from Europe bearing the name of Apfelbaum! Adjoining Dhahran, Saudi Arabia has a really wonderful airport. The name of the locality among the folk is wonderful also. It is *al-ᶜUraif*. But here, too, the connected folklore is of no antiquity. The name stems from the fact that during World War II there was at the field for awhile a small contingent of the British *R.A.F.* On the now disused pipeline from Iraq to the Mediterranean, there was a pumping station which was called by the local people *Jīfūr*. But the name had nothing to do with *jafara* "to dig." It was simply a popular derivation from the English original "H-4"—*H-4* > *Ay-chī-fūr-Jīfūr*!

It appears that when Mr. Philby, whose numerous volumes on Arabia are an endless source of information and pleasure, first visited the famous Wādī al-Dawāsir, he inquired of his companions and of the local people the name of one of the towns there. When the answer came, "*Al-l-Dām*," apparently the noted explorer and scholar cast the article aside and unthinkingly wrote down the supposed remainder, *Dām*. And this, with no diacritical marks in translation, became Dām, or "blood." Of course, if he had thought a moment he would have realized that with the article the name which he thus wrote down would have been pronounced in Arabic to him as *ad-Dām*, with no "l" sound at all. Therefore, the presence of the "l" sound was an indication that even without the article the name had to be more than the one syllable *dām*. However, it came about, the luckless name went thus on his maps—and his maps have gone far and wide. Thereafter, someone who was busily preparing maps in Arabic for our Company's annual report to the Saudi Arabian Government was quite understandably caught by the name. Apparently, he reasoned that there was no such placename in Arabic as *Dam* or *Dām*, and that therefore the indication on the map meant that the explorer had found at the location an

arrangement for impounding the waters of the *sail*. So he quickly translated the name of the place to *Sadd*! Fortunately, there was time for the name to be checked in the document, so that it was restored to the proper Arabic original, *al-Lidām*. Actually, the same name is applied to a mountain in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, not far north of Dhahrān. Actually also, there is a name *Dām* or *Dam* among the placenames of earlier Eastern Arabia.

Work on placenames, of course, is intimately connected with that on maps. It is hoped that out of both there will ultimately come a gazetteer, in the form of a book, accompanied by maps and covering the Saudi Kingdom, the Arabian Peninsula, and immediately adjacent territory. In such endeavors we are greatly aided by the learned officials of the Government. And we hope for opportunity to benefit more from the counsel of individual Arabian scholars who know the literary sources as we could never hope to know them. We have derived much benefit from *The Route Book of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom*, prepared by H. E. Rushdi Bey Malhas and already in its fifth printing in the Government Press in Mecca. [4]

3. A History of Eastern Arabia. Another project, the extent of which we did not at first realize, is a history of Eastern Arabia from early times to the present. Collecting data for this purpose as rapidly as the extent and variety of our program allowed, we have found so much material that the task of gathering, assimilating, evaluating, and arranging will require considerable time. There is abundant documentation, first of all, in Arabic sources themselves. Many of the great geographers and historians have written about the area. Indeed many of the renowned Arabic poets were from, or had connections with, the historic regions of al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrain. And their references and allusions to persons, places, events, and conditions of life have been the subject of indispensable comment and explanation by the editors of their verses. Also, material must be drawn from original sources or important secondary sources in half a dozen other languages besides Arabic.

Reasons for the importance of such an undertaking are obvious. Eastern Arabia is the primary scene of the modern industrial and economic development of the Saudi Kingdom and of the Arabian Peninsula. The newly independent status of large and populous nations on the wide-extending shores of the Indian Ocean, with which Saudi Arabia is connected by sea, gives the possibility for Eastern Arabia, with its vast resources, to become an open door for increasing trade with the East. The history of Eastern Arabia, despite the fact that it has never been written down in organized fashion, is important in it-

[4] In this connection, it was interesting and encouraging to hear recently from Dr. Nabih A. Faris, of the American University of Beirut, that he and a group of associated scholars were to prepare a gazetteer of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan.

self. And clarification of the long history of the region will aid in our understanding of the present elements of race, religion, tradition, custom, and thought which survive in the midst of busy industrial development.

4. Counsel to departments and groups of the Company engaged upon specific activities. An example is that referred to above, in our work with the Exploration Department on placenames for new maps. Another is the giving of advice to the film group—which is associated with the Company contractually—on history, customs, language, etc., in connection with educational and historical films.

It is natural that Aramco and associated companies should have recorded in living picturization for history important phases of Arabian industrial development. This they have done or are doing in the area covered by the concession granted by the Saudi Arabian Government, and in regions connected with significant subsidiary developments by agreement with other governments, such as the famous pipelines from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, the Company uses technical films as part of modern visual aids in the industrial training of its employees. When people see and hear at the same time, they learn all the faster to improve their efficiency.

As one of the numerous ways of cooperating with the Government, the Company has also undertaken the production of a number of educational films not confined in their scope to use in connection with industry. So far, such films have dealt with water conservation and health. Others are to treat of subjects of similar importance for the welfare of the people of the country, in which the Government is genuinely concerned. Members of the Royal Family, officials of the Government, and the people themselves have always given their full cooperation to such constructive endeavors. Those charged with production of the films are Mr. Ray Graham and Mr. Richard Lyford and their associates in New York, Washington, and Arabia. All who have seen the two films, "Waters of the Desert" and "The Fly" will testify to their technical skill and artistic success.

The most ambitious project yet attempted, however, is the production of a motion picture on the history of the Arabian Peninsula, of Arab civilization, and of the Saudi Kingdom. The film will portray adequately and impressively the long history of the Arabs. But the climax will be the story of the career of H.M. ᶜAbdul-ᶜAzīz ibn ᶜAbdul-Raḥmān Āl Faiṣal Āl Saᶜūd the maker of modern Arabia, and the contemporary industrial developments which have begun to realize His Majesty's hopes and prayers for his country and his people. However, material progress so far will be pictured not as full attainment, but rather as a challenge for the future. Preparation of the film, after considerable time in planning, has involved over five months of work in historical, urban, industrial, agricultural, desert, and marine scenes of Saudi Arabia. It has involved filming also in Ḥaḍramaut,

Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt, as well as in museums and libraries of the Near East, Europe, and the United States.

The production of a film to be shown in slightly less than an hour and a half will take over a year's time. In covering so long a history in so short a viewing time, much will have to be omitted. Also, mistakes in details will be unavoidable. However, it is hoped that the result will be a true and comprehensive picture of Arabia and the Arabs—their history, their brilliant civilization, and their modern renaissance.

The film is planned to be ready for distribution before the end of 1953. There will be both Arabic and English versions. 20 years of successful endeavor have passed since the oil concession was granted and the Company feels that it has both the responsibility and the privilege of portraying to the West what the Arabs have been in history, who they are today, and how important their friendship is to the Western democratic world.

5. Linguistic studies and Research Library. The large task of giving American and other Western employees of the Company a practical introduction to the Arabic language is a part of the work of the Training Division. There was for some time a language training center on Long Island near New York City. Now, however, the language center operates near Beirut, on the outskirts of Sidon. There the trainees see in the stream of oil, flowing from Saudi Arabia through the huge pipeline into tankers and other ships of world trade, the basic reason for their coming to live and work among the Arab peoples. After the brief but intensive introduction to Arabic there, opportunities are provided for continued study and practice in the various places where the employees may work.

Naturally, the aim of the language training is the practical one of communication in Arabic in scenes of work, in shopping in local communities, and in social interchange wherever people meet. Therefore, the kind of language first taught is popular spoken Arabic, related to the forms and phrases commonly used in the principal area of activity in Eastern Arabia. There are plans to provide basic instruction in spoken Arabic to all Westerners in Arabia, even including the families of employees.

At the same time, the Training Division gives for advanced students courses in newspaper Arabic. Thus, a considerable number learn a more literary or standard type of Arabic. The expanding program will ultimately provide for training of selected groups in Classical Arabic as well. Just as English is taught to Arab employees and their children in the Company's Industrial Training Schools, so literary Arabic, with frequent reference to popular spoken forms, is included in the curriculum of the Company's schools for the children of American families.

Members of the Research Division, obviously, deal with all kinds of Arabic, from the purely Classical of written sources to the many dialects and various to be heard in such a "melting pot" as Dhahrān.

They are continually profiting from their associations with desert, town, and sea folk, and with educated individuals, by gaining practices in spoken Arabic. At the same time, they are constantly striving to improve and widen their knowledge of Arabic grammar, history, and literature, and of the Islamic sciences. This they recognize to be the task of a lifetime. Therefore, they take advantage of every vacation period to arrange for some time of concentrated study.

It is a part of their work to advise with members of the Training Division on the program, materials, and problems of instruction in spoken and written Arabic. They also participate in various programs of teaching Arabic for members of the Relations Department and for Company managerial officials. They work with the Translation Division in checking translated documents, and with this division and others in developing Arabic technical terms for Company use.

It is unfortunate that there is not sufficient time for various endeavors of linguistic research which should be carried on. Dhahrān —and likewise Riyādh, Jiddah, and other large centers of population in Arabia—is an open laboratory for the study of various dialects, of their meeting, and of their change and interchange. Indeed, with over 20 nationalities in a district like Dhahrān—most of the different nationals being from various Arab and Islamic countries—language interplay and development offer rich opportunities for observation and writing. English is influencing Arabic and Arabic is affecting English. Arabic dialects and area usages are meeting. In our own offices, we hear newly introduced tribesmen from different parts of Arabia discussing with great interest—and sometimes with friendly argument, and sometimes with mutual amusement—their different Arabic expressions.

At least some observation and recording can be carried on in connection with practical tasks. And it is our intention to employ, soon, various machines for recording and filing linguistic data for future reference. For instance, a tape recording of the various placenames within an area under study will be a most useful addition to written notations in Arabic and in transliteration. After a certain informant is no longer available, his recorded pronunciation and explanation will still be at hand for rechecking. Proverbial sayings, verses of poetry, and accounts of events in tribal or town history—all of which might require too much time for writing down—can be recorded for a day of more leisure. And the clues to local placenames, history, customs, and ideas, as well as to grammatical usages, will not be lost. Such important linguistic activity as the study of Mahrī and other variant branches of Semitic speech can be facilitated by recording spoken material, and then going back over it, with the aid of individuals who know both Arabic and the other Semitic form. Also, recordings of local speech made now will, by comparison after a decade or two, be valuable for the study of linguistic change.

Let us return for a moment to the discussion above regarding the

language teaching program, and that earlier regarding increased interest in Arabic and Islamics on part of Americans at home. We are happy to see increasing numbers of Americans learning Arabic, both abroad and at home. We rejoice that with the association of Americans and Arabs in an enterprise which directly benefits several Arab countries, and with the constant travel of Americans between the Near East and their homeland, a permanent gain has been made for the interest of our people in the countries, the peoples, and the language, which we have always loved.

We come now, finally, to the long-term project of the development of a research library. Neither the more historical studies nor those of contemporary and practical concern could be carried on without a research library, consisting of dictionaries, encyclopedias, books in the form of primary sources and important secondary sources, learned and scientific journals, and maps.

Such a library was established a number of years ago, and it is constantly growing. The materials are obtained from centers of active research and publishing in Arab and Muslim lands as well as in Europe and America. Acquisitions are made both by correspondence and through visits to bookshops by members of the Research Division in connection with travel both on vacation and on business. There is a full-time librarian, who has both professional training and a good background of study in Arabic and in the history and literature of the Near East. Although the library is yet comparatively small, it has already grown to be a good working collection. All the members of the Division have their own collections which they are constantly enlarging.

