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لَبَّيْكَ اللّٰهُمَّ لَبَّيْكَ

THE PILGRIM'S CRY

The *talbiyah,* or saying of *Labbaika,* is the first duty of the Muslim pilgrim to Mecca after he has formulated his 'intention' of the pilgrimage. It is repeated at each new stage and on approach to each of the sanctuaries visited within the pilgrim state of ceremonial cleansing. "Doubly at Thy service, O my God" is the pilgrim's re-iterated cry. Access and devotion are the two themes of his emotion. The slave stands before his Lord, at the geographical point of the unique encounter of God with all humanity, through the prophecy sent down and through that exemplary biography which here had its origin and its chief location. The particular, the individual, thronging his fellows yet solitary in his person, is here present at the point of the Muslim universal, at the place of Divine visitation in the Qurʾān. The pilgrimage is thus a geographical parable of the meeting of God and man. The place, that is, portends or indicates the tryst. The visit performed is the visitation remembered. The pilgrim approaches because the revelation has come down. God is admittedly everywhere, but the knowledge of Him has its focal points. For the Muslim the last and greatest of these is Mecca.

The pilgrim's cry is then a recognition of the Divine initiative in the Quranic law's descent, in the mercy of God by the birth—and so in the birthplace—of the Prophet. "Here *I* am, because here *Thou* hast been, and art." So declares the pilgrim before God. The human coming, in its manifold variety from the four winds of Muslim humanity, derives from the Divine sending, which it recognises and answers and with which it would link itself in personal participation. Each mortal presence is constrained, as it were, by the Divine presence. The journey and the territory become, in some sense, a sacrament of the encounter. "Thee it is before Whom I am: Thee it is O my God."

Though the words themselves have come into Islam from a pre-Islamic time, the pilgrimage as Muslims practise it has made them its own. There is a Muslim intensity in their full grammatical significance. The noun, with the possessive attached, is used in the accusative as an absolute object of its own verb and is put into the dual to indicate corroboration. "At Thy service doubly I stand." "I wait intent upon Thy obedience" in the sense of waiting after waiting, of answering

after answering. "Waiting I still wait and standing I still stand." For the service of God is perpetual: no single occasion completes it. Devotion must be renewed in devotion, since it is never entire nor ever discharged. "Time upon time I wait upon Thee, O my Lord." God's sovereignty cannot be treated as occasional: nor may man's obedience be intermittent. "Before Thee I remain a constant remaining ever renewed"—such is the full passion of the pilgrim's cry, as far as the cold, dissecting dictionary can set it down.

Its protest of unfailing allegiance is the recognition of the claims of that Divine accessibility which the pilgrim is greeting. Doubtless like all familiar phrases, the term can degenerate into a meaningless usage as *Y-Allāh* and *Inshallāh* in the Arab's daily speech. But numerous writers in our time, like Muḥammad Ḥusain Haykal in *Fī Manzil al-Waḥī,* have testified to the tremendous impact of the pilgrimage upon minds prone to be revolted by certain of its features. Muslims would be more than human if their great ceremonies were entirely innocent of unworthiness. It is, however, on the full concept rather than the incidental features of the Meccan pilgrimage that we must build a fruitful Christian relation. Muslim critics are the only appropriate ones, and it would seem that these are taking up such reform of the incidentals as their pattern requires. There are signs, too, that the pilgrimage will assume a greater place in the social and intellectual leadership of Islam, if occasion is taken to use it for a meeting of minds.

But be that as it may, the Christian task is to communicate to the heart of this *Labbaika.* How rich and rewarding such labor might become! Access and devotion, law disclosed and law recognised, the worshipful and the worshipper, the Divine sending and the human coming, God and men—how deep and full are these relationships, implied or uttered in *Labbaika Allāhumma.*

Though Christians understandably visit Jerusalem—or would do if they could—Christianity has no pilgrimage. It yearly turns in wonder to Bethlehem and listens lingering in the shepherds' fields. And yearly, too, it stands with history before a Cross and is accosted in the garden of Resurrection by a risen Jesus. These are the festivals which recapture the deeds of the eternal Love fulfilling its purpose on the scene of time. We share with Islam the faith of a Divine initiative. But we believe it actual not only in the realm of law but also in the realm of grace. God not only reveals, He redeems. His Divine relation to His creatures is such that He provides not only for the good life as a law given but as a birth received. He visits to regenerate our fallenness, lest His visitation to guide our ignorance should leave us still in a mockery of helplessness, condemned by a good we know but cannot of ourselves attain. We find Him, in a word, "in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." And so through Christ we find ourselves in access to God—an access of knowledge but also of forgiveness, an

access which calls not only for surrender but to fellowship. "Beloved now are we the sons of God." "For as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name."

How movingly the devotion follows. See it in the New Testament ministry, in the apostolic ardour, in the joyous abandon of the Christian liturgy. "Here we be. ." these spirits cry, rejoicing in the Lord alway. This *Labbaika* in Christ can be written across the theology and the history of the Church. It is the awareness of God and men made nigh in forgiveness and discipleship, because of Christ. The Church, if we may use the Arabic dictionary, is "the absolute complement of its own verb." It is what happens because God loves, and speaks, and saves. "Here we are, O God with us, wholly at Thy service, as men and among men." Such a pilgrim Bunyan said he'd labor night and day to be—*Labbaika* in the gaol at Bedford.

Let us wait on our waiting, in the sense of these Muslim words, greeting in devotion the God Who greets us in Christ, always deepening our awareness

> "And seeking Him, our selves inflame
> To seek Him more and more."

For only so shall we be ready and sufficient to utter Christ within the world which cries before God at Mecca: "Here I am."

PETITIONS OF THE PILGRIM

O God, I have come from a far country with many iniquities and evil deeds. I call upon Thee with the cry of those who cannot hold off from Thee and of those who seek mercy instead of retribution... Receive me in Thy pure pardon...

O God, Thou art peace and peace cometh from Thee and returneth also unto Thee. Make me alive, O Lord, with peace... Blessed art Thou O Lord of majesty and honour. Open to me, O God, the doors of Thy pardoning mercy and bring me into them...

O God, shelter me under the shelter of Thy throne in the day when there is no shade save the shade of Thy throne and nothing abides save Thy countenance...

O Lord, bring me in by the threshold of truth and take me forth where truth issues.

From *Manāsik al-Ḥajj.*

AN INTERPRETATION OF ISLAMIC HISTORY – I

I

Islam is a concept which, phenomenalized in a number of linked but diverse political, social, and religious organisms, covers an immense area of space and time. In different regions and epochs it has presented differing features under the impact of and in response to local geographical, social, and political forces. Western Islam for example, in North-West Africa and mediaeval Spain, though it was closely related to the Muslim heartlands in Western Asia and its culture was an offshoot from their culture, yet evolved several distinguishing characteristics, some of which in turn influenced Islam in Western Asia. In other large and self-contained geographical areas, such as the Indian subcontinent and Indonesia, or in the steppe-lands extending from southern Russia to the borders of China, parallel factors produced similarly distinguishing forms. Yet each and all of these retain a certain easily recognizable common Islamic stamp. It is impossible within the limits of a single essay to deal with all these diverse regions. The present article is therefore confined to Islam in Western Asia with the double object: (1) of tracing the development of Islamic culture and the gradual evolution which by the end of the 14th century had transformed its inner structure, and (2) of examining the processes by which its institutions were moulded into a coherent unity and given their specifically Islamic stamp, however widely Islam might spread and however various their external forms. It should thus supply a provisional framework within which (corrected or adjusted where necessary) other studies devoted to particular aspects and relations of Islamic culture may be coordinated.

The rhythms of Islamic history are curiously inverse to those of European history. Both arose from the breakdown of the Mediterranean empire of Rome. While Europe slowly and imperceptibly, and only after several centuries, grew out of the anarchy of the barbarian invasions, Islam suddenly emerged from Arabia and with incredible speed fashioned in less than a century a new imperial structure in Western Asia and the southern and western shores of the Mediterranean. But the contrast goes much deeper. The challenges to the ancient Mediterranean empire and institutions were of two kinds. On the northern borders, the barbarian invaders challenged the Roman political power but entered into its new cultural system, the Catholic Christian Church, and accepted its basic social and religious institutions, upon which ultimately the new European political structures were erected. On the southern and eastern borders, the challenge was not to Roman political power but to the cultural centralization of the Church, and manifested in popular rejection of Catholic orthodoxy in favour of dissident creeds, Donatist, Monophysite, and Nestorian.

Islam, after establishing a political system which embraced all these areas of dissidence (together with Persia, which had for centuries maintained against Rome a political struggle backed by a religious rival creed), was confronted with the task of bringing them into a common cultural and religious system, based upon its own universalist concept. To achieve this, it had to counteract, and, as far as possible, extinguish the influence of the earlier universalist concept (Christianity) in Western Asia and the southern half of the Mediterranean, to destroy Zoroastrianism and the other dualist religions of Persia and Mesopotamia, and oppose a barrier to the extension of Buddhism in Central Asia.

The whole of mediaeval Islamic history is dominated by the effort on the part of the Sunni or "orthodox" religious institution, firstly, to maintain its universalism against internal and external challenges, and secondly to realise the widest possible measure of religious, social and cultural unity throughout the Islamic world. The second of these objects was not achieved until the political unity of Islam had been disrupted, partially recreated, and disrupted again; but in the effort to achieve it a vast area of interaction was created between peoples of diverse stocks and traditions, and in this process—almost, indeed, as a by-product of it—the mediaeval Islamic culture was brought into existence.

II

The social teaching of Muḥammad was basically a reaffirmation of the ethical ideas common to the monotheistic religions: the brotherhood of all members of the new Islamic Community, their equality intrinsic personal worth in spite of differences of temporal status, function and wealth, and all the mutual relationships and duties following from these principles, deepened by being stated in terms of inward loyalty and outward obligation to the one God. Furthermore (and this was to prove of fundamental importance for the future development of Islamic culture), it included certain social and ethical obligations—but not the full freedom of brotherhood—towards members of other religious communities, provided that these accepted the political control of the Islamic Community.

As in all religious movements, the concrete social results of this teaching were determined by its impact on the actual historic environment. In Muḥammad's own lifetime, it was received at three different levels. The first was at the level of total conversion, producing religious personalities, whose activities and decisions were motivated by a complete inward acceptance of its spirit and principles. This group, the nucleus of the future religious institution, was in the nature of the case relatively small to begin with but steadily increased with the expansion of the Community. The second was that of formal

adhesion, of willing acceptance of the outward prescriptions and duties, without assimilation of their spirit but because of the advantages to be gained by incorporation in the new Community. Its leading representatives were the later Meccan adherents, to whose mercantile temper the external demands of Islam were eminently suited, requiring only the dedication to religious duties of a proportion of time and wealth, and leaving the rest free for personal activities and interest. A further commendation of Islam in Meccan eyes was the firm control which it established over the beduins, whose acceptance was on the third level, that of enforced adherence maintained by threat (and after Muḥammad's death by the application) of military sanctions.