Our main difficulty, of course, is that many important works are out of print or rare, and are to be found only in large and long-established libraries at some distance from us. A complication, also, is the fact that Arabic and Islamics engage, and have engaged for centuries, scholars of many countries; and therefore a research library in such a field must contain materials in many other languages besides Arabic and English. Even in our relatively small library, we have works also in Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Ethiopic and other Semitic tongues, in addition to Latin, Greek, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, and several Scandinavian languages. In such a wide and difficult field as ours, one cannot use the primary sources and the important studies and works of reference produced by international scholarship without years of study of languages other than his own. One really needs, also, good training in phonetics and other branches of linguistics, as well as in comparative philology, in anthropology, and in Semitic archeology, including North Semitic and South Semitic epigraphy.

Obviously, this discussion is confined to our research related to Arabic and Islamics. Other sections of the Company conduct highly important research in their own fields, as in medicine and health, law

(including Islamic and international law), geology, economics, and other technical activities of interest to both the Company and the Government. We are happy to have such an opportunity to combine practical and scholarly endeavors, in Arabia itself. We believe ourselves to be, in a way, interpreters between East and West. While carrying on our practical tasks, and while learning more and more of the East at first hand and from books, we are proud to speak to the West, at every opportunity, of the East which we love. For we believe that the ideals of religious devotion, courage and fortitude, love of literature and learning, hospitality, charity, and loyalty to kindred and friends are ideals which are no less characteristic of the Orient today than they were in past history.

Dhahrān, Saudi Arabia CHARLES D. MATTHEWS

THE FIRST DECADE IN ISLAM

A FRESH APPROACH TO THE CALENDRICAL STUDY OF EARLY ISLAM

A PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE COLLOQUIUM ON ISLAMIC CULTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

Few decades in human history have played such an obvious part in the changing of human destiny as that in which Muḥammad, Messenger of God, left Mecca, as a refugee, and laid the foundations of a new religion and a new empire in Medina. Any yet, despite the achievements of his followers in the fields of history and biography, there is more calendrical confusion connected with these ten years of Muḥammad's mission in Medina than with any other decade of human history either before or after this period.

The fundamental basis of this confusion is the fact that there are two distinct and different theories regarding the nature of the Arab calendar as current in this decade. One theory asserts that, until intercalation was forbidden at the time of the last pilgrimage, a luni-solar calendar was observed and a thirteenth month was intercalated at intervals for the purpose of keeping the moon calendar in conformity with the seasons determined by the sun. The other maintains that the Arab calendar was always a purely lunar reckoning in which the months and the festivals always receded from one season to another.

These two schools of thought, apparently irreconcilable, co-existed for nearly thirteen hundred years until their respective theses have been subjected to detailed and searching analysis in the middle of the 19th century. The person who then contended that there had been intercalation was M. Caussin de Perceval, a French orientalist, whose article on the subject appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, of April 1843. The person who refuted that thesis with equal conviction, in the 1858 issues of the same journal, was Maḥmūd who submitted many arithmetical proofs supporting the theory that the Arabs had always practiced a purely lunar calendar.

These two theories, as I have said, are apparently irreconcilable. And yet, my own studies over the past ten years, have led me at last to a third theory by which these two seemingly opposite views can be reconciled. As a preface to that theory, therefore, I shall first discuss some differences of opinion regarding the theory involving intercalation and then lead on to my own hypothesis.

2. PERCEVAL'S PREFERENCE

Perceval's analysis, based on the seasonal nature of the names of the months in the Arab calendar, on the evidence of some Muslim historians, and on numerous other arguments, clearly shows that the

Arab calendar was luni-solar, that intercalation used to be practiced.[1] Having established that fact, Perceval goes on to explain that there were three different theories concerning the principles and formulas underlying intercalation as practiced by the Arabs. The first, favoured by the Muslim historians, Masᶜūdī and Abūl Fidā, is that a thirteenth month used to be intercalated regularly every three years. The second, favoured by Ḥājji Khalīfa, is that the Arabs used to intercalate a thirteenth month 7 times in every cycle of 19 years even as the Jews did. The third, favoured by Al-Bīrūnī, Maghrizī and Jarkasi, is that 9 intercalary months were added during every 24 years.

Perceval rejects the third peremptorily as being too complicated a system to be followed by the primitive Arabs. The second theory too he rejects on grounds that we shall examine presently. He accepts the first primarily because a table which he has prepared on the basis of that theory for the period of 200 years preceding the Muslim era, apparently explains how, owing to the mathematical inaccuracy involved in that formula, the Ḥajj, originally an autumn festival, gradually receded to spring at the time of Muḥammad. And he finds himself unable to depart from this thesis because he can find no other explanation for this shifting and complete seasonal reversal of the most important festival of the Arabs.

3. WHAT PERCEVAL OVERLOOKED

Since the above is his main argument in favour of regular triennial intercalation, it can only be weakened by the demonstration of at least one other way by which such a shifting of the Ḥajj, to a position of the year which is diametrically opposite, was not only possible but more probable and such an alternative is not difficult to find.

What Perceval seems to have overlooked is that the autumnal and vernal equinoxes have always competed with each other for recognition in all calendars. The Jewish religious year commences in spring with the month of Nisan: their civil year commences in autumn with the month Tischeri. The only difference between the *Saka* and *Sambath* systems of reckoning followed in India is that the new year in the former commences in autumn and of the latter in spring. The Zoroastrians too are divided on the basis of their calendars. Some observe the Now Roz, or new year, at the time of the verbal equinox in March, others at the autumnal equinox in September. And even Arab history indicates that Muḥarram, the first month, has always had a rival in Rajab, the seventh month. There is even mention of *al Ḥajj al Akbar* and *al Ḥajj al Aṣghar,* the greater and the lesser pilgrimage, one evidently in autumn and the other in spring.

All this, I trust, is sufficient to dislodge Perceval's theory regarding

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[1] For details of his arguments see Item 1 in the appended bibliography.

the shifting of the Ḥajj from autumn to spring as being the result of a gradual process extending over 200 years. These examples from other calendars make it much more likely that, at some time during these 200 years, there had been a sudden shift of importance from the festival of autumn to the festival of spring. And once this shifting of importance had been accepted by all, the greater and the lesser pilgrimages naturally changed places with each other. The month in which the greater Ḥajj was performed now began to be called Dhu-al-Ḥajj. The whole series of month names underwent a reversal: Rajab began to come in the place of Muḥarram and Muḥarram went over to the place in the season to which Rajab used to correspond. Even Ramaḍān, signifying heat, began to come in the cold weather. This, so to say, mutational theory, I claim, explains the phenomenon far more adequately than the theory of slow evolution worked out by Perceval, simply because this one fits in better with the nature of calendars. [2]

The main argument underlying Perceval's theory of regular triennial intercalation having been shown to be unnecessarily far fetched, it may be argued that, after all, Perceval was merely supporting an existing theory by this further explanation. How is the existence of the theory of regular triennial intercalation before Perceval to be explained?

This question can be answered by merely pointing out that on whatever formula intercalation is brought about in a luni-solar system, the average interval between two intercalations being 33 months, the nearest integral figure for years is three. And when history is written after many years on the basis of oral evidence, the chances are that the majority of the reporting persons involved, being laymen uninterested in the details of a calendar, are likely to have mentioned that intercalation used to be practiced 'every three years'. In other words, that would be the general way of mentioning a social pattern of a technical nature with which laymen were not directly concerned. Unless such statements can be found to stand objective scrutiny they can only be regarded as generalizations expressing a truth but not all the truth.

4. PARALLELS WITH THE JEWISH CALENDAR

We, therefore, proceed to the second theory that the Arabs intercalated a thirteenth month 7 times in every cycle of 19 years even as the Jews did. Perceval does admit that it was the Jews from whom the Arabs had learnt intercalation and presumes that these Jews were those who had settled down in Yathrib or Medina. But, biased in favour of the regular triennial intercalation theory, he finds arguments

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[2] For more detailed refutation of Perceval's theory see Item 5 in bibliography.

to suggest that even this Jewish system was too complicated for being correctly communicated to or for being accurately followed by the Arabs. His argument, quoted from the translation of his article, reads as follows:

"But the Jews adopted the 19 year cycle only towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era. That method was still new to them, when, at the beginning of the 5th century after Christ, the embolismic system was introduced among the Arabs. Were the Medina Jews who had taught it to them and, being less advanced than those of Palestine, were accustomed like other Jewish communities living away from Jerusalem to receive from the doctors of that town the indications of the years when embolism was to be made, were these Jews then acquainted with the 19 year cycle theory and were they able to communicate it to the Arabs together with the practice of intercalation? This is rather doubtful....."

What Perceval regards as "rather doubtful" is not doubtful at all. For, after all, the Jews had already determined in about the year 359 A.D. that the intercalary years in every cycle of 19 years would be the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 19th. Was this formula itself too difficult to be communicated correctly by the intelligentsia of an advanced group even to the intelligentsia of a primitive group? And was it so difficult to follow?

5. CLOSE RESEMBLANCE ILLUSTRATED

If only Perceval had studied the Arab months of the year 10 A.H. with the concurrent months of the Jewish calendar, as I have done now in the statement attached herewith, he could not have failed to observe the suggestively close relation between the sequence numbers of the Jewish and Muslim months and it would have left no doubt in his mind that the intercalary system followed by the Arabs must have been almost identical to that of the Jews and the *nasi* of the Arabs occurred very closely, if not simultaneously, with the intercalary month of Veadar in the Jewish calendar—at least in that year.

At this point I must invite the reader to a study of the tabular statement which, like Perceval, I have prepared to substantiate my own theories. It will be seen that the Jewish calendar based on lunar months and intercalary months at fixed intervals has been taken as the basis and the dates of the Christian calendar corresponding to the first of each Jewish month are given on the left.[3] To the right are three columns, the first showing Arab months corresponding with the Jewish months as I am myself suggesting. The second column shows this correspondence as suggested by Perceval on the basis of his regular triennial intercalation theory. The last column shows this same correspondence according to the theory that there was no intercalation at

[3] This data has been taken from Item 3 in the appended bibliography.

all. This statement should be perused with care before passing on to the rest of my argument so that the resemblance between the two calendars may be clearly kept in mind.

Statement showing correspondence between Christian, Jewish and Muslim calendars during the first decade of the Hijri Era

CHRISTIAN				JEWISH			ARAB LUNI-SOLAR				HIJRI	
				Secular			?		Perceval			
Year	Day	Date	Month	Month	Year	Religious Month	Year		Month	Year	Month	Year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
622	G	17	IV	8	4382	2	1	I	1	I		
	A	16	V	9	(12)	3	2		2			
	C	15	VI	10		4	3		3			
	D	14	VII	11		5	4		4		1	I
	F	13	VIII	12		6	5		5		2	
	G	11	IX	1	4383	7	6		6		3	
	B	11	X	2	(13)	8	7		7		4	
	D	10	XI	3		9	8		8		5	
	F	10	XII	4		10	9		9		6	
623	B	18	I	5		11	10		10		7	
	D	17	II	6		12	11		11		8	
	E	18	III	7		1	12		12		9	
	G	17	IV	8		2	1	II			10	
	A	16	V	9		3	2		1	II	11	
	C	15	VI	10		4	3		2		12	
	D	14	VII	11		5	4		3		1	II
	F	13	VIII	12		6	5		4		2	
	E	1	IX	1	4384	7	6		5		3	
	G	1	X	2	(14)	8	7		6		4	
	B	31	X	3		9	8		7		5	
	D	30	XI	4		10	9		8		6	
	E	29	XII	5		11	10		9		7	
624	G	28	I	6		12	11		10		8	
	B	27	II				12		11		9	
	C	27	III	7		1			12		10	
	E	26	IV	8		2	1	III	1	III	11	
	F	25	V	9		3	2		2		12	
	A	24	VI	10		4	3		3		1	III
	B	23	VII	11		5	4		4		2	
	D	2	VIII	12		6	5		5		3	
	F	20	IX	1	4385	7	6		6		4	
	G	20	X	2	(15)	8	7		7		5	
	A	18	X	3		9	8		8		6	
	C	18	XII	4		10	9		9		7	
625	D	16	I	5		11	10		10		8	
	F	15	II	6		12	11		11		9	
	G	16	III	7		1	12		12		10	
	B	15	IV	8		2	1	IV	1	IV	11	
	C	14	V	9		3	2		2		12	
	E	13	VI	10		4	3		3		1	IV

Intercalary month
according to Jewish calendar
following Jewish intercalary month
according to regular Triennial intercalation theory

	CHRISTIAN			JEWISH			ARAB LUNI-SOLAR				HIJRI	
				Secular			?		Perceval			
Year	Day	Date	Month	Month	Year	Religious	Month	Year	Month	Year	Month	Year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	F	12	VII	11		5	4		4		2	
	A	11	VIII	12		6	5		5		3	
	B	9	IX	1	4386	7	6		6		4	
	D	9	X	2	(16)	8	7		7		5	
	E	7	XI	3		9	8		8		6	
	F	6	XII	4		10	9		9		7	
626	G	4	I	5		11	10		10		8	
	B	3	II	6		12	11		11		9	
	C	4	III	7		1	12		12		10	
	E	3	IV	8		2	1	V			11	
	F	2	V	9		3	2		1	V	12	
	A	1	VI	10		4	3		2		1	V
	B	30	VI	11		5	4		3		2	
	B	30	VII	12		6	5		4		3	
	E	28	VIII	1	4387	7	6		5		4	
	G	27	IX	2	(17)	8	7		6		5	
	B	27	X	3		9	8		7		6	
	D	26	XI	4		10	9		8		7	
	E	25	XII	5		11	10		9		8	
627	G	24	I	6		12	11		10		9	
	B	23	II				12		11		10	
	C	24	III	7		1			12		11	
	E	23	IV	8		2	1	VI	1	VI	12	
	F	22	V	9		3	2		2		1	VI
	A	21	VI	10		4	3		3		2	
	B	20	VII	11		5	4		4		3	
	D	19	VIII	12		6	5		5		4	
	E	17	IX	1	4388	7	6		6		5	
	G	17	X	2	(18)	8	7		7		6	
	A	15	XI	3		9	8		8		7	
	C	15	XII	4		10	9		9		8	
628	D	13	I	5		11	10		10		9	
	F	12	II	6		12	11		11		10	
	G	12	III	7		1	12		12		11	
	B	11	IV	8		2	1		1		12	
	C	10	V	9		3	2		2		1	VII
	E	9	VI	10		4	3		3		2	
	F	8	VII	11		5	4		4		3	
	A	7	VIII	12		6	5		5		4	
	B	5	IX	1	4389	7	6		6		5	
	D	5	X	2	(19)	8	7		7		6	
	E	3	XI	3		9	8		8		7	
	F	2	XII	4		10	9		9		8	
	G	31	XII	5		11	10		10		9	
629	B	30	I	6		12	11		11		10	
	D	1	III				12		12		11	
	E	30	III	7		1					12	
	G	29	IV	8		2	1	VIII	1	VIII	1	VIII
	A	28	V	9		3	2		2		2	
	C	27	VI	10		4	3		3		3	
	D	26	VII	11		5	4		4		4	
	F	25	VIII	12		6	5		5		5	
	G	23	IX	1	4390	7	6		6		6	

CHRISTIAN				JEWISH			ARAB LUNI-SOLAR					HIJRI
				Secular			?		Perceval			
Year	Day	Date	Month	Month	Year	Religious Month	Year		Month	Year	Month	Year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	B	23	X	2	(1)	8	7		7		7	
	D	22	XI	3		9	8		8		8	
	F	22	XII	4		10	9		9		9	
630	G	20	I	5		11	10		10		10	
	B	19	II	6		12	11		11		11	
	C	20	III	7		1	12		12		12	
	E	19	IV	8		2	1	IX	1	IX	1	IX
	F	18	V	9		3	2		2		2	
	A	17	VI	10		4	3		3		3	
	B	16	VII	11		5	4		4		4	
	D	15	VIII	12		6	5		5		5	
	E	13	IX	1	4391	7	6		6		6	
	G	13	X	2	(2)	8	7		7		7	
	A	11	XI	3		9	8		8		8	
	C	2	XII	4		10	9		9		9	
631	D	9	I	5		11	10		10		10	
	F	8	II	6		12	11		11		11	
	G	9	III	7		1	12		12		12	
	B	8	IV	8		2	1	X	1	X	1	X
	C	7	V	9		3	2		2		2	
	E	6	VI	10		4	3		3		3	
	F	5	VII	11		5	4		4		4	
	A	4	VIII	12		6	5		5		5	
	B	2	IX	1	4392	7	6		6		6	
	D	2	X	2	(3)	8	7		7		7	
	F	1	XI	3		9	8		8		8	
	A	1	XII	4		10	9		9		9	
	B	30	XII	5		11	10		10		10	
632	D	29	I	6		12	11		11		11	
	F	28	II	[redacted]			12		12		12	Fixed Point
	G	28	III	7		1	1	XI	1		1 ←	XI
	B	27	IV	8		2	2		2		2	
	C	28	V	9		3	3		3		3	
	E	25	VI	10		4	4		4		4	
	F	24	VII	11		5	5		5		5	
	A	23	VIII	12		6	6		6		6	
	B	21	IX	1	4393	7	7		7		7	
	D	21	X	2	(4)	8	8		8		8	
	E	19	XI	3		9	9		9		9	

6. THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

Now the exact position of the one month to which all are agreed is that of the Farewell Pilgrimage, Dhū-l-Ḥajj, 10 A.H., three months after which Muḥammad passed away. The last month of the Arab year commenced on Friday, the 28th February, and the annual Ḥajj, falling on the 10th of that month corresponded with the 10th of March which, in pre-Gregorian days, used to be also the date of the vernal equinox. According to the Jewish calendar, however, this lunar month was not, Adar, the 12th, but Veadar the thirteenth intercalary month.

As long as intercalation is accepted over the previous ten years

and it is realized that the period lapsed between two intercalations, according to any rule of intercalation, cannot be *more* than three years, it becomes necessary that this month of Dhū-l-Ḥajj had to be followed by an intercalary month no matter which of the two possible formulas is adopted. In other words according to the custom of the Arabs, the Qalammus was expected to announce, at the end of pilgrimage, that the following month of the moon was to be a *nasi* intercalation.

It is the coming together of these different factors that gives relevance to the two verses of the Qur²ān referring to the confusion caused by *nasi* and emphasizing the existence of only twelve months in the reckoning of God from the beginning of creation. (Surah IX, verses 36-37). The Ḥajj had this year corresponded with the vernal equinox. The current Jewish month was already the intercalary month Veadar. The next month was to be *Nasi* or intercalary for the Arab calendar as well. Perhaps, among other alternatives, there was also some discussion as to whether the next intercalary month should be missed in order to re-establish the coincidence between the first month of the Arab year and the first month of the Jewish religious calendar. Perhaps it was also suggested that the giving up of the *nasi* on a permanent basis would do away with the luni-solar system altogether and that would leave only one alternative, the adoption of the purely solar calendar which Islam's other neighbours, the Christians, already followed. The Qur²ān, therefore, reproved the *nasi* which was an indispensable part of the luni-solar Jewish calendar and indirectly approved the Christian calendar in which there were always, and never more than, twelve months. It is the adoption of this calendar which would have brought the Ḥajj always, as it happened to be in that particular year, at the time of the vernal equinox. But all this leads to another problem which I do not wish to discuss further in this essay. [4] All that I want to establish here is that facts related to the Farewell Pilgrimage generally go to confirm that the Arab calendar was not only luni-solar but closely related to the Jewish calendar. Without this assumption many of the traditions pertaining to this Ḥajj become unintelligible.

7. POSSIBLE EXPLANATION FOR THE SLIGHT DIVERGENCE

The above statement would, of course, be undeniable if the first month of the Jewish religious year and the first month of the Arab calendar had started simultaneously in 10 A.H. and not in 11 A.H. But the existence of this one month's difference makes it necessary to examine its significance and the reasons that might have led to this slight divergence. And for this there can be two explanations.

The first possible explanation is that intercalation had originally been simultaneous according to both systems. In other words, the

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[4] For detailed discussion of this point see Items 6 and 7 in the bibliography.

Arab calendar had been identical with that of the Jews, except for the difference in the names of the months in the two calendars. But in some year, preceding the decade under scrutiny, or even perhaps within that period, the Arabs had, somehow, made an extra intercalation and this had brought about the difference of one month between the two calendars. Consequently the subsequent Arab intercalations since they had to follow their own the twelfth month, occurred not simultaneously but in the month following the intercalary month of the Jews.[5] The generally accepted fact that some confusion had been brought about in the field of intercalation also lends credence to this view. The possibility of wanting to correct this error by missing an intercalation as hinted above also fits in with this theory.

A second alternate explanation can be based upon the resemblance between the words *Nasi* related to the Arab calendar and the word *Nisan* in the Jewish month names. Curiously enough the *Nasi* which would have occurred immediately after the Farewell Pilgrimage would have corresponded with the month of *Nisan* in the Jewish calendar; and, if we are to assume that the intercalary month of the Arabs had constantly followed that of the Jews, then this correspondence between *Nasi* and *Nisan* would be a constantly repeated feature. Is it possible that the two words have a common origin or some philological relation? Or is that similarity of sound and spelling merely a coincidence? Or, again, is this practice of intercalating a month after the intercalation of the Jews based upon the desire and policy of profiting by their technique from time to time? These are questions which can be answered only after further research. But they do not disturb the theory of close resemblance between the Jewish and Arab calendars at that time.

8. ORIGIN OF THE LUNAR CALENDAR

All that has been said above, whether it is the analysis of Perceval's theory of regular triennial intercalation or as to the close correspondence with the Jewish calendar, which I find convincing, only goes to prove more and more that the pre-Islamic calendar was luni-solar. But the more this fact is proved the more is the purely lunar theory disproved. All the above arguments go to prove not only that a luni-solar calendar existed but also that a purely lunar calendar did not exist. The theory of a lunar calendar is untenable. But what all these arguments and others in favour of the luni-solar calendar do ***not*** explain is the basis for the purely lunar theory. Surely Maḥmūd Effendi's arguments are based on some facts and calendrical data left by Muslim historians. If the calendar before 10 A.H. was luni-solar,

[5] This difference would be like that between the railway and daylight saving time in a particular city, The constant difference between them is only a proof of the fact that the mechanism underlying both is identical.

what makes these historians adopt purely lunar reckonings in their historical analyses? In short, can we work out an hypothesis by which we could reconcile both the "was" and the "was not" of intercalation pertaining to the Lunar calendar during the first decade of the Hijri reckoning? And it is just such an hypothesis that I submit below for consideration.

In the period immediately following Muḥammad Islam spread rapidly in all directions and many versions of the Qurʾān and the life of the Prophet began to circulate. The Caliph ʿUmar, more than any one else, soon sensed the danger of his beloved Master soon becoming legend and a myth. It must be remembered that it was he who, worried at the passing away of men who knew the verses of the Qurʾān by heart, had initiated its collection into one volume in order to have one authentic and indisputable version of the word of God. The destruction of all but the accepted version is attributed to his successor, ʿUthmān, but that was evidently the culmination of the policy of codification by ʿUmar himself whose simple, genuine and enthusiastic nature could only see either black or white. He could tolerate no grey, no pink, no compromises, no mincing of words, and, above all, no prevarications.

Naturally, the chief aspect of the stories circulating about the Prophet and his doings was the confusion regarding the years and months and dates. There must have been squabbles as to when such a thing happened. In what year or month had Muḥammad said this or had done that? Did one particular event precede or follow another particular event? The intercalary months that had intervened during the years preceding the last pilgrimage led to still more entanglements in the cobwebs of memory when attempts were made to locate the sequence of events during a rapidly changing time. And it is also natural to assume that ʿUmar himself, the Prophet's erstwhile companion and now his vice-gerent, should be asked questions about the chronology of various incidents and be expected to settle differences of opinion through his personal knowledge. And ʿUmar was too honest to answer by guess work.