Since, however, inescapable economic forces made any permanent stabilization of inner-Arabian conditions virtually impossible, the mere suppression of beduin opposition—with the implication that the forces of Islam would be used up in an interminable and sterile struggle with the tribesmen—was an inadequate solution for the problem set by them. It was necessary to find the terms on which the tribesmen as a whole could be lifted, if not up to the first level of assimilation, at least on to the level of identifying Islam with their own interests. Hence the trial expeditions deliberately organized by Abū Bakr after Muḥammad's death, when groups of tribesmen were despatched under Meccan commanders towards the frontiers of Syria. The first successes led to a coordinated and organized military campaign which quickly achieved the conquest of the whole country; and the comparative lack of success of the simultaneous campaigns in Iraq under tribal leadership reconciled the tribesmen to a similarly organized campaign under Meccan leadership against the Persian empire, with equally decisive results. The policy of Abū Bakr and his successor ʿUmar thus not only achieved their first purpose, of bringing the tribesmen to an enthusiastic acceptance of Islam as the palladium of victory and to unite their forces under commanders appointed by the Caliph, but also a second and not less important result, that the conquests were made with the minimum of disturbance to the economy of the conquered countries and were followed by the rapid establishment of organised central control.

Nevertheless, the material interests of the two main parties to the victory, the tribesmen and the Meccans, were still in opposition to one another. The natural instinct of the tribesmen was to appropriate the conquered lands for their pastures, while the Meccans wished to exploit their resources for their own commercial profit. Although the structure of an agricultural community was unfamiliar to the Arab leaders, they quickly understood its significance as a source of revenue. If it was not to be exposed to injury, the obvious solution was to leave its administration in the hands of the former officials who were familiar with it. While the tribesmen were still engaged in the campaigns and still amenable to the moral authority and control of the Caliphate, they

were persuaded to relinquish their claims to the occupation of lands, and to receive in compensation a fixed share of the revenues in monetary stipends and produce. This also enabled the central government to keep the tribesmen concentrated in garrison settlements, instead of spreading in nomadic fashion over the country, and by this means to maintain more effective supervision and control over them.

It was not long, however, before the consciousness of the loss of their independence, combined with the unnatural conditions of life in the garrison cities, generated an increasing violent feeling of resentment amongst the tribesmen, exacerbated by the Meccan exploitation of "their" conquests. The Meccan merchants had not been slow to seize the dazzling prospects opened up by the commerce of Iraq, Syria and Egypt. They were already active supplying the needs of the new garrison settlements for consumption goods, in forming partnerships with local producers and merchants, and especially in the huge operations of exchange and banking required in the distribution of stipends and transfer to Medina of the fifth of all revenues, and were forming vast commercial establishments manned by slaves and clients.[1] In Medina also, after the first satisfaction with the great increase in wealth and prosperity, there was growing resentment at the rapid affirmation of Meccan political control under the third Caliph, ᶜUthmān, and the economic exploitation of the empire.

Open discontent was first expressed by several religious personalities whose conscience was shocked by the worldliness and grasping materialism displayed in the name of Islam. But these only provided a rallying-cry and a cloak for the material grievances of the tribesmen and Medinans, who swung into line behind them. The assassination of ᶜUthmān by the tribesmen provoked a civil war, in which the religious party at first joined the tribesmen of Iraq, in whom they saw the supporters of the cause of unity on Islamic religious and ethical terms. Opposed to them stood the Meccan Governor of Syria, Muᶜāwiya, supported by his tribesmen, more disciplined and sedentarized, and less exposed to exploitation than those of Iraq. It soon became clear to the religious leaders that the tribal interpretation of Islam carried with it a threat to the whole principle of religious authority and to the system of mutual rights and obligations upon which rested the unity and stability of the Community. The conflict turned out to be one, not between the religious basis and the secular basis of unity, but between unity on modified Meccan terms which at least respected the religious foundations of the Community, and the disruptive forces of tribalism. When the issue was underlined by the emergence in Iraq of the violently sectarian and anti-Meccan group called the Khārijites (*Kha-*

[1] The invested capital of Talḥa (d. 656) amounted to 30 millions dirhams, and the daily yield of his enterprises in Iraq was a thousand dirhams or more (Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 157-8); hat of his fellow-Meccan and collaborator Zubair was 35 millions, from investments in Iraq and Egypt (*ibid.*, III, 77).

wārij) the choice could not long remain in doubt, and the religious party gradually drifted to the side of Muᶜāwiya.

III

The establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus (661) was thus the outcome of a coalition or compromise between those who represented the Islamic ideal of a religious community, united by common allegiance to the heritage of the Prophet, and the Meccan secular interpretation of unity, against the threat of anarchy implicit in tribalism. But this was only a modus vivendi reinstating a central authority over the loosely bound provinces of the Arab empire. Three major questions remained to be solved, the relations of the government with the tribes, its relations with the religious party, and the relations between Arabs and non-Arabs in the conquered lands.

In their relations with the tribes, the Umayyad Caliphs at first returned to the old Meccan policy of conciliation by coordinating the interest of the tribesmen with their own, combined with a renewal of the Medinan policy of wars of expansion and distribution of booty. The survival of irreconciliable Khārijite and anti-Umayyad tribal opposition in Iraq stood in the way of their success from the first, and the rapid development of tribal factions forced on them a complete change of policy. The administration was increasingly centralized, and its control tightened over the inner provinces (Iraq, Syria, and Egypt); tribal risings were repressed and Syrian garrisons established to maintain order in Iraq and Persia; most important of all, the tribesmen of Iraq were gradually demilitarized, and were beginning to be absorbed into the new mixed urban societies which were developing in the former garrison cities.

Religious factors entered into this process of centralization on both sides, partly in opposition, but partly also in favouring the growth of an organized central authority. Their awareness of the secular tendencies in the Umayyad house, together with the influence of their religious idealism, inclined the religious leaders in a general way against the Umayyad régime, but their difficulty was to find an alternative that would not disrupt the Community. The excesses of the Khārijites and of the activist Shīᶜites discredited them with all but a minority, and an anti-Caliphate set up during a second civil war (684-691) proved incapable of maintaining order.[2] At the same time the Umayyad Caliphate itself was moving towards the universalist Islamic view, as the religious and ethical principles of Islam percolated in the course of the century more deeply into Arab society and affected its outlook and principles of conduct. The outcome of this symbiosis was the emergence of a semi-official interpretation of Islam, supported by a

[2] See J. Wellhausen, *Die religionspolitischen Oppositionsparteien*, Göttingen, 1901.

considerable body of religious opinion,[3] and it is noteworthy that the first condemnations for heresy took place under the later Umayyad Caliphs.[4]

By the end of the 1st century, however, non-Arabs were beginning to enter the ranks of religious teachers in growing numbers. These naturally accepted Islam in its most universalist interpretation, without any qualifying admixture of Arab ideas; as they were emotionally opposed to the Umayyads because of the grievances and social inferiority of the non-Arabs, they rejected the conformist attitude of the Umayyad supporters, as well as the other Arab sectarian interpretations, and remained on the whole on the neutral ground of doctrinal rigorism.

The most difficult problem for the Umayyads was to integrate the social structure of the Arab state as organized after the conquests with the agricultural economy of the conquered provinces, and to do so in a manner consistent with the ethical principles of Islam. What gave the problem a peculiar intensity was the movement of conversion to Islam among both landowners and cultivators, who continued nevertheless to suffer from their former social and economic disabilities. It was eventually solved towards the end of the Umayyad period (but only after bitter struggles) by assimilating new Arab landowners to non-Arab landowners, and by exempting converted cultivators from the poll-tax payable by all non-Muslim subjects. Both measures led towards an assimilation of Arabs and Muslim non-Arabs, and at the same time towards uniformity of administrative practice in the Arab empire; but they came too late to check the accumulated sense of grievance against Umayyad rule, which in the eyes of the developing "religious institution" stood for the political domination and social privilege of the Arabs. Both activist and neutralist religious oppositions joined with a revolt of the Yemen faction of tribesmen to bring down the Umayyad Caliphate (750); and thus, after having (in alliance with the Umayyads) dissociated the religious polity of Islam from the extreme sectarian and fanatical interpretations of the Khārijites and the ultra-Shīᶜtes, now also publicly dissociated it from concept of Arab predominance.

IV

The new ᶜAbbāsid line of Caliphs, although themselves, as relatives of the Prophet, also of Meccan Arab origin, clearly recognized the importance which the religious leaders had assumed in the framework of the empire, and made it one of the cornerstones of their policy to associate them with the new régime. The evolution which had begun under the Umayyads towards centralized monarchical institutions and

[3] See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s. v. Murdji'a.
[4] *Ibid.*, s. v. Djahm ibn Safwān.

the merging of the hitherto privileged Arabs into the general Muslim population would have continued in any case, but it was accelerated and given a more definite direction by the fact that the dynasty was brought to power and maintained in it by an alliance of the Arab colonists and Islamized Persian aristocracy of Khūrasān. The increasing employment of non-Arabs in the administration favoured the revival of the old Sassanian court ceremonial and administrative traditions, while the constitution of a Khurasanian standing army freed the monarchy from the pressures of the Arab tribal structure. The Arab landowners were integrated in the Persian feudal system, and the expansion of industry, commerce, and material and intellectual culture in Iraq and Persia brought Arabs and non-Arabs together in social, economic and intellectual activities.

The religious policy of the ᶜAbbāsids also was affected by the same influences. They not only placed a new emphasis on the religious status and functions of the Caliphate, and by their patronage of the religious leaders gave an impulse to the propagation of an "official orthodoxy", but also, on lines reminiscent of the Sassanid Zoroastrian organisation, began to centralize the religious institutions under state control.

In all these developments, however, there were implicit certain dangers for the principle of Islamic universalism, the maintenance of the unity of the Muslim Community in its religious and ethical attitudes by acknowledgement of one common authority, although at first sight it might seem to be favoured by the establishment of the universal empire of the ᶜAbbāsids. The rapid social and economic development in Iraq and Persia was not paralleled in Syria and the African provinces, where the Arab tribal structure persisted with little change, and the solutions to the problems of faith and order worked out in the former might be inapplicable to or even rejected by the latter. Still more, too close an association of orthodoxy with the ᶜAbbāsid Caliphate might well lead, and did in fact lead, to the rejection of orthodoxy by sections politically opposed to ᶜAbbāsid rule, as in the adhesion of the Berber opposition in North-West Africa to Khārijism and the increasing attraction of the Arab tribesmen in Arabia and the Syrian desert to Shīᶜism. The dangers could not be averted by maintenance of ᶜAbbāsid political authority by force, but only if religious authority were clearly distinguished from political authority and if necessary in opposition to it.

The problem was probably not at first explicit to the religious leaders in these terms, but it is a proof of the vitality of the Islamic religious impulse that their activities tended, even if unconsciously, in this direction. Although they accepted on the whole the ᶜAbbāsid "official interpretation" for some seventy or eighty years, and supported the measures employed by the state for religious unification and against heresy, yet there was from the first a current of opposition to some of its manifestations and to State control of religious funct-

ions, and an insistence of the free personal responsibility of the religious teacher. The conflict was brought into the open by the attempt of the Caliph Al-Maᵓmūn and his successors to impose the Hellenizing doctrines of the group of religious teachers known as the Muᶜtazila as the "official interpretation", and their persecution of the leaders of the opposing orthodox school. The struggle ended with the victory of the orthodox, and proved once and for all that the religious institution of Islam was independent of the Caliphate or any other political institution, that its sources of authority could not be controlled by political governors but were possessed by the Community in its own right, and that the Caliphate itself was only an emanation of that authority and its political symbol.