A still more disturbing factor was that such confusion was not restricted to the time of the Prophet. The dislocation between the Jewish and Arab calendars, caused by the cessation of intercalation after the last pilgrimage, had spread confusion in the existing calendars far and wide during the intervening years also. Evidently some incontestible calendar had to be adopted and whatever reckoning was accepted had to be extended into the past as well for the sake of uniformity and order.

It is well known that for the purpose of introducing order in the existing chaos of dates, both in the present and the past, ʿUmar appointed a committee and, considering the importance of the remaining Companions of the Prophet at that time, the committee must have consisted mostly of such men whose qualifications were not likely to

have included a great deal of proficiency in the intricacies of the calendar. The part of the recommendations of this Committee which is well known is that, despite Muḥammad's migration from Medina having occurred in the month of Rabīᶜ al Awwal, according to their calculations, the first year of the Hijrah era was to be assumed to have commenced from the Muḥarram preceding the Rabīᶜ al Awwal in which the Hijrah was calculated to have taken place. And it is also well known that on the assumption of intercalation having been prohibited by the two verses of the Qurᵓān (proclaimed at the time of the last pilgrimage) they prescribed a purely lunar year for the future. But, evidently, a third aspect of their recommendations and one that naturally follows from the first two seems to have been overlooked. If intercalation is forbidden to the Muslims and the new Muslim calendar is to be assumed to have commenced ten years prior to the cessation of intercalation, how could intercalation be incorporated in the calendar of these first ten years? It is only logical to assume that they decided to extend the purely lunar calendar with retrospective effect. Whether there had been intercalation or not, the Muslim calendar, commencing from the year of the Hijrah, should be regarded as if there had been no intercalation. And since this involved going back only a hundred and odd months parallel to the Jewish calendar, it is not inconceivable that a standard calendar, like a standard version of the Qurᵓān, was prepared on this assumption for the purpose of serving as an official chronology of events pertaining to the Prophet and this most important period of Islam. This hypothetical chronology seems to have served its purpose so well as to have ousted to some extent the older chronology involving intercalation and, naturally it found its way into the chronicles of many historians of the period. It is evidently this reckoning on which the arguments of Maḥmūd Effendi and many others are based. Is it a wonder that he could submit arithmetical proofs for a reckoning which had itself been worked out on a simple arithmetical basis—but twenty years later?

9. ONE DATE EXAMINED

Let us test this theory here against the records existing for at least one date. Take for example the date of Muḥammad's arrival in Medina. Maḥmūd is convinced, says Burnaby, that this occurred on Monday the 8th of Rabīᶜ al Awwal, corresponding to the September 20, 622 A.D. and also to Tischeri 10 in the Jewish year 4383. He corroborates this last date with a tradition which records that Muḥammad had made some inquiries regarding the celebration of this date by the Jews immediately on his arrival. The correspondence of these three dates according to the calculation based on a purely lunar theory, Maḥmūd submits as proof of the fact that there had been no intercalation.

According to the reckoning involving intercalation the 8th Rabīᶜ al Awwal corresponds to June 28th 622, and Perceval, accepting the 8th Rabīᶜ al Awwal tradition, proposes that the event took place on that date. In fact he supports his argument with the following observation: "In the very year of the opening of the Hijrat, Muḥammad, migrating from Mecca, arrived at Medina in the middle of Rabīᶜ al Awwal, the heat was then very inconvenient: From the table the middle of Rabīᶜ al Awwal coincides with the first days of July." Perceval's conclusion ignores the other tradition that the Hijrah also coincided with the 10th of Tischeri as pointed out by Maḥmūd. And certainly that is a more precise and, therefore, more reliable landmark than the general observation regarding heat being very inconvenient. And the 10th of Tischeri points not to June but to September and Maḥmūd scores a point for his argument.

According to the thesis which I have developed here, however, Maḥmūd seems to be only half right and Perceval has evidently been half misled. The event according to my thesis did take place on 10th of Tischeri, it did correspond to Monday the 8th of Rabīᶜ al Awwal according to the Hijri calendar worked out in the time of the second Caliph. But, according to the prevailing Arab pre-Islamic calendar, the month was Jamādī al Thānī, the season of the year was September and the day of the week corresponding to the 8th Jamādī al Thānī was indeed Monday. I am almost certain that, in the light of this entirely new assumption, a further scrutiny of traditions will bring forth some very interesting correlations between Muḥammad's migration and the customs of the Arabs associated with the month preceding Rajab. I will not be surprised if, along with the majority of references to Rabīᶜ al Awwal as the month of the migration, some references are found for Jamādī al Thānī also. A search of the traditions for this purpose will be very fruitful and some day I hope to substantiate my thesis in the light of numerous traditions.

The strongest point in support of my thesis is that it now shows a way of reconciling several factors which till now seemed irreconcilable. It seems only logical that the people who considered a purely lunar calendar as the best for the future generations should also have wanted to extend it to the past, at least as far as their new era was concerned. There are examples of such intentions in the introduction of other calendars also. Besides, how could they have prescribed a part of their calendar, the first ten years, as being governed by a luni-solar reckoning, if all the years after those ten years were to consist simply of twelve lunations?

The chroniclers naturally followed the new calendar even when relating the events of the past and a considerable amount of uniformity with regard to dates came to exist in the chronicles. These dates, naturally, contradicted the possibility of intercalation having existed. It is only when we assume that the purely lunar reckoning was super-

imposed on the luni-solar reckoning of the past at a later date that we can uphold the intercalation theory (which is so difficult to dismiss) without contradicting the chroniclers.

Nevertheless, this thesis is, at least until it has been tested against numerous records, merely a human conjecture. It is open to scholars of Islamic history and traditions, who are in a better position than I, to judge it against numerous incidents in that nascent period of Islam about which considerable, though sometimes conflicting, data exists. It is for them now to say how far this thesis is plausible and I trust they will come forth with their criticism with regard to what is, in fact, a most important instrument for the study of Islamic tradition. All that I have done is to pursue an entirely objective search and to submit a tentative theory which seems to explain many contradictions.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Arabian Jubilee. By H. St. J. B. Philby, the John Day Company, New York, 1953 (first American edition; first published in England in 1952), xiv plus 2 plus 280 pages; map, illus. $6.00.

This is the eleventh book written by a great friend of the Arabs. Previous titles were:

A Pilgrim in Arabia: *Arabian Days*: *The Heart of Arabia*: *Arabia of the Wahhabis*: *The Empty Quarter*: *Harun al Rashid*: *Sheba's Daughters*: *Arabia* (in the Modern World Series): *The Backgrounds of Islam*: *Arabian Highlands.*

Most of these volumes included considerable treatment of the life and achievements of the maker of modern Arabia, H.M. King ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Al Faiṣal Āl Saᶜūd, to whom Philby was personal friend and unofficial counselor from 1917.

Arabian Jubilee was written to mark the celebration, in 1950 A.D./ 1369 A.H., of fifty lunar years of the King's expanding rule beginning with his historic exploit in the recapturing of Riyādh in 1902. With the death of the King in November 1953, the volume may well be an "In Memoriam" to one who was in every sense regal, and likewise the author's "l'envoi" to his Arabian career.

The book is not a complete biographical-historical record but a "series of tableaux illustrating characteristic phases" in the career of a mighty personality. The details of history given are unavoidably complicated. Most readers will wish to peruse again, for clarification, Armstrong's *Lord of Arabia.* The chapters on the former King ᶜAbdullāh of Jordan and on the Palestine problem contain interesting information and opinion, but each of them is much in the nature of an excursus. One wonders, moreover what the Muslim and Christian Palestinians (so many of them now uprooted unjustly and without compensation) would have thought of the author's plan involving their bartering to the Zionists their homes, fields, and shrines for £20 millions for doubtful "resettlement elsewhere."

The friend does not avoid the role of constructive critic regarding the conduct of state and of royal family affairs. Rejoicing in Saudi Arabia's material gains through the discovery of oil, he reveals his concern for the Arabians as they face "new problems posed by a sociological and economic revolution" of great magnitude. He sympathetically voices the challenge: "It is for the rising generations of the Arabs to prove their worthiness of an opportunity bequeathed to them by one of the greatest men in the long and honourable history of their land."

The identity of "the Amir Faiṣal" (p. 212) required clarification as the later King Faiṣal I of Iraq. Indeed, the indexer was misled, and his reference to this page is misplaced under H.R.H. Faiṣal ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz whereas it should be under Faiṣal ibn Ḥusain. "Arabian American Oil Company" (e.g., p. 179 and index) should not be hyphenated. In "Buraida" (p. 269, three lines from bottom) there is an extraneous "s". Names of persons and places seem on the whole better transliterated than in some of the author's other volumes. He

still follows some instances of popular pronunciation in writing, for example, "ᶜAnaiza" instead of "ᶜUnaizah"—through one surmises that he would not agree to others following the same principle and writing his middle name as "Sinjin" instead of "Saint John!"

There are three genealogical appendices, on the Saᶜūd family, the family of His Majesty the King, and the (closely related) Sudairi family. This material is the result of gracious cooperation by high personages and laudable labor by the author. Despite the possible requirement of further checking, it is a significant addition to reference information on a great family, a great era, and a great man and ruler.

تعبّد أعزز دارًا وأسعد قومه حالًا
فعدلًا يسمّى عبد العزيز السعود آلًا

Dhahran, Saudi Arabia C. D. MATTHEWS

Arabic For Beginners. By Edward J. Young, Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953, pp. 252. $5.00.

This extremely useful second edition of a book by the Professor of Old Testament at Westminister Theological Seminary of Philadelphia represents one of the very few attempts to present a very difficult subject in a gradual manner. Although the book does not claim to be a complete descriptive grammar—indeed, it is better for a book for beginners not to be so—it does contain certain subjects which could be deemed non-essential to beginners.

It is difficult to discover why various unrelated subjects are sometimes grouped together in a single lesson, as in Lesson 17 (The Imperative; The Participles; The Comparative and Superlative; The Vocative). But the organization of each individual lesson is superb, consisting in the most part of a grammatical exposition of the points dealt with in the lesson, a vocabulary list, full exercises involving declensions and conjugations as well as translations from Arabic into English and the reverse, a selection from the classics for reading, and notes containing explanations, translations and remarks which help the student in deciphering the texts. In addition, the book contains an appendix dealing with grammatical points not dealt with in the body of the text, a glossary of Arabic-English and English-Arabic vocabulary, and some paradigms.

Other merits of the book include its progressive character which renders it suitable for self-teaching, its recognition of the great practical importance of learning the verb together with its participles and infinitival noun, its relegation of the "weak" verbs to the end, and its gradual presentation of unvowelled texts.

The following remarks, however, might be in order:

It seems that the modern linotype presses, which can handle the vocalization of Arabic characters only with a great deal of difficulty, have forced the publisher to resort to lithographing the book, with the unfortunate result that a rather bad penmanship in Arabic was used. (This situation could have been averted by using native penmanship,

or by using an Arabic type-writer for typing the unvowelled text and by supplying the vowel signs by hand). Again there are a number of orthographic mistakes—especially in relation to the chair of the *hamzah* (e.g. p. 56)—that could have been easily checked.

P. 40, last line: for *hāʾulāʾi al-qarayāt* (these villages) read *hādhihi al-qurā*.

P. 44, paragraph 85a: it is not true that when an adjective modifies a broken plural, the adjective is *always* in the feminine singular. The adjective could be sound masculine plural if the broken plural modified refers to persons.

Pp. 112 and 151, the words *ḍafādiᶜ* (frogs) and *manāsik* (pilgrimage ceremonies) respectively, cannot carry *nūnation* as they are of a broken plural pattern which is diptote.

P. 53, paragraph 102: the reference to duals and sound plurals (masculine and feminine) as diptotes, though interesting, is misleading, because the declensions of duals and sound plurals are not like those of normal diptotes.