This episode was fundamental for the whole future of Islam in freeing it from identification with any political régime, and allowing the religious institution, and the Community with it, freedom to develop along the lines of its own inner logic and temperament. But simultaneously—in a more complex and less explicit manner—the conflict, between the religious and political institutions was being fought out on another field, and this time with a less favourable outcome for the religious institution.

The introduction of the Persian monarchical tradition and political philosophy into the Muslim State resulted in a conflict of social and ethical ideals, which was fought out largely in a "battle of the books." The Persianizing movement, known as the *shuᶜūbīya* movement, is usually regarded [5] as a current reaction among the Persians against Arab dominance. But this is too narrow an interpretation. Its representatives were the class of secretaries in government service, whose influence had greatly increased under the ᶜAbbāsid Caliphs owing to the rapid expansion of the bureaucracy and the growing power of viziers and heads of administrative departments (*dīwāns*). From late Umayyad times the secretaries had found their models in the court literature of Sassanian Persia, and the significance of the *Shuᶜūbīya* movement is that it represents the efforts of the secretarial class (while avoiding open conflict with the religious institution) not only to establish the dominance of the Persian tradition at the court, but to revive the old Persian social structure with its rigid class divisions, and to substitute the spirit of Persian culture for the surviving influences of the Arab tradition in the new and rapidly developing urban society in Iraq, by the spread of translations and popular works of Persian origin.

Its first effects were to encourage the revival of the latent Manichaeism in Iraq, and the spread, in much wider circles, of religious indifference or concealed disrespect for Islam. While the official in-

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[5] Especially since the studies of I. Goldziher in *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. I, Halle, 1888.

stitution tried to stamp out heresy by persecution, the more advanced and rigorous group of the religious leaders, known as the Muʿtazila, sought and found in Greek philosophical literature and Christian-Hellenistic apologetic works the dialectic equipment to meet and overcome the dualist arguments and to reinforce an ethic based on the Qurʾān. At the same time, as the Shuʿūbīya movement passed into a phase of open attack on the Arabs and sarcastic criticism of Arab traditions and pretensions, it brought the whole body of the religious institution up in defence of Arabic studies on religious grounds, since it was these studies which supplied the basis of the developing "religious sciences." Out of the effort to counteract the literary activities of the Shuʿūbīs, a new Arabic humane literature was born, steeped in the traditions and institutions of Arabia, both before and after the rise of Islam; and the force and weight of the double counter-attack quickly checked the dangers implicit in the Shuʿūbīya movement.

By this victory the Islamic religious institution, which had already rejected any domination of its ideals of faith and order by Arab social traditions, now equally rejected the Persian interpretation of Islam as a state-religion and the dominance of Persian social traditions. But the victory was bought at a price. On the one hand the link between the religious sciences and Arabic philology had now been expanded into something not far from identification of the religious culture of Islam with the Arabic humanities. It is a strange phenomen that while Islam began as a protest against Arab culture and tradition as a whole, by the end of this period the literary heritage of ancient Arabia was indissolubly linked up with Islam, to be carried with it to the ends of the old world. On the other hand, the influence of the secretarial class had been strong enough to force a measure of compromise. Several of the principal elements of the Sassanian tradition were incorporated in the literature of the Arabic humanities, and acquired an established and permanent place in Islamic culture in relation to the principles of government, in spite of their conflict with its inner spirit.

This concession was highly characteristic of an orthodox religious institution, which while standing fast on the principle of its spiritual independence and its right and duty to assert Islamic ethical standerds, yet recognized the facts of the actual situation and the dangers of an excessive rigidity to the maintenance of unity. At the same time, by admitting this discordant element into the general fabric of Islamic culture, it brought a kernel of derangement into Muslim society. Its immediate effect was to bring to the surface the hitherto latent or concealed division between the religious institution and the ruling institution, and to set the latter free to pursue its own course of development with relatively little control from the side of the religious institution; ultimately, as it diverged more and more widely from the ethical standards of Islam, the orthodox ʿulamāʾ themselves were to find their spiritual independence endangered by the further concessions

and compromises wrung from them for the sake of the principle of unity.

V

The process analysed in the preceding sections, by which the orthodox religious leaders disentangled Islam from political and racial interests and traditions, involved a parallel and simultaneous process of definition of its content. Islam was at first an orientation of life in all its aspects in a particular ethical direction, dictated by the acceptance of certain general beliefs on the authority of Quranic revelation. In the early struggles, the religious leaders aimed to maintain that orientation against a variety of challenges, external in the sense that their motivating forces were derived from other systems of values, though issuing from within the Community and expressed in terms of a particular interpretation of Islam. In meeting each challenge, therefore, they were compelled to oppose its particular interpretation, but their tendency was at first to reject what was opposed rather than assert positively what was to be accepted, and thus maintain the widest possible measure of moral unity. This policy, consciously and consistently pursued, became a marked characteristic of orthodoxy; unlike the fissiparous and exclusive groups which upheld the rejected doctrines, its leaders were unwilling to draw hard and fast lines (beyond the simplest test of adherence to the Community) and tolerated a considerable degree of freedom of interpretation and even divergence in external institutions.

With the development of the religious organization and the advance from defence against deviation to positive definition of doctrine, involving the creation of a theological science, a step of decisive importance was taken for the whole history of Islam.[6] For this was its first intellectual adventure, it absorbed the energies of most of its intellectual leaders in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries, and consequently gave a permanent bias to Islamic intellectual culture.

The origins of its methodology are to be found in the practical problems with which the Community was confronted rather than in any philosophical tendencies. Although the authority of the Qur'ān was absolute and unchallenged, the development of doctrine and law from its religious and ethical contents involved a process of elucidation and interpretation. The first problem appears to have arisen in regard to the application of law. By the end of the 1st century, separate and diverging rules of law were being applied in different cities and provinces, based on the independent interpretations of local teachers, and complicated by survivals of customary law and administrative regulations. The religious leaders saw in this a danger, especially when

[6] For an analysis of this process see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932.

local rules appeared to diverge from the ethical principles of the Qurʾān. The method by which they proceeded was to produce 'traditions' from contemporaries of the Prophet which related the decisions of Muḥammad on specific points, and to claim for these binding authority scarcely inferior to that of the Qurʾān. Although at first the authenticity of many Traditions was disputed by the jurists, and much confusion was caused by the production of contradictory Traditions, the strength of religious feeling behind the movement ultimately forced a general acceptance of the principle.[7] This in turn involved the elaboration of a new science, whose objects were the collection, criticism, classification and coordination of Traditions, and the attainment as far as possible of an agreed and generally accepted corpus. This task absorbed much of the energies of religious and legal scholars in the 3rd century, and was achieved with such success that henceforward the Tradition of the Prophet ranked as a second authoritative source of law and doctrine.

The same method was then applied to dogmatic theology, in the conflict with the speculative reasoning applied by the Muʿtazilite school to the interpretation of Quranic doctrine. The orthodox leaders proceeded not so much by argument as by production of Prophetic Traditions in support of their positions, and in the same way swung the main body of Muslims into line behind them. There can be little doubt, however, that the classical collections of Prophetic Traditions made in the 3rd century do substantially represent the views of the general body of orthodox religious teachers of the first three or four generations, and it is almost as certain that the views expressed in them faithfully reflect the teachings and ethical attitudes of the Qurʾān.

The Muslim doctors who elaborated this defence of unity against disruptive deviations were still aware of its artificial foundations, and the techniques of study included in the "sciences of Tradition" were designed to authenticate the whole structure by a system of formal criteria. But this was not enough. In conformity with the general trend of Sunnī thought, the foundations were underpinned by the principle that once agreement on any main issue of doctrine of law had been reached by responsible scholars, it was final and conclusive, and to reopen controversy on it was heresy. On lesser matters, diversity of opinion and practice was permissible. By this principle the orthodox institution was enabled, in spite of the absence of any formal organization, to hold together in all later centuries, and to remain essentially one in the face of political pressures, calamities, and the influx of new ideas and peoples.

On the other hand it was this combination of (1) a God-given and unchallengeable sacred book, interpreted and supplemented by (2) an artificial creation of Prophetic Tradition, itself canonized by (3) the

[7] This development is studied more particularly in J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

the doctrine of consensus (*ijmāᶜ*), and thereby excluded from any but formal study by predetermined methods and rules, which established the basic character and attitudes of Muslim theological studies, however widely the range of theological discussion might extend in the future. By confining scholarship within the limits of a body of accepted teaching, it gradually diminished and finally inhibited the independent examination of authorities, sources and methods, and condemned it more and more to mere transmission of the known and given, and the elaboration of subsidiary detail in commentary and super-commentary. The habit of transmission of what had been accepted on authority, inculcated first in the sciences of law and theology, ultimately extended its influence over all Muslim studies in every field of learning, to the exclusion of personal investigation.

But these results were not immediate. The first systems to become crystallized were in the field of orthodox Law (*Sharīᶜah*), and the importance of this early and relatively rapid stabilization of legal norms, with their effects upon the social ethics of the Community will be seen later. In dogmatics, however, while universal agreement had been reached by the end of the 3rd century on fundamentals, principles and authorities, there was still room for variety in interpretation. This was of great significance in the history of Islamic culture. For although there were currents of rigorism in some of these interpretations, the majority of orthodox leaders continued to admit a certain range of individual freedom. Thus they not only gave room for the development of cultural and intellectual activities which found expression in the 'Islamic Renaissance' of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, but themselves participated in them in a certain measure.

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MODERN MUSLIM THOUGHT

It is somewhat embarrassing to be asked to write on Modern Islamic Philosophy, not because of the difficulty of describing and analysing it, but for the simple reason that very little of such a philosophy exists as yet. As is well-known, philosophical quest at a high level in the Muslim East stopped suddenly after Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), although there has been a considerable commentatorial activity since, which so far has not been studied by any modern student. We shall not here try to discuss the causes of the downfall of the philosophical movement in classical Islam—it was not indeed ever a very powerful movement, although an important one—but rather make some brief general observations on the relative absence of Islamic philosophical thinking in modern times and then attempt a descriptive and critical analysis of what does exist.

The Modern Age of Islam can be taken to have begun in the latter half of the 19th century, though the forces which inaugurated this era were not intellectual but political. The early impact on Islam of the West consisted in the eastward expansion of European political powers which threatened to consume the already decaying political strength of the Muslim world. The Muslim nations, in face of this danger, were awakened to a sense of their political weakness and disintegration. The problem therefore which has stood foremost since then in the minds of the Muslims has been: how to re-organize themselves in order successfully to resist Western political demination and how to strengthen themselves. Such a situation was hardly conducive to an intellectual and spiritual growth. There was, no doubt, a spiritual factor which went alongside the political domination viz, the Christian missionaries. The missionary activity, however, was generally regarded by the Muslims as another more indirect expression of the Western imperialistic designs on the Muslim lands. This is very clearly expressed in an article of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, [1] in which he attacks Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān as an agent of British imperialism. He says that in order to ensure their political domination over the Indian Muslims, the first "trick" of the British was to implant missionaries in India, but that when this "plan" failed, they "employed" Sir Sayyid and this

[1] See his article *Hindostānī Nechrī* in *Irshādāt-i-Jamāl al-Dīn* (Lahore 1945), a collection of his articles in *Al-ʿUrwat al Wuthqā* translated into Urdu. Professor H. A. R. Gibb's statement (*Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago, 2nd Impression, 1950, p. 29) that the *Refutation of the Materialists* is the sole published work of Jamāl al-Dīn, is perhaps an oversight. For, besides several articles on diverse topics, he wrote a history of Afghānistān called *Tatimmat al-bayān fī tāʾrīkh al-Afghān*, an Urdu translation of which appeared in 1342 A. H. at Lahore. With Professor Gibb's judgement about Afghānī's intellectual calibre, however, I could not agree more. The Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill is trying to assemble a complete Afghānī Corpus, has launched a program of translations of his works, and will welcome any bibliographical assistance in this project.

group to "weaken the faith of Islam from within Islam." This attitude to missionaries is, in varying degrees, still true of the mass of the Muslim world. Nevertheless, the missionary and the orientalist did contribute to a great extent to a religious re-awakening of the Muslims.

This inability to direct attention to merely religious-intellectual problems and investigate them as such constitutes generally speaking a striking feature of Muslim modernism. But here one naturally asks: What about those Muslims who directly (as in the case of many Indians and Arabs) or indirectly (i.e. remaining in their own countries as in the case of many Turks) came into contact with Western intellectual currents and took them seriously? Now, it is precisely in this group that the subjects of our present treatment are to be found. But when one looks at their scanty numbers and at their still more scanty results, one is truly amazed. For among these people too there were many whose deliberations and cogitations were primarily directed towards an immediate practical end. Such is the striking case of the Turkish intellectuals whose problem was: How to reconstruct Ottomanism (Namik Kamal) or: How to reconstruct Turkey (Zia Gökalp. [2] Yet in the thought of both these men Islam played an important integral part, but unfortunately this aspect of their thought has not yet been worked out. [3] Other Westernists are secular. But the largest part of this group is constituted by those who are simply "silent" on these issues, i.e. they are not troubled by them at all. And this brings us face to face with the most pathetic situation in the field. The crux of the matter is that so long as modern Western thought and science remain "Western", i.e. super-imposed from without, and are not assimilated, they can only be a façade without any real import.

Most Muslim modernist intellectual attempts are concentrated on practical matters of legal and social content. This is due to the fact that (a) the main internal troubles of recent Islam arise out of dissatisfaction with the mediaeval legal schools which were becoming hopelessly inadequate for rapidly changing conditions and (b) the brunt of Western criticism of Islam was levelled against its legal and social institutions and the morality implied by them. Thus the Egyptian orthodox reformer Shaikh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh was primarily occupied with overthrowing the authority of the four legal schools and reasserting (under Wahhabī influences) a puritanical fundamentalist attitude. Yet, with all the concern about practical questions, there is surprisingly little or no interest at all in modern Islam in Moral Philosophy. Although Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Shiblī Nuᶜmānī based morality, under the influence of Western moral intuitionism, on

[2] Although these two men are justly renowned, as far as I know, a complete collection of their writings is not yet available in published form.

[3] Professor Niyazi Berkes, my colleague at the McGill Institute of Islamic Studies, is now completing a translation into English of Gökalp's basic writings which should throw considerable light on this subject. I am indebted to Professor Berkes for the information in Note 2.

"conscience," they took it rather as a datum than as an assumption and had nothing more to say about it. A deeper, rational enquiry into the principles of morality and an analysis of "good" and "bad", which is perhaps the greatest desideratum of Islam, would have had most far-reaching effects on modern Muslim society.

Western thought has had its influence most patently on Indian Muslims. Here a movement arose which may be called, and has been called by most of its own advocates, the neo-Kalām, harking back to the Kalām School of classical Islam, which arose under the impact of Greek philosophy. It arose with the declaration of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the first modernist of Indian Islam: "In this age we need a new Kalām by which we should either refute modern scientific knowledge (which is not possible) ... or prove the conformity of Islam with it".[4] This movement was both apologetic and reformist. Sir Sayyid himself was not, however, in any appreciable sense, a philosopher. He applied what he called the "principle of conformity with nature" to the entire range of Islamic belief and practice, declared "Conscience" and its deliverances to be the criterion for judging the truth of a moral and religious system. The Qurʾān and Islam, when rightly understood, he affirmed, do stand this test and are therefore in harmony with science and progress. There was, of course, fierce opposition to his views and for subsequent developments he was important in his modernizing impulse rather than in the content of his thought. Apart from disseminating Western education from Aligarh which was his greatest service to Indian Muslims, the main part of his reformist activity was concerned with Muslim manners and customs, which he carried on in his journal called *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*.

Belonging to the same group is the theologian and historian Shiblī Nuʿmānī whom Professor Gibb (op. cit. n. I, p. 519) has justly, with reservations, compared to Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbduh. Shiblī was educated on traditional, conservative lines but later came into contact with Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān who influenced him in a modernist direction. From T. W. Arnold he learned some French which being a rather out-of-the-way thing for an Indian to do is to be explained by the influence of certain Egyptian writers, especially Farīd Wajdī. Shiblī in his spirit is more radical than ʿAbduh. ʿAbduh, convinced that religion cannot be in conflict with science, encouraged the study of science but did not allow an examination of the faith. "Thus it (Islam) delivered reason from all its chains, liberated it from the blind imitation that had enslaved it, and restored to it its domain in which it makes its own decisions in accordance with its own judgment and wisdom ... Nevertheless, it must humble itself before God alone and stop at the limits set by the Faith; but within these bounds there is no barrier to its activity and there is no limit to the speculations which

[4] See Shaikh Muḥammad Ikram: *Mawj-i-kawṯar*, Lahore (undated), pp. 166-67.

may be carried on under its aegis." (Refer to Gibb, op. cit., pp. 43-44.) Shiblī, in his *Al-Kalām* (Lahore, 1952), on the other hand starts by doubting the existence of God: he admits that although science and religion cannot conflict, philosophy and religion may and often do. He rejects the cosmological argument and accepts the existence of God (a) on conscience and (b) as a power which integrates the various isolated bits of matter which initially possess self-motion and essential properties, into a systematic cosmos. The first satisfies the demands of religion, the other of science. No attempt, however, is made to relate the two ideas together.

Of course, the "doubt" with which he starts must not be exaggerated because it soon becomes clear that it is merely tentative and is used only for the purpose of the argument. Besides, the purpose of the whole treatise is a defense of Islam, not an independent enquiry. Shiblī uses the classical Muslim thought quite copiously and carefully selects the radical passages from his sources, supporting his views equally copiously from Western authors. He envisaged the task of modern Kalām as two-fold: one as a defense of the beliefs of Islam which is essentially a restatement of the old Kalām in the light of modern philosophical thought, and the other, an entirely new Kalām in defense of Muslim ethics and law etc. "This is because the objections levelled against Islam in old times were related only to belief—but today a religious system is judged by its history, ethics, civilization etc. According to (modern) Europe, the beliefs of a religion are not so much objectionable as its law and ethics" (*Al-Kalām,* p. 10). But whereas Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's teachings were influential, and continue to be so, Shiblī's influence is almost non-existent and the school he left behind him at Aᶜzamgarh assumed an ultra-conservative character.

Strictly speaking, the only philosopher of modern Islam is Sir Muhammad Iqbāl (d. 1938) who, in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (recently reprinted by Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore, from the Oxford edition of 1934; references here are to the Oxford edition) seriously attempted to formulate a new Muslim metaphysics "with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge" (Preface). In the generation after Shiblī a new and vigorous reaction to the rationalistic tendencies of the earlier generation set in. It was perhaps natural that the none-too-sober character of the initial modernism should provoke a comparably none-too-thoughtful radical reaction. The most prominent leader of this movement was Abūl Kalām ᶜAzād (in his early youth). He denounced rationalism as the "so-called knowledge whose result is nothing but a darkness of uncertainty and doubt," he stigmatized old scholastics as "Greece-ridden" and modernists as "West-ridden" [5]. In the words "darkness of uncertainty and doubt,"

[5] Ibid p. 32.

we have the key to the understanding of the Indian Muslim attitude to rationalism since, say 1912. Doubt and knowledge are taken as absolute terms, mutually evclusive. It is quite clear that no value is attached to the modern attitude of *pursuit* and *enquiry* as such, which constitutes the essence of philosophy. Morover the Indian Muslims in their political struggle needed something definite and defined, something ready-made to lean upon. This could be achieved much more easily by faith and tradition.

Partly against this background grew Iqbāl's thought. Furthermore, Iqbāl saw the basic direction of his thinking being realized also in the West where Bergson's intuitionism and vitalism were challenging the 19th century materialistic determinism. Above all, the dynamistic theories of Bergson and of modern physics were obviously suited for a need at home. Iqbāl has profoundly influenced the younger generation of educated Muslims in India an Pakistan. This can be seen from the establishment of two Iqbāl Academies, one in Lahore and another very recently opened by the Pakistan Government in Karachi, and from a plethora of books written by his followers about his teaching and thought. But it is surprising that in this whole literature one cannot find a single work which undertakes a serious examination of the great poet-philosopher's philosophical doctrines. And here we come to another basic weakness in our modernism. For one thing, the modernist too, like the conservative, has his authorities which he venerates in an unhealthy spirit. For another, in view of the paucity of intellectual activity, with which our critics only too justly stigmatize us, the venerating Muslim thinks that at least whatever there is by way of intellectual product should be left "unmolested." (Criticism is generally equated with wanton destruction which, no doubt, it too often is in the hands of many of our "critics.") Yet, by doing so he obviously perpetuates intellectual stagnation. I imagine this is not the attitude dearest to Iqbāl's own heart who wrote in the preface to his lectures, "it must, however, be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking."

The purpose of the following remarks by the very nature of this essay, is professedly not to assess either Iqbāl's poetic genius which is truly great nor the unique role of his *poetical* thought in Indian Islam which is only too obvious, but merely to state briefly and critically the main points of his *philosophical* thesis in order especially to see the cause of his failure to reconcile reason and dynamism. This failure, as will become obvious, is due to the fact that dynamism is necessarily opposed to rational purposiveness, but to the plain fact that Iqbāl was not prepared to admit, in the final analysis, any purpose in the process of reality for it seemed to him to threaten what he called the "freedom" of activity. When, however, the student attempts to understand and examine Iqbāl's philosophical theories, he finds his task beset with difficulties. The main trouble arises out of the fact

that Iqbāl is also a poet and as such lacks precision, definition and formulation. He frequently uses phrases in which it is hard to discover any definable core of conceptual content. Secondly, in the whole book and especially in its first four chapters which are purely philosophical, there is no wellknit and reasoned-out argument. It is rather an ingenious statement indicative of a certain philosophical attitude and for that purpose coherent enough but, when subjected to an analytical examination, full of irreconcilable contradictions and logical anomalies.