Quranic texts, like the one on page 134, are vocalized in such a way that final letters of some words are assimilated with initial letters of succeeding words (e.g. *mir-rabbihim* instead of *min rabbihim*). Though this assimilation is practiced by the expert reciters of the Qurʾān, it is hardly necessary for beginners.

It might be added that these remarks are really minor and should not detract from the excellence of this work.

One final remark; grammar books limited to the classical texts seem to impart to the student the false impression that Arabic is one of the dead languages. It is therefore to be hoped that future grammars will devote as much attention to modern literary Arabic as they do to the classical.

Princeton University FARHAT ZIADEH
Princeton, N.J.

Essentials of Arabic: A Manual for Teaching Classical and Colloquial Arabic. By Anis Frayha, Junieh, Lebanon (distributed by Khayat's College Book Co-operative, Rue Bliss, Beirut), 1953, pp. x, 344.

The increasing interest in the study of Arabic is nowhere better mirrored than in the flurry of new books concerned with it. Their number suggests that perfection has not yet been achieved, but at any rate the appearance since 1940 of the relevant works (or new editions) of Brill, Tritton, Kapliwatsky, Rabin, Brockelmann, Van Wagoner, Elder, Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Blachère, Pellat, Young, Akil (ᶜĀqil), Wehr, Rice and Saᶜīd (mimeographed), and Dr. Frayha's book, here reviewed, shows quite an extraordinary interest in Arabic. Two other teaching books, one from London, the other from Princeton, should appear shortly. The reviewer, since he is participating in the latter work, is most humble in approaching the whole subject.

Dr. Frayha, the Semitist of the American University of Beirut and perhaps best known for his *Dictionary of Non-Classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon*, deserves our special attention at this time because of his vigorous efforts at revitalizing thinking about the

teaching of Arabic to Arabs—efforts which have provoked conservative attacks in Arabic periodicals.

Essentials of Arabic, which according to the Preface "is meant primarily to be an aid for the teacher ... not a guide to Arabic self-taught," includes 176 pages devoted to classical Arabic, 20 to colloquial, and 140 to classical and colloquial vocabularies. That the main emphasis of the book is on classical is not only implicit in the relative number of pages concerned with it, but is made explicit in the Preface where the author states that, for Arabic, he cannot agree with the "modern school" that the study of spoken Arabic should come first, for "it is the experience of the author that students who begin with Classical Arabic learn the spoken readily ..., but not vice versa." The reviewer, who personally began with spoken, is sceptical.

The organization of the book—an attempt to help the student learn inductively—constitutes its most striking innovation. Part I, "Inductive Reading," begins with a one-page selection from Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah. In the next 25 pages each word in this passage is analyzed in terms of the syllables, consonants, vowels and other orthographical signs which compose it. Another 25 pages, composed of ten one-page selections from the press, follow. Attached to each of these is a section entitled "Grammar," which consists of exercises devoted largely to conjugations, but also to English-Arabic translations illustrating particular grammatical points.

Part II, "Essentials of Arabic Grammar" (75 pages), is a largely traditional exposition of orthography and morphology with emphasis on paradigms and lists (more than 30 pages). "No attention is paid to anomalies and irregularities (p. 50)." Although the author twice states (pp. ix, 50) that this Part contains "no rules of syntax," some are in fact included. This Part is intended for references only, and no attempt is made to connect it specifically with readings elsewhere in the book. The teacher is supposed to provide the link.

Part III (50 pages) consists of Arabic selections of varied provenance—the press, Juḥā stories, anecdotes, historical accounts, etc. It may be observed that the Arabic type is throughout large enough and very clear.

Among the reviewer's objections to the book are these. The phonetic descriptions should be expanded and in some places changed, e.g., to say that *ḍammah* represents the same sound as the *u* in *put* (p. 55) is simply incorrect. The number of lexical items seems too large for a beginning book, there being by a rough calculation, 4,300 items in the classical vocabulary in addition to which broken plurals are for the most part not separately entered. In this connection it is worth noting that words are alphabetized not by roots, but as they stand—a salutary system in the reviewer's opinion. There are a number of mechanical failures such as, a blank page (77), weak binding, an identical translation for two quite different sentences (p. 121), and typographical errors in English. Conjugation according to the Arabic system rather that the European with which the student is familiar is of doubtful value. There are also some small grammatical objections such as referring to the first member of a construct phrase as being in the possessive case

(p. 56), calling the *nisbah* a "relative adjective," use of *declension* for *case* (pp. 104-5), citing *amsi* as the first example of a noun in the accusative (p. 109), listing *ḥīna* as a noun in the accusative (p. 109), but *taḥta* as a particle (p. 110).

The colloquial section of the book aims to teach the "dialect which may be called the spoken Arabic of the educated class." The reviewer feels that it is hard to pin this down and that few if any people say some of the things here written such as أَبُوكَ عُنَّا؟ (p. 181) in ordinary conversation. In general it does not seem possible to deal efficiently with spoken Arabic other that with a thoroughly phonetic transcription of what some one says. The Arabic alphabet does not yet offer such transcription and the Latin transcriptions used by Dr. Frayḥa could be improved.

In sum *Essentials of Arabic* offers a new and interesting arrangement of the material of classical Arabic, but is also marred by some deficiences. Dr. Frayḥa certainly deserves the thanks of his colleagues for his willingness to experiment and break new ground and to lay before them the fruits of his teaching experience. Certainly his underlying assumptions are sound.

Princeton University R. Bayly Winder

Persian Grammer. By Ann K. S. Lambton, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. xxiv, 275, including indices.

Introduced by a section on phonetics and orthography, this grammar is in two parts: Part I, pp. 1-177, the essentials of purely Persian grammar, and Part II, pp. 181-250, the Arabic element. The final pages, 251-275, contain appendices on the irregular verbs, interjections, the calendar, currency, weights and measures, *abjad* accounting, and intonation, followed by short, yet adequate, English and Persian indices. It is beautifully and almost faultlessly printed—a great boon to the student. Generally speaking, the presentation is simple, clear, and comprehensive. Most serious students of Persian will welcome it as a very useful, if not indeed an indispensable, tool.

For all this, however, the student—and especially the teacher—may have some reservations. The most important of all is that the book is much more of a reference grammar than a teaching manual. If it was meant to combine the two, it has failed to reach the second goal. To be sure, for the student who already knows a half dozen languages, this can be a useful manual for self-instruction; but for the majority of students—at least American—it is of questionable instructional value, not only because of the relative paucity of "exercise" material, but because of the confusing plethora—especially for the beginner—of detailed and comprehensive explanatory material. For reference, it is excellent; as a teaching tool, a disappointment.

Varied will probably be the reactions to the author's transliteration. It is quite consistent, always true to the *Lautenbild* and disregarding the *Schriftbild,* and it eschews any diacritical marks and two-letter symbols for a single phoneme (x for the usual *kh,* c for *ch,* et cetera). So dominant is phonetic transcription that no distinction is made, for example, between the various letters for 's' and 'z'; and there is no

notation of a medial *hamzeh,* an initial *ᶜain,* or a final silent 'h'. All this the reviewer might welcome in a teaching book for beginners; in a reference grammar he has reservations. Yet most questionable is the orthographic treatment of the *ezafeh* as an integral part of the first word in the construct unit. This it is not, and it misleads the student to make it so.

Some of the expositions of common grammatical essentials—such as the article, the post-positive *-ra,* verb tense, etcetera— are probably the best yet in English; yet even here one would have welcomed further clarification. It is gratifying to read "There is no definite or indefinite article in Persian," but a little disappointing not to find this applied with rigor, with insistence on the neutrality—both ways—of the noun. In the discussion of *-ra* (pp. 130-132) there is not a sufficient break with the classical concept of case, which is secondary. The special usages could be better explained and all logically derived or subsumed, if the primary concept of definiteness were enunciated in some such proposition as this: "The post-positive *-ra* is added to any definite word, phrase, or clause when any one of these is the principal object of attention and/or the action of the sentence." Then the case—by western, classical analysis—is secondary and varied: usually the accusative, often the dative, even the nominative (the example of use with *shāyastan* and *bāyastan* on p. 131 is really that of a nominative absolute). In the discussion of tense, pp. 145-154, helpful clarity could have been enhanced by more consideration of "aspect," as compared to "time," in explaining some verb usages strange to westerners. For example, on p. 145 the varied uses of the preterite are all logically subsumed under the principle that this form is used when the "completion or completeness" of the action is paramount. This also illuminates the otherwise odd usage of the present tense "for an action or state beginning in the past and continuing in the present" (p. 149, 9 (b)).

A further example of how it would have been more helpful to the student to point up the basic principle that underlies the various usages listed, is the discussion of the use of the subjunctive (pp. 151-154). The first of various usages listed is: "for a state or condition about which there is an element of doubt." This should be stated as the fundamental, underlying principle of all subjunctive usages, of which the subsequent examples are recognizable variations or refinements.

There are some sentences in the exercises which one suspects were never tested by a Persian, at least a non-English speaking one. Examples are the last two in Exercise 20, p. 123; in the first of these two the verb must be *darost makon* not simply *makon.* Again, in the eleventh sentence of this same exercise there is a surprising mistake of the author who writes *āsānī* whereas the word is *āsāī,* derived from *āsāyesh.* There are a few other mistakes which perhaps should be noted. In view of the correct translation given at the foot of page 9, it is surprising to find (p. 21, para. 17; p. 111) the comparative *bozorgtar* when applied to human beings translated as "bigger" rather than "elder." Is the second (or the first) *shab* in the sentence

شب سه شنبه شب translated "Monday evening," (p. 48, para. 26) an inadvertent inclusion? Otherwise it is hard to explain what is meaningless. Why should *bāyad* be translated 'ought, must', while *bāyast* and *mībāyast* are given as 'ought to have' (p. 55, para. 10)? There is no such distinction, and the 'to have' part of the translation in the accompanying examples is in the past subjunctive, not in *bāyast*. One wonders why the examples of verbal nouns formed by the suffix *-ar* (p. 97), added actually to the past stem of the verb (*kardār, raftār, goftār,* etc.), should be included in a general paragraph of examples of verbal nouns formed by the addition of certain suffixes to the present stem. The transliteration of گریه should be *gerye,* not *gerie* (p. 138, para. 18). It would be more accurate to translate *dāshtam mīneveshtam* as "I was in the act of writing," and *dāram mīnevīsam* as "I am in the act of writing" or "I am just now writing," than as done on p. 160. Sa'di may ask, هیچ مرا یار میکنید, but no modern Persian would query هیچ نان دارید; moreover, the meaning of هیچ for Sa'di was 'ever', not 'any' as given in the author's example (p. 33, para. 21), and in this هیچ resembles هرگز, which sometimes means 'ever', though usually 'never'. This treatment of هیچ as both 'any' and 'nothing' is appealing in its logic, but questionable from the examples cited as meaning 'any'.

Yet for all these observations, it should be noted that they are almost all minor, and a small fraction of what is really a very good product of fine scholarship. Aside from the main reservation expressed as to the limitations of the work as a teaching tool, which seems regrettable, the reviewer takes pleasure in recommending it, expressing admiration for the author's achievement, and extending to her appreciation for this valuable contribution to the advancement of Persian studies.

Princeton University T. Cuyler Young

The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran. By Thomas O'Shaughnessy, S.J., Department of Arabic and Islamics, Pontifical Oriental Institute, Roma, 1953, pp. 68 and Index.

This study intends to determine the influence exerted by Judaism, Christianity and Gnosticism upon the founder of Islam, by considering specifically the use of Spirit and some related concepts in all periods of his preaching. The author has divided Muḥammad's preaching into four periods—the first, second and third Meccan periods, and the Medinan period, and following Nöldeke and Blachère, he has chronologically arranged a total of 20 verses in which *rūḥ* has been used. Then he has divided these verses into four sense-groups, according to the similarity of their context and sense, and using this as a basis has tried to show a progressive modification in Muḥammad's mind regarding the meaning of Spirit.