Iqbāl starts in the first lecture by describing religious experience which is intuitive and immediate. He is, however, not prepared to admit that a knowledge of the Ultimate Reality is obtainable only by intuition but declares that reason or thought is also capable of giving us knowledge (although in his poetry he ceaselessly deprecates reason and exalts intuitive experience which he terms, after the Persian Sufis, *ʿishq* or love) "The idea that thought is essentially finite, and for this reason unable to capture the Infinite, is based on a mistaken notion of the movement of thought in knowledge... In its deeper movement thought ... is capable of reaching an immanent Infinite in whose self-unfolding movement the various finite concepts are merely moments" (p. 6). Again, "It is a mistake to regard thought as inconclusive, for it too, in its own way, is a greeting of the finite with the infinite" (p. 6). These statements apparently mean that one can reach the Ultimate Reality both by mystic experience and by ratiocination. Yet, in the same breath, he says, "He [i.e. Al-Ghazālī] failed to see [i.e. in his denial of the claims of philosophy] that thought and intuition are *organically* (italics mine) related" (p. 5). But if they are organically related, then obviously, neither of them on its own can operate but both must work together. And yet, what is this "thought," what is precisely is nature and its method? When one turns to the second chapter entitled *The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience,* one expects to find there, in view of the disjunction of thought (i.e. reason as distinguished from "logical understanding") and intuition, a *rational* test of the truth of intuitive communications. But, on the contrary, what one sees there is a Bergsonian type of intuitionism in which Reality is a free, creative vital impulse as revealed in pure duration. Here again Iqbāl reiterates that it is not only in intuition but also in thought that the true nature of Reality is known and accuses Bergson of having created an insurmountable gulf between will and thought: "This is really due to the partial view of intelligence that he (Bergson) takes ... But as I pointed out in my first lecture, thought has a deeper movement also. While it appears to break up Reality into static fragments, its real function is to synthesize the elements of experience by employing categories suitable to the various levels which experience presents. It is as much organic as life" (p. 49). But although Iqbāl throughout is anxious to keep thought in opposition

to Bergson, it turns out in reality to be a mere lip-service, for whenever he describes it he condemns it, like Bergson, as a mere intellectual mechanism devised only to control the world of space and matter. The results of this we shall see presently, while speaking of his anti-rationalism.

In the second lecture Iqbāl is concerned with finding a philosophical proof for affirming the spiritual character of Reality, and thus establishing God's existence. He rejects the cosmological and the ontological arguments. He also rejects the teleological argument which seeks to prove the existence of a God Who works on His materials from the outside. An immanent teleological ground he, however, accepts. In support of this he rejects the static view of matter and accepts Whiteheads's formulation of it as a "structure of events" in ceaseless dynamic flow. Then, turning to inner experience he finds, with Bergson, its real character in "pure duration" untouched by serial time. In "pure duration" there is change but no seriality or succession. Its unity "is like the unity of the germ in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole" (p. 45). From the individual self this pure duration is then transferred to the universe and predicated of the Ultimate Ego. Thus an immanent God is established for Nature.

The motive, both with Bergson and Iqbāl, for affirming such a curious inner experience as that of pure duration, is, of course, to avoid determinism and to ensure the ego a free, dynamic activity. Bergson's anti-rationalism denied all teleological character to this activity. But at this point Iqbāl's anxiety about keeping something of rationality reasserts itself and he describes this vital surge as "purposive" and "rationally directed". But that these epithets are devoid of meaning is shown by the fact that he is not prepared to ascribe to it any long-range purpose or plan. Its purposes are being created afresh almost at every moment. "Mental life is teleological in the sense that, while there is no far-off distant goal towards which we are moving there is a progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes, and ideal scales of value as the process of life grows and expands ... The world process or the movement of the universe in time, is certainly devoid of purpose, if by purpose we mean a foreseen end, a far-off fixed destination to which the whole creation moves. To endow the World-process with purpose in this sense is to rob it of its originality and its creative character" (p. 52). Iqbāl goes on to say on the same page, "To my mind nothing is more alien to the Quranic outlook than the idea that the Universe is the temporal working out of a pre- conceived plan." How long, it may be asked, does a single Divine Purpose last? And what does it even mean to talk of a single purpose terminating perhaps with a single move? For, purpose, in its strict sense, means nothing but the ultimate end with reference to which alone all indiv-

idual movements are said to be purposive. As for Iqbāl's appeals to the Qur'ān, they are usually unconvincing.

Professor Gibb (op. cit. p. 82) points out that "nowhere in these lectures does he specify the moral imperatives of his system of thought." I think a system of thought whose gospel is just pure dynamism, wherein purpose can have no real place, can—ex hypothesi —specify no moral imperatives.

Besides, it is difficult to see how a theory of pure duration proposes to fulfil its program of establishing freedom and dispensing with the notion of causality. If all the past with its series of causes and effects were to shrink to the unit of a single moment, then even if the extension of time is gone, the order is still patently there, according to the theory. The theory, in fact, has overlaboured its insistence that it is the temporal priority of the cause over the effect, and, therefore, the notion of serial time that is responsible for producing determinism. For one thing, it can be and has been, contended that causation is a unique unanalysable relation and that temporal precedence may not even be a part of the notion of cause. And secondly, one can imagine, as indeed the primary laws of physics assume, a rigid scheme of causality in which what we call the past and what we call the future are equally necessarily connected with each other and the entire order is absolutely determined, thus making the past and the future i.e. the whole extension of time entirely irrelevant since the whole process can be supposed to be given at once, in a single moment. And what about the future? The unity of pure duration, we are told, is like the organic unity of a germ in which the past and the present are co-present with "open possibilities" for the future. But the notion of an objective possibility is precisely the notion of potentiality. And what is a potentiality but a positive tendency to "become"? Thus we believe that the future tree is potentially present in the seed (Iqbāl himself says this, p. 6), just as an effect is potentially present in its cause. Thus we see that even in the process of pure duration, the future must be somehow given in the present.

The doctrine outlined above represents the fundamental position of Iqbāl. It leads him to reject the transcendental view of God, whom he therefore regards, in the true tradition of Sufism, as being immanent in the world. He also vigorously rejects pantheism and regards God as a supreme individual. Of this God he affirms the attributes of creativity, knowledge and omnipotence. Dealing with the question of creativity, he takes up the atomistic theory of the classical Mutakallimūn, and develops it in the light of the atomism of modern Physics. He wrongly attributes the modern idea of an expanding universe to the Mutakallimūn, who, since they were atomists both in space and time, could not believe in the continued identity of the world and therefore postulated an ever recurring creation and annihilation of the world by God. But they were far removed from having any idea of

an expanding universe in the sense in which modern science understands it. As to the relation of God with Nature, Iqbāl describes the latter as being something not apart from God but as being God's behaviour. Just as behaviour and the owner of behaviour are not two entities co-ordinate with each other, so is the case with God and the world. This behaviour, i.e. the movement of the world, Iqbāl describes as being, according to the Qur'ān, the *sunna* or habit of God. From this he deduces the regularity and permanence of the world. Here, nevertheless, a conflict appears between Iqbāl's immanentism, and the Quranic transcendentalism. If the world is the behaviour and character of God, then obviously God cannot dispense with it, for no one can dispense with his character. Hence his affirmation that the world is regular, permanent etc. But in the same breath he says (p. 53) "The Ultimate Self, in the words of the Quran, 'can afford to dispense with all the Worlds' ... What we call Nature or the not-self is only a fleeting moment in the life of God."

It would carry me beyond the scope of this paper to pursue [6] further the analysis of Iqbāl's philosophy. Whereas the student of the *Reconstruction* cannot fail to be impressed by its true fervor and its great ingenuity, he cannot at the same time but feel vexed at its claims to appeal to the Qur'ān and classical Islam. Apart from the Qur'ān Iqbāl seldom, if at all, gives any sources to which the student may refer and check. Yet it constitutes so far the only really serious attempt on the part of any modern Muslim to restate the philosophical position of Islam. There is surely a heavy responsibility on thinking Muslims to re-cogitate and re-express their faith in terms of newer knowledge and thereby in turn re-vitalize and deepen it. The human mind never stands still and knowledge is perpetually advancing, and every major change in man's world-view demands a fresh interpretation and revaluation of the basic truths of faith. These interpretations must not be imposed from without but must grow from within the system of belief itself. Only then can they convince other Muslims and command respect outside. At the present there exists a most serious gap between the conservatives and the opposite wing—a spiritual and intellectual gulf

[6] I must say that I hope this critical statement will be taken in the genuine spirit of truth-seeking investigation in which it has been writen. Far from minimizing the truly deep debt which the Muslims owe to Iqbāl, I sincerely think that, in saying what I have said, I have only acted according to his own fervent love for truth.

In my opinion the sixth chapter of the *Reconstruction* is the best, although it can be criticized here and there. In advocating a cautious and sober attitude towards social change Iqbāl can be charged with being out of tune with the thorough—going dynamism avowed in his earlier chapters and, on this score, Professor W. C. Smith has criticized him in his *Modern Islam in India*. But I think this charge can be met by saying that although a social organism must continuously experience microscopic change, by its very nature, it exhibits microscopic changes in accordance with the laws of its constitution as an organism: otherwise it will disintegrate. The case would be analogous, although not exactly parallel, to changes in an aggregate of atoms we call a thing.

which may one day disintegrate our society as the expression of a fabric of belief which has shaped our cultural values for centuries. This gulf can be bridged only by a rational understanding and clarification of faith, for whereas faith can be rejected, reason cannot: it can only be refuted. And that which refutes it is ipso facto reason. It was a grave mistake of later generations of Muslims to suppose that Al-Ghazālī had refuted philosophy by faith, for philosophy cannot be refuted except by another philosophy.

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CONTEMPORARY EGYPTIAN AUTHORS — I

I. TAWFĪQ AL-ḤAKĪM — DRAMATIST

"Rise up, Osiris, rise up!
I am thy son Horus,
I come to bring thee back to life,
Thou hast still thy heart,
Thy heart of the ancient past."

These suggestive lines from the *Book of the Dead* are used as a frontispiece to Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's novel, *ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ* (*The Return of the Soul*).[1] This is the story of an Egyptian boy growing to young manhood at the time of the nationalist revolution under Saʿd Zaghlūl. With a fine feeling for sentiment and with great literary artistry the author presents a moving story of this youth struggling to find his true soul at the time of and in connection with the struggle of his nation for its "resurrection." The allegory of the resurrection of Osiris, about which he blends this two-fold "return of the soul," is naturally a fertile image in the contemporary Egyptian mind. In the above lines the word for "rise up" is "inhaḍ", an expression which is repeated several times in the new national anthem and which is of the same root as "nahḍah" (renaissance). Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm is a part of that renaissance; especially in term of "the return of the soul." His father was of pure peasant stock while his mother was from the ruling Turkish class. Rebelling against and attempting to throw off the oppressive influence of this "aristocracy," the young man turned with enthusiasm and pride to his father's native Egypt. His sympathies for that native Egypt have been expressed, we hasten to observe, on the higher level of literary and cultural activity rather than in political nationalism, as he has lent his pen to the portrayal of Egyptian life with a sensitivity and delicate artistry which give his writings the excellence for which they are known.

Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm has written three books which furnish us with biographical information. They are: *ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ* (*Return of the Soul*), *ʿUṣfūr min al-Sharq* (*Bird from the East*) and *Yawmīyāt Nāʾib fī al-Aryāf* (*Diary of a Country Magistrate*). Indeed, these books are not strictly biographical in nature. They have been rightly classed as fiction but it is evident that they are based on the author's own experience and thus present us three stages in his life. In the first we have a view of his boyhood and early youth where, without doubt, we may consider the boy Muḥsin to be the writer himself and many of the events and personalities to be drawn directly from his

[1] Actually at the opening of vol. II with a similar but slightly less pertinent quotation at the beginning of vol. I.

own life.[2] The book is an excellent novel and, at the same time, valuable source material for the understanding of the early life of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm. The second stage in the author's life, his student days in Paris, is represented in *ʿUṣfūr min al-Sharq*. Here we have a picture of this lad from the east making his adjustments to the ways of the west. The third book, *Yawmīyāt Nāʾib fī al-Aryāf*, is drawn from his adult life as a government official.

Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm was born in 1902[3] and his early boyhood was spent in Damanhūr. His father was of peasant stock and, by nature, tended toward the peasant class in habits and sympathies even though his good fortune had raised him above the usual low estate of the Egyptian *fellaḥīn*. He (the father) had inherited an *ʿazbah* (farm-estate) of some three hundred acres near Damanhūr and thus the family was in a comparatively comfortable economic situation. He married a girl of Turkish descent and, if we are to believe the picture drawn in *ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ*, she was excessively proud of her connection with this ruling class. The book draws a clear picture of her dominating personality and the course which she took in attempting to turn her marriage to this small land-holder into a position of prestige. By cutting off connections with his peasant-born relatives she sought to move into that privileged upper class represented by Turkish aristocracy. In the same fashion she brought up her son Tawfīq in a protected and pampered environment. The boy was kept at home and given little opportunity to play with other children. This maternal suppression necessarily had its influence on the development of the boy's personality. Out of the necessity of living alone he became a quiet introspective person. Instead of the usual boyhood tendencies toward play with other children his play was inward, in the realm of imagination and fancy. This ability with imagination and fancy served him well as an author in later life but the restricted circumstances in which he lived in early life stamped upon him an introversion from which he had to struggle to free himself. Indeed, the story of his life has been the growing out of—the throwing off of the bonds of these earlier restrictions. His lonely life in this would-be aristocratic family was alleviated to some extent by attending the elementary school in Damanhūr even though the mother continued to employ means of protecting him from the lower classes. We have in *ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ* the boy's reactions as he gradually becomes aware of these restrictions and comes to resent them. To be sure, it is not until he goes to Cairo for his secondary schooling that he sees the contrast between his father's background and that of his mother. With misgivings from his mother he went to live with his paternal uncles in order to attend secondary school, there being none in Damonhūr. This family lived in a

[2] See Ismāʿīl Adham, *Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm* (Arabic), p. 105.

[3] The accuracy of this date can be questioned. For further discussion see, Adham, op. cit., p. 64.

three-room apartment in the Sayyidah Zaynab quarter and in it he found life and activity in sharp contrast to the staid propriety of his Damanhūr home. He came to love the gay and immensely informal life of this lower class family. It is here that he finds the freedom to begin to develop and grow out of the introversions of his boyhood days. Here he discovers his love for Egypt and Egyptians. Here he becomes aware of the meaning of his boyish intimations concerning that for which his mother stood and that which he saw in his father's sympathies and he comes to know the reasons of his resentments towards aristocracy and his love for the common people of his country. Here he begins to discover something of his own soul and the soul of his country. They have both been suppressed. They have both been kept from their free and rightful development. Here he begins to envisage the return of that soul; the coming to life of Osiris; the renaissance. The turn of events soon presents him the opportunity to take a part in this awakening and to identify his "returning soul" with that of his beloved country. The year is 1919, the revolution of Saʿd Zaghlūl is at hand. Even though Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm is only 15 years of age he joins in the activities of that revolution with his uncles and with them is imprisoned.

After his release from prison he returned to school, completing his secondary school in 1921 and a law degree in 1925. He then went to Paris to study, remaining there three years. Ostensibly he was a law student but practically his attention was turning to the arts. His study of law had been all along at the insistence of his father. While in Paris he made his first attempts at writing. Some of these works were published later in Cairo. A play entitled *Amām Shubbāk al-Tadhākir* (*In Front of the Ticket Window*) seems to be his first literary adventure. It was written in 1926 in a coffee house across from the Odeon Theatre. Originally written in French, it was later translated into Arabic and published in 1935. In the early summer of 1927 he wrote his first short story, *Al-ʿAwālim*[4] which was published in 1934 in the little collection called *Ahl al-Fann*. It seems that he also wrote *ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ* in Paris in the year 1927.[5]

Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm returned to Egypt in 1928. Soon after his arrival he wrote *Ahl al-Kahf* (*The People of the Cave*) which was first published in 1933.[6] This excellent play was a major addition to the young author's literary accomplishments and has come to be looked upon as one of the best things from his pen. From 1929 to 1934 Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm served as a legal officer in the administration of justice in the villages and country districts of the Egyptian delta. His book *Yawmīyāt Nāʾib fī al-Aryāf*, may be considered as a reflection

[4] Adham, op. cit., p. 94.
[5] See date at the end of the novel.
[6] For a discussion of this play see art., by Barbour, BSOS, VIII (1935), p. 1009 f.

of this epoch in his life. The material, cast in the form of a diary, is drawn from his career as a village legal officer. It presents some graphic pictures of the vicissitudes hindering the flow of justice and at the same time develops some vivid impressions of Egyptian country life. By drawing a thread of events through the book there results what is actually a very artistically designed little novel. It has been translated into French by Gaston Wiet as, *Journal d'un Substitute de Campagne* and into English by A. S. Eban as, *Maze of Justice*. Eban's translation is quite adequate and it can be recommended to English readers as the best sample of the relatively few works out of modern Arabic literature which are available. This little book along with Father Ayrout's *The Fellaheen* will furnish a most authentic introduction to the understanding of rural Egypt.

During the period in Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's life represented in *Maze of Justice* he found time, in spite of the many tribulations pertaining to his office, to do some writing. In 1930 he wrote a play entitled, *Al-Zammār* (*The Flute Player*) and in 1933 a short story entitled, *Al-Shāʿir* (*The Poet*).[7] Belonging also to this period are three plays, *Raṣāṣah fī al-Qalb* (*A Bullet in the Heart*), *Shaharazad* and *Al-Khurūj min al-Jannah* (*Exit from Paradise*).

In 1934 Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm began a period of service in the Ministry of Education. He continued to write plays and short stories the titles of which may be seen in the list of his works. He now is serving as Director of the National Library in Cairo, and has recently become a member of the Academy of Arabic Language.

WORKS OF TAWFĪQ AL-ḤAKĪM

PLAYS

Ahl al-Kahf, 1933. Translated into French by A. Khedry, Editions de la Revue du Caire, 1939, as *La Caverne des Songes.* Included in *Théâtre Arabe,* tr. Khedry et Costandi, Nouvelles Édition Latines, Paris, 1950 pp. 9-99. Also translated into Italian, Rome, 1940.

Shaharazad, Cairo, 1934. Translated into French by A. Khedry and Morik Brin as, *Scheherazade,* Sorlet, Paris, 1936. Included in *Théâtre Arabe,* pp. 101-151.

Pīgmāliyūn (*Pygmalion*), Cairo, 1942. Translated into French by Khedry and Costandi in *Théâtre Arabe,* pp. 293-359.

Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, 1943. Translated into French by N. Costandi as *Salomon le Sage* in *Théâtre Arabe,* pp. 217-291.

Al-Malik Udayb, Cairo, 1949. Translated into French as *Oedipe-Roi* in *Théâtre Arabe,* pp. 153-177.

Masraḥiyāt, 2 vols., Cairo, 1937. A collection of eight plays of which *Nahr al-Junūn* (*Le fleuve de la Folie*) and *Al-Zammār* (*Le Joueur de Flûte*) are included in *Théâtre Arabe.*

[7] These two plays were first published in 1934 in *Ahl al-Fann.*

Masraḥ al-Mujtamaᶜ (*The Stage of Society*), Cairo, 1950. A collection of eleven plays of which the following appear in *Théâtre Arabe*: *Al-Mukhrij* (*Le Metteur en Scène*), *Bayt al-Naml* (*La Maison des Fourmis*) and *ᶜAraf Kayf Yamūt* (*L'Art de Mourir*).

Muḥammad first ed., n.d.; second ed. 1936. A play depicting the life of the Prophet in a large number (ca. 95) of short scenes.

SHORT STORIES

ᶜAhd al-Shayṭān, Cairo, 1938.

Taᵓrīkh Ḥayyāt Maᶜidah, 1938.

Rāqiṣat al-Maᶜbad, 1938.

Shajarat al-Ḥukm, 1945.

Qiṣaṣ Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, 2 vols., 1949. Two small volumes of short stories.

LONGER STORIES OR NOVELS

ᶜAwdat al-Rūḥ, 1933. Translated into French by Morik Brin and A. Khedry as *L'Ame Retrouvée, Fasquelle*, Paris, 1937.

Yawmīyāt Nāᵓib fī al-Aryāf, 1937. Translated into French by Gaston Wiet and Zaky Hassan as *Journal d'un Substitut de Campagne*, Editions de la Revue du Caire, 1938. Translated into English by A. S. Eban as *Maze of Justice*, Havrill Press, London, 1947.

ᶜUṣfūr min al-Sharq, 1938. Translated into French by H. W. Schenouda and Morik Brin as *L'Oiseau d'Orient*, Editions Horus, Cairo, 1941.

Ḥimār al-Ḥakīm (*The Wise Man's Donkey*), 1940.

Al-Ribāṭ al-Muqaddas (*Holy Matrimony*), 1944. A short novel, depecting a modern Egyptian woman and her attempt to find the modern mode of living.

ESSAYS

Taḥt Shams al-Fikr, 1938. A collection of short essays on various subjects arranged under the following headings: (1) Religion, (2) Literature, Art and Culture, (3) Politics and Social Studies and (4) Women.

Min al-Burj al-ᶜĀjī (*From the Ivory Tower*), 1941. A series of essays concerned with the perennial problem of the writer's contact with common life.

Taḥt al-Miṣbāḥ al-Akhḍar (*Under the Green Lamp*), 1942. A collection of short essays on a variety of literary and cultural subjects.

Zahrat al-ᶜUmr (*The Flower of Life*), 1943. A collection of letters written to friends in France.

Ḥimārī Qāla Lī (*My Donkey Said to Me*), 1945.

Fann al-Adab (*The Art of Literature*), 1952.

OTHER WORKS

Al-Qaṣr al-Mashūr (*The Enchanted Castle*), 1936. Written in collaboration with Ṭaha Ḥusayn.
Nashīd al-Anshād (*Song of Songs*), 1940.

STYLE AND SIGNIFICANCE

In a very large degree Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm can be credited with the establishment of drama in Arabic literature. [8] It is a remarkable fact that the classical Arab world had no drama. It is equally remarkable that this type of literary expression has been so amazingly successful in the Arab world of to-day. The playwright has his problems and, to the Western observer, at least, the Egyptian stage, especially in its more popular aspects, leaves much to be desired. However, in the hands of such artists as the author under discussion it can be asserted that the Arabic play has reached a creditable stage of development. The problem of play writing in Egypt can be indicated by three words; language, popularity and imitation. No form of literature is so troubled by the conflict between the colloquial and the classical as is the play. Following the traditional pattern of Arabic literature many of the earlier plays were set down in the literary language. Although archaic in nature and formal in tone this classical language gave to drama an oratorical grandeur so acceptable to the Arabic ear. However, with the development of a modernizing movement in Arabic literature, the trend was toward a more direct and natural language. Following this trend, writers found in the colloquial a vivid and forceful language close to daily life. This they began to use for the stage. The difficulty lay in the fact that the use of this colloquial idiom tended to lower the moral as well as the literary tone of the stage. Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, who in the past wrote plays in both the colloquial and the literary language, now affirms that he will no longer employ the popular idiom because he does not wish to be a part of this tendency to cheapen the Egyptian stage. This does not mean that a decent play cannot be written in the vernacular but it indicates the problem, both moral and literary, which faces the writer of drama who, naturally, likes to have his plays acted and meet public approval.

When Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm writes in the classical language his style may be characterized as modern; that is, he writes in a free, direct, non-stylistic manner. While this is his usual mode it must be said that he can and does write quite acceptably in a more formal style when it fits his purpose and mood.