In group A, says the author, the Spirit is a definite person playing with angels an active part. In group B, Spirit is transformed into an impersonal entity, a breath of life, originating with Allāh. In group

C, Spirit is from the *Amr* of the Lord (Sura xvii. 87) though the meaning of this phrase is problematic. In group D, the phrase "Spirit of holiness" indicates sometimes a personal and sometimes an impersonal being. Finally there are the two *rūḥ* verses relating to the birth of Jesus.

This is good procedure granting that the chronological order of the verses and the context and meaning attached to them are true, a problem about which there has been much divergence of opinion among the Muslim commentators themselves, and western scholars also.

The distinctive element in this treatise, however, is the extensive use of writings by Judeo-Christian and Gnostic sects, in the centuries preceding the rise of Islam, indicating a parallelism with the verses of the Qurʾān. There are quotations from the books of the Syrian ecclesiastical writers, following the investigations of Tor Andrae and others, which throw light on this problem. In conclusion, the author says that the Prophet combined the information drawn from such sources and refashioned them according to his purpose and the religious needs of his followers.

The writer has rendered valuable service in calling our attention more than before to those pre-Islamic Christian and Gnostic sources which have influenced the environment of Arabia and which help us to understand better the meaning of *rūḥ*. The subject is very difficult. Even the Prophet himself when he was asked about Spirit was given the revelation that "little knowledge has been given about it." Nevertheless the question of Spirit in Islam has special value for the Christian evangelist, since Christianity has given such a prominent place to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its teaching. Whenever, in my many discussions with Muslim religious leaders in the Near East and in India, I have started talking on this subject they have seemed puzzled. Islam needs to ponder the Christian doctrine of the Spirit. We have yet to discover the full significance of St. John's Gospel in and for our contact with Muslims.

Los Angeles, California LOOTFI LEVONIAN

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw: Kitāb Jāmiᶜ al-Ḥikmatain, Edited by H. Corbin and M. Moin, published by the Franco-Iranian Institute, Tehran, and the Institute of Iranian Studies, Paris, 1953, pp. 517.

The work constitutes vol. III of the *Bibliothèque Iranienne* sponsored jointly by the two above-mentioned Institutes. The first two volumes, also edited by M. Corbin, contained respectively the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, attributed to Abū Yaᶜqūb Sijistānī, and the philosophical and mystical works of Suhrawardī. Ismāᶜīlī theosophical and philosophical texts have remained until recently unpublished and it is therefore gratifying to no small degree for the student of Islamic thought to see that at last these sealed books are being made available to him. (W. Ivanov has also already been working in this direction.)

In the present work, Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, the great Ismāᶜīlī dāᶜī, poet and theosoph of the 11th century, has commented in Persian prose on a philosophical questionnaire in Persian verse of an earlier Ismāᶜīlī

philosopher, Abuʾl-Haitham. The edition of the text has been based on a single known manuscript of Istanbul and it therefore needed careful and patient reconstruction, particularly when the scribe's knowledge of Persian, as we are told, was not good, and also perhaps his ability to follow the trains of thought left much to be desired. That the editors have accorded to it such care can be seen from the large number of corrections and emendations which they have had to introduce and the diligence and ingenuity shown merit our appreciation. There are, however, here and there, readings which are surely mistaken and others which are doubtful and need further consideration. I call attention to the following points:

(1) on page 78, line 8 occurs the phrase "īn sukhan padhīr" which, I think must be corrected to read "ay sukhan padhīr", for it is intended to be a nidā or call; as the text stands it is indistinguishable from the ʾamr or command from which the Ismāʿīlī theosoph *wants* to distinguish it.

(2) on page 62, line 5 "*juz* khudā hīch nīst" is supposed to translate the Quranic words "laisa ka-mithlihī shaiʾun". Nāṣir-i-Khusraw is a very accurate translator of the Quranic words which he has abundantly quoted in the text. The word "juz" should, I think, be replaced by "chūn" as Nāṣir himself has already correctly used "chunū nīst" on page 34, lines 5 and 15.

(3) on page 234, line 13 occurs the curious expression "bi-juft-i-ʿālam muqirr and". This seems neither correct Persian nor correct thinking; perhaps the correct expression is "bi-khalq-i-ʿālam ...". (Although Nāṣir usually uses the word ibdāʿ and not khalq for the creation of the world, he might have used it loosely here.)

(4) on page 216, line 9 is to be found, marked by cross-signs, a piece of text material out of which admittedly no text has been constructed. I tentatively submit the following reading: "wa ithbāt-i-dū bī-nihāyat az ān yak jins muḥāl ast". This seems to me to fit with the tenor of the argument and introduces no new words from outside, although the word "jins" will have to be taken in a semi-technical sense. The argument depends upon the impossibility of a series having two infinite parts—one in the past and one in the future. The expression az-ān-ke, as it stands, cannot be accepted, because (a) it requires the importation of other words in an apparently complete sentence, and (b) Nāṣir, throughout his work, has never used this expression for "because", but always "az behr-i-ān-ke".

M. Corbin has prefaced the Persian text with a considerable introduction (pp. 147; also published separately) in which he discusses with utmost sympathy the Bāṭinī method of symbolic interpretation (*taʾwīl*) which "unifies Greek philosophy with Ismāʿīlī theosophy" (although Ismāʿīlī theosophy itself *contains* Greek philosophy as an important integral element). He luminously interprets the Arch-Triad of Ismāʿīlī metaphysics: *Jadd, Fatḥ Khayāl*, and brings out clearly the Mazdean-Manichean and Greek influences on this doctrine. But the author, at the same time vigorously protests against the view that influences exhaust the whole meaning of any doctrine. He repeatedly

tells us that the Ismāʿīlī doctrine, in spite of all influences, is something new, because it has its own "motivations".

Not only does M. Corbin expound sympathetically the method of *taʾwīl*, he defends it almost enthusiastically and declares it to be an "exemplary method". If one asks for a criterion for judging the rectitude of a given *taʾwīl*, the author's answer (fashionable in certain quarters) is that one and only one symbol can express a given meaning (p. 66). Yet when on page 107 he notices that even Nāṣir himself has employed different sets of symbols in his various works for the same theologico-metaphysical entities, instead of being disturbed by this, he declares that this is a mark of "unlimited speculative possibilities ... each ... revealing the depths of the soul!". Again, to the objection that since the *taʾwīl* method admittedly assumes a permanent discrepancy between the word and the interpretation, it involves an infinite regress because the interpretation will again have to be expressed in words, the author replies (page 70) that this is so only where the word becomes a dogma (as in the case of Revelation) and not otherwise. Yet on page 109, he throws the bold challenge: "does any author ever exhaust the meaning of his own work?"—which makes *taʾwīl* infinitely operative in *all* verbal expressions. We may note also that this dictum differs from that of the mystics (stated forcefully also by Bergson) that we can never fully express our inner experiences. Whereas the latter says, "I can never adequately say what I know", the former declares, "I can never adequately know what I say".

These criticisms, however, must not be taken to detract from the intrinsic worth of M. Corbin's work, which is a very valuable and informative introduction to Ismāʿīlī philosophy, containing results of original research in a difficult and obscure field of study.

McGill University, Montreal FAZLU-R-RAHMAN

Signs of the Times. By John Drewett. The Highway Press. London, 1953, pp. 69 and Index. 6/-.

The author, as Education Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, tries to relate the meaning of Christian conviction and discipleship to the prevailing philosophies of the modern age. Of what are nationalism and Communism the symptoms? What does Christianity, as remedy, involve for the sincere Christian? Here is a brief but sincere attempt to face what Christian action means in the light of its interpretation of the times in which we live.

Muhammad in Parsi. Hindoo and Buddhist Scriptures. By A. H. Vidyarathi and U. Ali, Abbas Manzil Library, Islamic Series, No 3, Allahabad, 1953, pp. 248.

"The point worth considering" the authors write on p. 14, "is that all these luminaries, the Fire of Zoroaster, the Morning Star of Christ and the Moon of Khrishna have prophesied the advent of the Shining Sun who was to appear last of them all in the person of Mohammad." This book aims to find foretellings of the Prophet of Islam either in the terms or the context of the Scriptures it covers. "All the words of the Parsi prophecies have been fulfilled in him" and likewise "all those defects which strike the Parsi youth today were corrected by the Holy Prophet Mohammad thirteen centuries ago." Similar claims are made for the sacred books of the Hindus and Buddhists.

Little attempt is made to understand the basic ideas of the other faiths and relate them to Islam. Rather the compilers rely on assumed parallels and ingenious assertions. The instinct implicit in this book that religions ought to be meaningful to each other is reasonable. But is their relationship not in need of more radical study than is here offered?

Muhammad in the Hadees. By Mirza Abu'l Faḍl. Abbas Manzil Library, Islamic Series, No. 4, Allahabad, 1953, pp. 240 and index.

The author has brought together 1086 traditional sayings of the Prophet gathered and translated by him from the main canonical collections. The original transmitter and the collections in which the traditions occur are listed after each. They are quoted without their *isnad*. The Index, having a few less than two hundred items, is hardly full enough to help the reader locate the topic in which he is concerned. Perhaps the average reader, however, will prefer to use the volume as a manual rather than a reference book, and he will be grateful for its convenient form. The Preface might perhaps have referred to the vast work done in English on the traditions, by scholars both Muslim and Christian. The bibliography refers to none of the major works.

Dictionary of Mysticism. By Frank Gaynor, Editor, Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, pp. 208, $ 5.00.

It cannot be said that this publication is either very helpful or even reliable. Definitions are too brief and approximate and in some cases erroneous. As early as page 5 we encounter *Admadiya* for *Ahmadiyya,*

and later *Gharb-i-Mutlaq* is said to be the Arabic for the absolute void. One may also question the concept of mysticism which determined the terms both entered and excluded here. Witchcraft and astrology seem to have crowded out more important matters, at least as far as Islamic Sufism is concerned. Perhaps it is well that the contributors are not identified. None the less there are 2,200 definitions.

Reflections on Life and Religion. By Sir James Baillie, edited by Sir Walter Moberly and Professor O. de Selincourt. George, Allen and Unwin, London, 1953, pp. 286 and Index. $3.75.

The former Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen and Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University left behind him at his death in 1940 twelve large volumes of written meditations, or 'Privatissima' from which selections are here presented on Religion, Human Nature and Conduct, and The World and our Knowledge of it. Some of the reflections are aphoristic ("Man is the only animal that can make a make a fool of himself"): others are more extended, and, though stimulating, never quite as satisfying as the coherent exposition a *credo* deserves. The author has nothing to say about Islam but much about the universality of religion. Some entries have at least the appearance of being contradictory to others, but whose reflections are not, if they are honest, deep and reverent, as these are? If there is one criticism it might be the instinct here to describe as weak or childish those attitudes with which the thinker disagrees. Yet he was not writing for publication. "The mind is its own place:" here is a wealthy one.

Ontwakend Arabië. By D. van der Meulen, Meulenhoff, Amsterdam, 1953, pp. 184, Index and 28 illustrations.

The author has a wide acquaintance with Arabia and the late King Ibn Saud, through years of diplomatic duty and travel in his Kingdom. This study in Dutch will fulfill for Dutch readers what St. John Philby does for English. It traces the rise of Ibn Saud's rule and discusses his relations with neighbouring Arab rulers, with Britain and with the U.S.A. There are some excellent photographs especially of buildings in Jiddah and Riyad. The narrative follows familiar lines. Another European tribute to the fascination of a remarkable career.

Islam, the Message of the Quran. By M. E. Burney, Baitus Salam, Saifabad, Hyderabad, Dn., India. 1953, pp. 260.

This is a second edition of a small book published in 1934, now enlarged. It lists Quranic passages, from several translations, on the central topics of religious concern. There is an appendix of some length dealing mainly with the Aḥmadiyya 'heresy' whose strong adversary the author has been. He mentions his own literary crusade against them and adds: "Under the stress of intensive and extensive study, the booklet had a rapid growth, widely distributed gratis in early editions, till the current editions (VI) rose to fine print on one thousand pages of large royal size, cloth bound, to be had of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Publisher."