Imitation has been a characteristic element in all forms of twentieth century Arabic literature. Dramatists have been no less addicted to this than have authors in other fields. Since the modern literary movement

[8] For a discussion in Arabic of his thought and influence see, Aḥmad ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā, *Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm*.

in Egypt found much of its inspiration from Western writers it was only natural that they should have imitated the masters whom they admired. It is obvious that Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm was strongly influenced by French drama, especially in his earlier years, a fact which he readily acknowledges. On the other hand, he has progressed a long way in the art of the drama since 1926 and, in recent years, has been writing plays which, whatever may be their value, are Egyptian. Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm is a keen observer of Egyptian life, both rural and urban, and has adapted the borrowed form to the local scene with remarkable ability. He has written comedy of manners and farce, as well as philosophic and symbolic drama after the manner of Maeterlinck. In all these types he has displayed gifts of invention, a sure theatrical sense, and a sound judgment of psychology so that, combined with his literary artistry, he has been able to impart to his characters that genuineness which is the essence of good play writing. [9]

Having discussed Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm in his primary role, that of Egypt's leading playwright, we would like, in conclusion to remind the reader of his ability as a story teller as we indicated above in the discussion of his books.

II ᶜABBĀS MAḤMŪD AL-ᶜAQQĀD—BIOGRAPHER AND ESSAYIST

ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAqqād is a versatile writer who has employed a wide variety of literary media. He is a poet of outstanding ability. He is an essayist, writing upon a broad range of cultural and intellectual subjects. He is a journalist and a literary critic. From his pen have come many biographies and studies of historical and literary figures.

Alᶜ Aqqād belongs to that group of mature authors who constitute the grand old school of writers in Egypt. The importance of his role in the development of a new literary movement in the 20th century is recognized. Al-ᶜAqqād's personality is as fascinating as his unique literary style. His tall, lumbering figure seems to speak of his thoughtful nature and his lugubrious prose. His face portrays a man of firmness and determination—even impatience and perhaps a little disdain, although this latter quality has mellowed with his ripening years. His keen eyes can still flash his emotion and indignations but behind this flame one always observes an underlying pensiveness which is so characteristic of al-ᶜAqqād's personality and writing. [10] Speaking English fluently, he is a pleasant and congenial conversationalist especially when the subject turns to books, Arabic or Western. Indeed, al-ᶜAqqād is a man of books. Whereas you may find Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm in Groppi's tea-room, presumably dreaming up another play (several of his well-known plays were written in coffee-houses in Paris and Alexandria),

[9] *Cinquante Ans de Littérature Egyptienne,* Numéro Special, La Revue du Caire, Feb. 1953, p. 149.
[10] *Cinquante ans de Littérature Egyptienne,* p. 71-75.

you will not find al-ᶜAqqād there. It is more probable that he will be found among his books or in a certain book-shop in Shārīaᶜ Muḥammad Bey Farīd where he loves to meet his friends and discuss literary matters.

Al-ᶜAqqād was born in Aswan in the year 1889. Receiving only an elementary education he takes pride in being a self-educated man. He early learned to read English and has read widely among English authors. The influence of these English authors is evident in his thinking and in his writing. As was true of many Egyptian authors, his early literary career was that of journalism in which he was connected with various Cairo newspapers. Al-ᶜAqqād came to know Saᶜd Zaghlūl whom he still considers as being Egypt's greatest leader of modern times. Through this acquaintance al-ᶜAqqād was drawn into politics. During most of Egypt's constitutional life he has been a member of Parliament either as a deputy or a senator. Al-ᶜAqqād has always been a champion of freedom and an enemy of despotism, in politics as well as in literature. In 1930 his statements about King Fuᵓād caused him to spend six months in jail. About the same time he wrote *Al-Ḥukum al-Muṭlaq fī al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn* (*Dictatorship in the Twentieth Century*) [11] where, with prophetic accuracy, he warns of dictatorial powers yet to arise.

In the literary realm al-ᶜAqqād has fought for freedom; freedom from archaic style and freedom of thought and expression. [12] To him the modern generation of writers owe much of their emancipation. To be sure his style has been criticized by the still more modern generation and he is accused by them of belonging to a school of writing which is *passé* but these younger authors are indebted to this champion of freedom for a measure of the political liberty and the stylistic freedom which they now enjoy. Al-ᶜAqqād is a member of the Academy of Arabic Language and continues to produce books and articles for periodicals with considerable regularity.

AL-ᶜAQQĀD'S WORKS

Khulāṣat al-Yawmīyah (*The Conclusion of the Diary*), 1912; essays.
Majmaᵓ al-Aḥyāᵓ (*Animal Convention*), 2nd ed. 1920; essays.
Al-Shudhūr (*Nuggets*), 1915; essays on literary subjects.
Dīwān, 1916; poetry.
Dīwān fī al-Naqd, 1921, in collaboration with al-Māzinī; literary criticism.
Al-Fuṣūl, 1922; essays on literary and social subjects.
Al-Muṭālaᶜāt fī al-Kutub (*Readings Among Books*), 1924, essays on literary subjects. [13]

[11] The book is not dated but the author says, "about twenty five years ago."
[12] In an early poem he paid tribute to the beauty of the golden hair of a lady in Aswan. For this he has criticized. "Arabic poetry praises black hair," his critics said.
[13] See Gibb, BSOS, V, 1929, 445-66, for a discussion of this book.

Al-Murājaᶜāt fī al-Adāb wa al-Fanūn (*Comments on Literature and Arts*), 1926; essays on literary and cultural subjects.

Dīwān, 1928; poetry.

Saᶜāt Bayn al-Kutub (*Hours Among Books*), 1929, essays on literary subjects, including European authors.

Al-Ḥukm al-Muṭlaq fī al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn (*Dictatorial Power in the Twentieth Century*), (n.d.); a discussion of the dangers of dictatorship.

Ibn al-Rūmī, 1931; a study of this important early poet.

Tidhkār Goethe, 1932; is commemoration of Goethe.

Waḥī al-Arbaᶜīn (*Inspiration at the age of 40*), 1933; poetry.

Hadīyat al-Karawān (*Gift of the Karawan*), 1933; a small volume of poetry.

Saᶜd Zaghlūl, 1936; a study of this political leader.

Shuᶜarāᵓ Miṣr (*Egyptian Poets*), 1937; essays on modern poetry.

ᶜĀbir Sabīl (*A Pedestrian*), 1937, small volume of poetry.

ᶜĀlam al-Sudūd wa al-Quyūd (*World of Walls and Chains*), 1937; a study of Egyptian prisons.

Sārah, 1938; a story.

Rajᶜat Abī al-ᶜAlāᵓ (*The Return of Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ*), 1939; an imaginary return of this poet with his reactions to modern life.

ᶜAbqarīyat ᶜUmar (*The Genius of Umar*), 1942; an analytical study of ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

ᶜAbqarīyat Muḥammad, 1942; a study of the Prophet.

Aᶜāṣīr Maghrib (*Storms at Sunset*), 1942; a collection of poetry.

Al-Ṣiddīqah Bint al-Ṣiddīq, 1943: a study of ᶜĀᵓishah, including discussions of social life in early Islam.

ᶜAbqarīyat al-Imām, 1943, a biographical study of ᶜAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, fourth caliph.

Shāᶜir al-Ghazal (*The Love Poet*), 1943; a study of the life and poetry of ᶜUmar Ibn Abī Rabīᶜa, well-known love poet of the Umayyad period.

ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ, 1944; a simple discussion of his life, character and activity. [14]

Abū al-Shuhadāᵓ (*Father of Martyrs*), 1944; a sympathetic treatment of Al-Ḥusayn the son of ᶜAlī.

ᶜAᵓis wa Shayāṭīn (*Maidens and Devils*), 1944; a collection from the writings of various authors, Eastern and Western, dealing with the subject of love.

Jamīl Buthayna, 1944; affirming the historicity of this wellknown figure in Arabic love poetry, material is presented dealing with his life and works.

ᶜAbqarīyat Khālid, 1944; a study of Khālid Ibn al-Walīd, famous Muslim general.

[14] For brief notices on books published in 1942-44 see Anawati, *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes*.

ᶜAbqarīyat al-Ṣiddīq, date?; dealing with the first caliph.
Faransīs Baykūn, 1945; which is Francis Bacon.
Bilāl Ibn Rabāḥ, 1945; Islam's first *muᵓadhdhin.*
Allāh, 1947; a discussion of ideas of divinity throughout history; in ancient civilizations, revealed religions, the philosophers and in modern scence.
Yasᵓalūnak (*They Ask You*), 1947, discussions of various problems of practical and literary interest.
Al-Falsafah al-Qurᵓānīyah (*Qurᵓānic Philosophy*), 1947; studies on the Qurᵓān, including a variety of ethical and religious topics.
Baᶜd al-Aᶜāṣīr (*After the Tempests*), 1950; a diwan of poetry.
Rūḥ ᶜAẓīm (*A Great Spirit*), 1948: a study of Ghasdi.
Al-Dīmuqrātīyah fi al-Islām (*Democracy in Islam*), 1952.
ᶜAbqarīyat al-Masīḥ (*The Genius of the Christ*), 1952; a study of Jesus using Biblical, Qurᵓanic and modern sources.
Bayn al-Kutub wa al-Nās (*Among Books and People*), 1952; a collection of about fifty articles dealing with various subjects of present day interest, literary, political and social.
Abū al-Anbiyāᵓ (*Father of the Prophets*), 1953; a study of Abraham, Biblical and Qurᵓānic figure. Free use is made of Old Testament material and secular sources. The historicity of Abraham is maintained.
ᶜAqāᵓid al-Muffakirīn fi al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn (*Creeds of Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*), *n.d.*, ca. 1953; a discussion of various non-religious theories, materialism, evolution, existentialism, etc.
Abū Nūwās, (n.d., but about 1953); a small volume dealing with this ᶜAbbasid poet.
Al-Islām fi al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn (*Islam in the Twentieth Century*), 1954.

Some minor booklets have been omitted from this list intentionally and it may be that, in dealing with such a prolific writer as al-ᶜAqqād and with the difficulties of bibliography in Cairo, items have been overlooked but, on the whole, this will supply the reader with most of the titles from al-ᶜAqqād's pen. As guidance to those not prepared to examine all of these books the following suggestions are made. In the area of essays and collected articles the *Khulāṣat al-Yawmīyah* is of interest primarily because it is the author's first book. At a time of very poor health, with the probability that he might not recover, the young man decided to set down his thoughts in the form of last chapters in his diary. The book thus furnishes interesting insights into the mind and the style of the youthful author. *Al-Muṭāla ᶜāt fī al-Kutub* and *Saᶜāt Bayn al-Kutub* are significant writings and should be included in a study of writings of al-ᶜAqqād. *Bayn al-Kutub wa al-Nās* is perhaps the most representative of his many books dealing with a variety of literary and cultural subjects. It is one of the most signi-

ficant of his recent works and he considers it the best of this more mature writing.