A. K. C.

Christmas in Islam. In Egypt there has been a marked cordiality towards the Christian festival. Editorials in *Al-Akhbār al-Jadīdah* and the *Egyptian Gazette* urged Muslims to observe the occasion with greetings and presents and suggested that Christians might reciprocate at Bairam. The Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister declared in a special message. "It is a joy for me to extend to all my Christian brethren throughout the world my best wishes for happiness, prosperity and security." But, happily, there is more in this connection than words. The Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, which has frequently delayed or ignored requests in the past for permits to erect non-Muslim places of worship, has recently issued such permits to various Christian groups in provincial towns and to the Jewish community in Alexandria. As a result, three new Coptic Churches are to be built at Kafr-al-Shaikh, Mit Bishar and Port Fuad. A Coptic Catholic Church at Luxor and a Roman Catholic Church and Convent in Kafr-al-Zayyāt are to be erected. Two half-completed Churches, one Coptic and one Protestant, where permits had been revoked, will be completed.

The Egyptian Ministry of Education has announced that Christian children in all State Schools, subject to their parents' approval, will receive lessons in the Christian faith. Hitherto in these schools the Qur'ān only has been taught. An approved syllabus has been drawn up by the Ministry, with the participation of representatives of both the Coptic and the Evangelical Churches.

Christmas Day in Pakistan happens to be also the birthday anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and the day is a national holiday. A Christian Pakistani writes in the December 18th issue of *Pakistan Affairs,* published by the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, on the subject of Christmas in his country and the issue carries a full front-page reproduction of a Nativity painting by an unknown Mughal artist of the 17th century.

The Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. The January, 1954, dissolution of the Muslim Brotherhood by the Naguib régime has occasioned surprise in some circles, inasmuch as its influence was felt to have been considerable in the early activities of the Liberation Rally. It would appear, however, that since the ban on all political parties, the temptation to some elements within the Brotherhood—thus left alone in the field, along side the Government's Liberation Rally—to engage in political activity, and so break the condition of its survival, has been too strong. But it may be fair to ask whether the distinction which the Government has drawn between teaching religion and building mosques and schools, on the one hand, and political activity on the other, is easy to admit or to follow, in a Muslim context. It would hardly be an Islamic attitude to regard religion as limited only to prayer and theology, though doubtless the necessities of the time have led to an official insistence on that interpretation. It is perhaps a little paradoxical that a conspicuous Muslim organisation should be dissolved for failing to be "only religious."

There would appear to have been some difference of view within the leadership of the Ikhwān, as to the interpretation and enforcement of the Governmental requirement. The Editor of the Brotherhood's weekly *Al-Daᶜwah* is known to have clashed with the Supreme Guide, Shaikh Ḥasan al-Ḥuḍaibī, over the expulsion from the Brotherhood of certain fanatically political elements. The dissident group tried without final success to unseat the Supreme Guide. The Government was unsuccessful in seeking a reconciliation of these internal conflicts within the leadership of the Movement. It may have been the consequent uncertainty as to the Movement's remaining politically passive that prompted the dissolution. There is evidence that the expelled 'zealots' endeavoured to keep a hold within its ranks, so as to retain the prestige of its name and possibly convert it from within to a refusal of docility and 'religion only'.

It is difficult to discover exact figures as to the strength of the *Ikhwān*. Some reports rate their membership at only half a million. Their own statistics indicate two million. The actual occasion of the decision to put the Movement under the ban lay in disorders resulting from a memorial service held for certain of its members who were killed in clashes with the British forces in the Canal Zone two years ago. In view of the internal struggle within the Brotherhood over the issue of conformity to the no-politics demand, it would seem unsound to refer to the Movement as "terrorist" without qualification, as the Western press is prone to do. It remains to be seen whether the moderate elements will be able to regain Government tolerance under the old conditions, and, if not, how they will pursue their aim of Islamic revival. That there are large areas of compatibility between the social and moral aims of the Government and those of the *Ikhwān* is exemplified in a recent decree providing a week's imprisonment for any Egyptian found flirting on the streets. A second offence within a year will bring six months in prison.

Education. A Conference of Arab Ministers of Education was held in Cairo in December, 1953, under the Chairmanship of Ismāᶜīl al-Qabbānī, the Egyptian Minister of Education. It approved a draft proposal for the standardization of education throughout the Arab countries. Primary education and secondary education will each cover a six-year period.

Meanwhile the Iranian Government has set up a five-year plan for rural education, projecting almost 3,000 new rural schools during that period. IR 300 m. have been assigned by the Government to this purpose.

At the University of Al-Azhar in Cairo there has been a change of Rector. Shaikh Muḥammad al-Khaḍr Ḥusain resigned his office and Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Tāj was appointed in his place. A Vice-Rector of Al-Azhar, Shaikh Muḥammad Nūr al-Ḥasan has been named Assistant Under-Secretary of the Ministry of National Guidance. A Committee, under the chairmanship of the new Rector has been set up to consider changes in the syllabus of Al-Azhar and associated colleges.

Saudi Arabia. On the occasion of his accession after the death of his father, King Ibn Saud, the new King Saud, of Saudi Arabia, broadcast a statement, of which the following is a summary:

"My people: It was the will of God that the great founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, its unifier, and he who had spent his entire life striving to establish its independence and sovereignty, should pass away. While sorrow sears my heart, I offer my condolences to my people for the irreparable loss that they, as well as I, have suffered: the loss of one whose wisdom, integrity and righteousness have enriched this nation beyond estimation.

I pledge to adhere to the teachings of the Book of God and to the Sunnah of His Prophet, by the aid of which I shall do my utmost to serve my people and to work toward their development and prosperity. I pledge to pay particular attention to the armed forces, to maintain the excellent relations that bind us to the Arab and Muslim countries and to continue the friendly relations with foreign countries which our great father established.

In this historic hour both my brother Faiṣal and I appeal to God Almighty to endow us with steadfastness in this moment of our great loss and to bestow his everlasting mercy on our father."

The late King was interred in the ancestral tomb of his house in the capital, Riyādh. The new King designated his brother as Crown Prince. A general amnesty was granted to prisoners guilty of criminal and financial offences.

The Well of Zamzam in Mecca. A recent order of the Mecca Municipality reminds Muslims that it is forbidden to use printed papers (from newspapers or magazines and the like) to wrap receptacles containing Zamzam water. Nor may receptacles bear any writing or symbols, other than initials to identify the owner. Printed paper may possibly contain references to God and should not therefore be used for wrapping or for sanitary purposes. Those who violate the order will not be allowed to remain within the sacred precincts.

Oil Wealth and Arab Needs. The vast wealth accruing from oil in certain parts of the Arab world and its relation to the oppressive poverty and diverse needs elsewhere have often been the subjects of conjecture. It is announced that Kuwait and Egypt are negotiating an agreement by which twenty million Egyptian pounds of Kuwaiti capital will be invested in Egyptian development projects. LE 10 m. will be used for industrial and construction projects; LE 8 m. for agricultural development and LE 2 m. for the erection of a sky-scraper on the Nile. The Kuwait Engineering and Trading Company, formed in Cairo, has among its stock-holders many members of the ruling family of Kuwait.

The Sudan. In the first week of this year the first Prime Minister of the Sudan was chosen in Parliament in Khartoum. Ismail al-Azhari was an educator until 1946, when he became a politician. He is leader of the National Unionist Party which won fifty seats out

of a total of 97 in the House of Representatives and 32 out of 50 in the Senate, when elections were held in November, 1953. His party is composed of five splinter groups united in their opposition to the Umma Party, led by Sayyid Sir ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al Mahdī. The work of the present Parliament is mainly to arrange machinery for a decision within three years on the question of the Sudan's ultimate future. A second Parliament will then be elected under international supervision. It may yet prove that both Egypt and Great Britain in the agreement of February, 1952, under which the recent elections took place, signed themselves out of the Sudan. The possibility of eventual membership within the British Commonwealth is not a serious one: and though the leading Party is nominally pro-Egyptian it may prove as time passes to be more enamoured of complete independence, despite its readiness to welcome Egyptian support aid during the election to ensure the defeat of the Umma Party. Whatever may be the political decision, however, it will necessarily be conditioned by the geographical and economic realities. Meanwhile, an important question concerns the political progress and rights of the Southern Sudan.

Baluchistan. Eight Canadian geologists have begun a detailed survey of Baluchistan which will take two years to complete. The project, costing $2m, is financed by Canada under the Colombo Plan. The aim is to map some 42,000 square miles of territory in which there will subsequently be schemes of land development. The ground survey follows a prolonged aerial survey undertaken by the Geological Survey Company of Toronto.

General Muslim Conference. Among resolutions taken at this meeting in Jerusalem during December, 1953, were the following:

(a) The Palestine question is the responsibility of all Muslims.
(b) The conclusion of peace with Israel will be viewed as high treason.
(c) The internationalization of Jerusalem is to be opposed at all costs.
(d) The mobilization of national combat armies to reclaim Palestine, and the observance of Rajab 15 every year as Palestine day.

Does the second half of (d) suggest that the first half should not be taken too literally? Nevertheless it is clear that there is no abatement of the intense feeling of frustration and hatred generated by the fact of Arab refugeedom. This Conference occupied six days and was attended by delegates from sixteen Muslim states.

Russian Pilgrims to Mecca, 1953. There continues to be a conflict of news on this point. Radio Near East (in Arabic) quoted the former Governor of East Turkestan to the effect that only 18 Soviet Muslims performed the pilgrimage in 1953 and that some of these were being tried on their return to Moscow for having associated with foreigners. Radio Moscow, however, broadcast a statement by the Vice President of the Muslim League of Russia and

Kuzistan, telling of the cordial reception Russian pilgrims had received and their pleasure in contacting brother Muslims in Mecca, Medina and Cairo.

Turkey. The thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic was celebrated with enthusiasm throughout the nation in October last, and there were also special commemorative ceremonies marking the anniversary of Ataturk's death in November. The new Ataturk Memorial Mausoleum in Ankara was inaugurated and the mortal remains of the founder of the Republic were laid there. As the casket was lowered into the ground it was covered with earth from each of Turkey's 63 provinces. The grounds of the Mausoleum, which occupies an impressive natural position, are planted with trees from many nations, including Israel. Commemorative stamps have been issued to mark both anniversaries, with their accent on industrial and transport developments within the nation.

The latter have been noticeable in the recent past. Turkish Airways more than doubled their revenue during the summer of 1953 as compared with 1952. New airfields have been laid down and additional flights established. Work on the Seyhad Dam irrigation and power project has begun. Oil resources are being vigorously sought in Turkey with the co-operation of foreign capital. There are several large new sugar factories, cement works and textile mills. The volume of foreign trade in 1953 was around 300 % greater than that of 1949.

Appropriations of the Ministry of Public Works are more than three times greater in the Budget of 1953 than in that of 1950. Several thousands of villages have received or will shortly receive pure drinking water, involving an expenditure of more than $ 16 million. Whereas only 289 bridges were constructed in the years between 1923 and 1950, more than 700 are now being built. An interesting detail comes from Istanbul where street slot-machines for the sale of newspapers have attracted much interest. Legislation is being enacted by the Government to make Turkey a more attractive market for foreign investors and to terminate some of the old handicaps.

Grain production is also increasing phenomenally in Turkey and since 1950 there has been a 43 % increase in the acreage of land under cultivation. Ceasing to be a grain-importer, Turkey has become the fourth largest grain-exporter in the world.

Marital Statistics in Turkey. The Turkish Government has published the following figures relating to the year 1951. There were 52,615 marriages in the major towns and cities during that year, and recorded divorces during the same period were 8,832. Of the latter slightly over half were on petitions filed by the husband. Provisional results of the census taken in October, 1950, show that 67 % of Turkey's adult population was married, 9 % were widows or widowers and only 0.77 % divorced at the time of the Census.

Turkey, meanwhile, has signed the convention on the political rights of women drawn up under the United Nations. It secures the right of women to vote in all elections, to run as candidates and to hold public office on equal terms with men.

Studia Islamica. The appearance of a new periodical devoted to the study of Islam is an event to hail. *Studia Islamica* was recently issued from Paris, for the first time. It is under the Editorship of Professor R. Brunschvig of the University of Bordeaux and Professor Joseph Schacht, of the University of Leiden. They have each contributed to the first issue, together with Professors B. Lewis, O. Turan, G. E. von Grünebaum, J. Lecerf and J. Berque. The publication is not planning to appear at fixed intervals but hopes to average two issues per year. It will contain papers of scholarly worth in both English and French on broad Islamic topics. New Sources of Muslim Tradition, Heresy in the History of Islam, the Seljūqs and their non-Muslim subjects, Khalīl Jibrān, the spirit of Islam in Muslim literature and Problems of Sociology in North Africa are the themes discussed in the opening issue, to which a warm welcome will assuredly be given.

Islamic Archives in Washington. The recent Colloquium on Islamic Culture drew attention to the interesting collection of archives in that field, collected since 1939 under the direction of Dr. Myron B. Smith, the Library's Fellow in Islamic Archaeology and Near Eastern History. The Archives are organised to gather, classify and conserve study material of value to scholars working in Islamic fields, with special emphasis on documents bearing on anthropology, epigraphy, geography art and architecture. The holdings are at present in excess of 74,000 items, mainly photographs. The contents have been gathered by gift and deposit, and are at the disposal of scholars for consultation. With due regard to applicable conditions, they are made available to educational museums and libraries. Originally on deposit in the Library of Congress, the Islamic Archives are now organised under the Committee for Islamic Culture, an independent association of scholars. Enquiries concerning them should be addressed to Professor Myron B. Smith, 1789 Lanier Place, N.W., Washington, 9, D.C. The organisation is a valuable, and in some respect, a pioneer, venture in the service of productive research through adequate and soundly classified resources.

Miscellanea. The Government of Libya has officially transferred its Capital from Tripoli to Benghazi, where the Libyan Parliament convened for the first time in December, 1953. Work has started in Syria for the reclamation of the Al-Ghab swamp, planned to bring under cultivation some 40,000 hectares of waste land, which will be distributed in lots of 10 hectares to landless peasants. The work is under the direction of a firm from Yugoslavia. The Lebanese Council of Ministers has under study a plan proposed by the President for the sale of state land as a means to financing construction and development schemes. The Committee of Anti-Fascist Youth in the Soviet Union has recently been host to a group of young men from Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, invited to visit agricultural and industrial installations in the U.S.S.R. The new electrical power house has been formally inaugurated in Mecca, supplying flood lighting to the Great Mosque and the Holy City. This ceremony was one of the last events

in the reign of the late King Ibn Saud. A School of Aeronautical Engineering has been established at the University of Cairo. A night school for the teaching of English has been opened in Jiddah by the Department of Education of the Saudi Arabian Government. In the Shaikhdom of Qaṭar, in the Persian Gulf, the first network of automatic telephones, with a hundred lines, has been installed. It is in Al-Dawhah, the capital.

The Egyptian Tourist Department has been under criticism in some circles for its recent decision to employ female guides. Appeal has been made to the Grand Mufti for an opinion. The objectors say that they would not have objected if female guides accompanied only female tourists. They prefer the employment of educated men. The press advises the Department to ignore the objections. Twenty years ago the British Government abolished the post of Mufti of Cyprus. The ban has now been lifted and a Turkish Muslim has been elected to the post by the 90,000 Turkish speaking Muslims in the island. It was the first time the office has been filled by popular vote. A Conference of East African Muslims was held in December, 1953, in Nairobi, convened by the Central Muslim Association. Among those who addressed the Conference was Ṣālaḥ Sālim, Minister of National Guidance and Sudan Affairs, of Cairo.

A Committee of Experts has been set up in Saudi Arabia to draw plans for the repair of the Hijāz railroad, after a survey to determine the location of stations and bridges. Syria has welcomed the initiative of King Saud in this connection.

The death has occurred of Dr. ᶜAbdallāh Yūsuf ᶜAlī, the distinguished scholar, whose versified translation of the Qurᵓān into English has been much used and valued in the West.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Bronze Age Tombs of Jericho. Kathleen M. Kenyon. *The Illustrated London News,* London. October 3, 1953. pp. 520-523. Countless well-preserved and fascinating relics were found because of diggings in an ancient cemetery by Arab refugees seeking building materials.

Connections and Mutual Influences of Islamic and European Art. Karl M. Swoboda. *The Islamic Literature,* Lahore. February, 1953. pp. 99-112. A comprehensive survey from earliest times to to-day.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. *The Middle East Journal,* Summer, 1953. pp. 349-387. Covers March 1-May 31, 1953 and is prefaced by accounts of various conferences.

A Holy Man of Dark-Age Jordan. G. Lankester Harding. *The Illustrated London News,* London. October 10, 1953. pp. 564-565. Describes the burial cairn of Hania, son of Acrab, a pre-Islamic Arab of Safaitic extraction.

Jericho Gives up its Secrets. Kathleen M. Kenyon and A. D. Tushingham. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D.C. December, 1953. pp. 853-870. An expanded and splendidly illustrated account; similar to the first item above.

The Land Acquisition Law of Israel. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1953. pp. 358-360. The unofficial translation of an important document which, among other provisions, legalizes land seizure by the State without the owners' (including 180,000 Arabs) consent.

A Mandaean Bibliography. E. S. Drower. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. Part 1-2, 1953. pp. 34-39. Tells of scrolls and codices collected by Mr. Drower and being gradually given to the Bodleian.

Spanien und der Islam. Miguel Cruz Hernández. *Saeculum,* Munich. Part 3, 1952. pp. 354-372. Traces the present-day influence of Islam on Spanish literature and considers the views of Unamuno, Pidal, Castro, Sanchez Albornoz and Ortega y Gasset.

II. ARABIA

A Judeo-Arab House-Deed from Ḥabbān. R. B. Sergeant. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. Part 3-4, 1953. pp. 117-131. Gives an account of the former Jewish communities of the Wāḥidī Sultanate, besides the Arabic text and English translation of the deed plus notes and glossary.

Saudi Arabian Currency and Finance. Arthur N. Young. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1953. pp. 361-380. The first installment of a detailed, statistical study.

THE STRANGEST RAILROAD ON EARTH. Nathaniel Gordon. *The Saturday Evening Post,* Philadelphia. November 14, 1953. pp. 28-29; 114-116. The King's "Iron Road", running from Damman to Riyadh, has brought down the cost of living about 60 % but is judged the offender in all accidents brought before the qāḍī.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE ARABS IN INDONESIA. Justus M. van der Kroef. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1953. pp. 300-323. Surveys the economic, social and religious conditions of this second largest Oriental minority in the country and gives population statistics.

EINIGE GEDANKESPLITTER ZU TOYNBEES BILD DER ORIENTALISCHEN GESCHICHTE. Bertold Spuler. Islam, Berlin. Heft 2-3, 1952. pp. 214-221. Contains special references to the history of the Near East.

FEDERICO II E LA CULTURA MUSULMANA. Francisco Gabrieli. *Revista Storica Italiana,* Roma. Part 1, 1952. pp. 5-18. Describes Oriental influence during this period.

GEORGIA AND THE FALL OF THE SAFAVĪD DYNASTY. D. M. Lang. *Bulletin of the Society of Oriental Studies,* London. Part 3, 1952. pp. 523-539. Tells of the part played by Georgi of K'art'li before the conquest of Persia by the Afghans in 1722.

MIDDLE EAST NATIONALISM: LAUSANNE THIRTY YEARS AFTER. Roderic H. Davison. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1953. pp. 324-348. A study of the emergence of Turkey as a stable, modern state.

LES TRIBUS TURQUES D'ASIE OCCIDENTALE PENDANT LA PÉRIODE SELJUKIDE. Claude Cahen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands.* Heft 3, 1951. pp. 178-187. Gives data on the pre-Mongol westward movements of the Turcomans.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SALADIN. H. A. R. Gibb. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester. September, 1952. pp. 44-60. "he raised Islam out of the rut of political demoralization".

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

MUHAMMAD PERSÖNLICHKEIT UND RELIGIONSSTIFTUNG. Johann Fueck. *Saeculum,* Munich. Heft 1, 1952. pp. 70-93. Describes the present state of research on the life of the Prophet.

NŪR AL-DAQĀ'IK BY THE SUMATRAN MYSTIC SHAMS AL-DĪN IBN ʿABDULLĀH. A. Johns. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. Part 3-4, 1953. pp. 137-151. Arabic text with English translation and summary of mystical doctrines.

THE TRANSMISSION OF ABŪ DĀWŪD'S "SUNAN". J. Robson. *Bulletin of the Society of Oriental Studies,* London. Part 3, 1952. pp. 379-388. Traces the four versions of this collection of Muslim traditions.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AT THE WORLD'S END IN HUNZA. Jean and Frane Shor. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D.C. October, 1953. pp. 485-518. A magnificently illustrated story of a sojourn in this tiny Himalayan state, well governed by the Mir, Muḥammed Jamāl Khan.

Egyptian Students. A. J. M. Craig. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1953. pp. 293-299. During the academic year 1950-51, the author, living with four University of Cairo students and knowing many more, is enabled to give a vivid picture of their life and nationalistic aims.

Middle Eastern Agriculture in the Inter-War Years. Bernard Weinryb. *Agricultural History,* Chicago. April, 1953. pp. 52-59. A valuable summary.

Newer Aspects of Location in Egyptian Industry. Gamal Eldin Mohamed Said. *L'Égypte Contemporain,* Le Caire. January, 1953. pp. 9-18. Discusses various industries, transportation problems and the availability of labour and capital.

Peaceful Change in the Lebanon. J. L. *World To-Day,* London. April, 1953. pp. 162-173. The revolution of 1951 seems to have bettered conditions.

Le Problème de l'Endettement Rural en Égypte. Jean G. Economides. *L'Égypte Contemporain,* Le Caire. October, 1952. pp. 35-65. Careful investigation shows the problem to have been solved.

A Short History of the Training of Midwives in the Sudan. *Sudan Notes and Records,* Khartoum. June, 1953. pp. 42-53. An account of the training given at the Omdurman Women's Hospital founded in 1920.

Women in Islam. A. de Z. Abassi. *The Islamic Literature,* Lahore. February 1953. pp. 119-125. Studies the influence of women at home and in the community.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Afghanistan: Independent and Encircled. Donald N. Wilber. *Foreign Affairs,* N.Y., April, 1953. pp. 486-494. Describes the country in many aspects, especially its foreign policy which fortunately is friendly to the United States.

The Arab-Asian States in the United Nations. Harry N. Howard. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1953. pp. 279-292. Surveys many problems vital to the area—such as Israel and the Arab refugees, Kashmir, the Suez Canal, the Sudan, Morocco and racial discrimination in South Africa.

Les Élites Gouvernantes en Afrique du Nord depuis la Conquête Française. G. H. Bousquet. *Der Welt des Islams,* Leiden. N.S. Band 3, heft 1. pp. 15-33. An historical article.

The Ideological Bankruptcy of Europe and the Future Prospects of Islam. Sayyid Qutb. *Islamic Review,* Woking. October, 1953. pp. 5-9; November, 1953. pp. 14-17. Communism attracts the West because Capitalism makes no spiritual appeal but the Muslim world, possessing a great spiritual force, will never succomb to the call of Moscow.

L'Independance du Culte Musulman en Algèrie. G. Busson de Janssens. *Revue Juridique et Politique,* Paris. September, 1952. pp. 305-339. Conflict results from French interference with Muslim affairs.