In the category of biographical studies a large number of titles will be observed. The best of these are in the *ᶜAbqarīyah* series, where, emulating Emil Ludwig, he analyzes the life and character of the great heroes of the Islamic past. These certainly have been his most popular books and will probably be the ones by which he will be remembered. *ᶜAbqarīyat ᶜUmar* is usually conceded to be the best of the biographical character studies. For general interest we would advise also the reading of *ᶜAbqarīyat Muḥammad* and *ᶜAbqarīyat al-Masīḥ*. The latter, while not a highly significant book in its own right, received wide circulation and is of especial interest in that we have a Muslim author of repute presenting a study of Jesus. Al-ᶜAqqād likes to think of some of his works as researches, literary and historical, rather than mere biography or essays. The best example of this type of work is his study of the poet Ibn al-Rūmī. Coming to al-ᶜAqqād's own poetry, his 1926 *Dīwān* is perhaps the most convenient source but some of his later effort such as *Aᶜāṣīr Maghrib* should also be read. [15]

While a considerable number of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's works have been translated into other languages I am aware of very little of al-ᶜAqqād's writing which is so available to the Western reader.

Concerning al-ᶜAqqād's literary style Professor Gibb writes, "Al-ᶜAqqād has forged for himself a style which is peculiar to contemporary Arabic literature, a style which is elaborate and rather of a Western type in texture, yet slightly archaic in language and which demands the utmost concentration on the part of the reader." [16] The key to al-ᶜAqqād's literary character, to borrow a phrase so common in the *ᶜAbqarīyah* biographies, is that he is intentionally the analytical thinker. He is, therefore, writing in an intellectual style, seeking to analyze and to get at the meaning of the subject in hand. His primary motive is to analyze, to think and to make his reader think. Thus it is not his desire or prime intention to produce an easy or lucid style. While Ṭaha Ḥusayn is highly conscious of the music of language al-ᶜAqqād uses language to labor a point. That his sentences become a little cumbersome and occasionally partake of ambiguity is in the nature of his literary aim.

Al-ᶜAqqād is usually classed with the 'English school" of Arabic authors, along with al-Māzinī, who died in 1947, and with ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrȳ, who was a pioneer in modern literary movement but is no longer writing. It is instructive to remember that for al-ᶜAqqād William Hazlitt is the master of literary criticism and Thomas Carlyle is his standard for prose style.

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[15] See Arberry, *Modern Arabic Poetry*, p. 41 ff., for a few of al-ᶜAqqād's poems in English translation.

[16] BSOS, V, (1929) p. 463.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE BḤAMDŪN CONFERENCE: 1954

[Many readers will be familiar with the brief story of the Muslim-Christian Convocation held at Bḥamdūn in the Lebanon in April, 1954. Owing to the joint nature of our July-October issue, which was in the press before the Convocation assembled, it has not been possible until now to make any reference to the meeting or to the far-reaching issues raised in its deliberations. We are grateful to the Rev. Eric F. F. Bishop, Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Glasgow, and himself a participant, for this series of reflections on the significance of Bḥamdūn. It is hoped to follow them with a further assessment of Muslim-Christian relations in the contemporary world, in the light of this and other recent organised occasions of debate and contact. In this connection we await the full Proceedings of the Convocation promised for early 1955.]

Towards the close of April 1954 some seventy-four men found themselves in the summer resort of Bḥamdūn in the Lebanon, some forty minutes drive from Beirūt. Christians and Muslims, in equal numbers had gathered from twenty-two countries through the initiative of the Rev. Garland Evans Hopkins and the "oriental" generosity of the American Friends of the Middle East, of which he is Vice-President. Knowing nearly every-one before they arrived either, as it seemed in most cases, through personal contact in some Near Eastern city, or in his own Virginia home, he was able to make the members of the Convocation feel at home from the outset. Many, however, must have blushed inwardly, when the Vice-President's introductions were more public. For in addition to the proposed program of papers (to which there was very faithful adherence in the face of occasional disappointments through the absence of chairman or speaker), six members were called upon at the two main meals each day, to give an account of themselves. Two comments may be made here. First everyone took the opportunity of expressing appreciation, at times coupled with surprise, for the privilege "Bḥamdūn" offered for unexpected friendships. Some people who were "mere names" became personal friends. There were frank and useful discussions on set occasions, at breakfast, in the lounge and on the roads. It was those unofficial contacts that meant, and will mean, as much as the more formal meetings of the Convocation. Secondly, the task laid upon the group of translators was not easy and gratitude is due equally to those who laboured "below decks" from early morn to more than dewy eve and to the spontaneity of the young interpreter called upon to render English into Arabic and vice versà the larger part of the day. Some will remember thankfully his candid remark near midnight on one

occasion that he was too tired to do justice to the spirit and words of the only Australian present, leading as it did to one of the unforgettable moments. It was pleasing too that most of this work of interpretation and translation was entrusted to Palestinians. In any further gathering of this nature this problem will need the most meticulous, anticipatory study.

Too few of those present at Bḥamdūn were conversant with Arabic and English, and most of these were amongst the Near Eastern element. Small groups might well be formed for the study of the different meanings given to the same Arabic word by Muslims and Christians respectively. Religiously this matter is of vital importance.

The Bḥamdūn personnel was as interesting as it was diverse with Africa the most serious lacuna. The galaxy of University dons lent both learning and prestige. This was seconded by the presence of half-a-dozen editors of newspapers or periodicals. The doyen of the Convocation combined both these callings in his own person. But it was no surprise, when the last morning arrived and the Statement of Purpose was laid before the company, that the 27 University teachers found it difficult to agree over wording in either language! For the rest there were two Bishops, American and German, the latter telling of his acknowledged right to visit Methodist congregations each side of the "iron curtain"; two business men, a Christian from Teheran, a Muslim from New York; a sprinkling of lawyers, helping us to be clearminded and three Parliamentarians from Pakistan, Syria and Lebanon respectively.

Most Muslims were (naturally) Sunnite, but in addition to the Persians there was a couple of Shi'ite sheikhs from Iraq, as ready with their friendship as other members of the Convocation. Here it will not be discriminating to refer to the blind head of the Divinity School at Kadhimain, who seemed to recognise at once by a touch of the hand when approached a second time by a would-be conversationalist. The Christians, if largely Methodist, were not entirely so, for there was an Orthodox Professor from Athens and a Coptic Qummus from Giza. Both made their contributions. The openmindedness of the former was equally manifest when he remarked that he would have to revise his judgments and his paragraphs vis à vis Islam after personal contact with Muslim friends; and when he reminded those same friends that the biggest obstacle towards mutual understanding lay in the official Islamic attitude towards the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The three Roman Catholic Professors from the Universities of Washington, Rome and Barcelona were matched in their quiet and genial interest by the alert Minister of Religious Affairs from Jakarta, the benign Finance Secretary from the Yemen (whose English vocabulary included but four words "I speak not English", and who was consequently responsible for more than one mirthful interlude) and

the gentle, softly-spoken Dean of Economics in Istanbul. There were (at least) two much-travelled members, the Professor of Philosophy in Teheran, ever ready with unselfconscious helpfulness to make use of his gifts, linguistic and administrative, and the Consul-General of Iraq in Singapore, who while knowing his own Afghanistan had the further distinction of being Meccan by birth. In the colourful throng, assessing the spiritual assets of Christianity or Islam, were speakers from Canada, Persia, Australia and Egypt. Two other Christians from the Commonwealth had something to say, namely the Executive Secretary of the Pakistan Christian Council, full of plans, alive to the religious issues in his country, reminding the Convocation that four different words for "grapes" did not make any difference to the "grapes"; and the versatile Professor of History from Madras, brimful of Christian experience, not forgetful of the "use" of humour, a welcome representative of the Church of South India. So the tale of nationalities unfolds and may fitly end with the picture of some of the most striking figures standing out on the canvas, whom we shall not easily forget—the Dutch Explorer of the Ḥaḍramaut, whose depth of scholarship and breadth of statesmanship owed much to his fund of human sympathy and the deeper springs below, the Sheikh from the University of Damascus, whose heartfelt prayer for refugees could not fail to find an echo in the hearts of all who heard and shared (for even those who knew no Arabic could enter into the experience of his soul), the Waldensian whose every look and gesture betokened his ability for communicating strength in heart or mind, the French Founder of the House of Reconciliation, diplomatically unafraid, rejoicing to speak French in a free Lebanon and evoking the spontaneous Lebanese response in French. Then there was the triumvirate of Egyptian Professors, two historians and a Dean of Arts, bi-lingual, clear-minded, sympathetic, capable of pursuing in fellowship at least some of the *desiderata* manifested at Bḥamdūn for the betterment of Christian-Muslim relationships. Yet still this list of personalities is not exhaustive. Others from the Near East were old friends—some of them students of the writer—and specific reference has been made in these lines only to those not met before.

The first fact to be noted is the friendly atmosphere that pervaded the hotel—something not prearranged but spontaneous. There must have been several who did not know who or what was coming. But it is never hard in the Near East to make friends. The fact that so many had academic connections should augur well. Friendship has already begun for the man who says to another: "I have read your book and am grateful for it." Scholarship has always been a recognised medium for the interchange of thought. If tolerance is not inculcated in the lecture-room, it can hardly be general elsewhere. A further proof of the atmosphere of friendliness might be found in the number of photographs, taken not on the more official occasions, but in smaller groups.

Friendship, however, must be frank; and both in the papers, which were perhaps somewhat individualistic in their approach to problems, and in conversation, there was outspokenness usually untinged with prejudice. Bearing in mind the differences in background and the thousand years inheritance of misunderstanding or antagonism, it was remarkable that there was so little recrimination. That the admission of past errors in judgment and attitude must be a pre-requisite for consultation on the deeper issues that divide Islam from Christianity was obvious enough on one occasion to win assent from Muslims and Christians. These matters of the Spirit cannot be neglected or by-passed. They can best be broached in small groups by sincerely religious and sanely liberal minds from both "sides", versed in the history of fact and controversy and steeped in the determination to pursue the path of understanding with unhurried patience. They require the give-and-take of men humbled by the sense of past failure and the divine call to think constructively. This kind of endeavor will be achieved not in the larger gatherings as in Bḥamdūn, but in "cells" or round a table that does not allow of more than eight. Some of us missed the opportunity of this smaller grouping as part of the programme, while in any future "Convocation"—such as is planned for 1956—time should be allowed, especially in view of any vital statement, for specific gatherings of Christians and Muslims as such. The lengthy discussion around the Statement of Purpose revealed the need for this, particularly for the Christians with their far more varied backgrounds, and the fact that many of the more important participants were not acquainted with Islamic moulds of thought. The danger here is not the possibility of syncretism, conscious or unconscious, but a superficiality (what the Arabs call *saṭḥiyya* or "roofishness") which can only tend to obscure the clarity of expression required over the important issues, which demand attention in the whole relationship of Christianity with Islam and so offer what at the moment of development may only be false impressions. This is more likely from the Christian side than the Islamic, for in the last resort our friends throughout the Muslim world must not be allowed the impression (for instance) that their attitude to the Prophet of Islam (*Sayyidna Muḥammad*) for all its devotion and respect, can be equated with that of the generality of Christendom towards the Founder of Christianity (*Rabbinā al Masīḥ*). This very issue was raised on the last morning in the discussion on the "Purpose". It was the oriental, Arabic-speaking Christians, who voiced the misunderstanding that arose over the wording of a sentence, which demanded the uttermost clarity in expression.

This leads into a matter alluded to more than once by Muslim speakers—that not only does Islam refer with respect to Jesus Christ from the Qur'ān onwards, but that it is unique in being the only non-Christian world Religion to do so. Grateful as we should be for this today, we must dare to expect that this millennium-old and static

feeling of reverence for Jesus will kindle into new and ardent life until it leads to a reexamination of Christian origins by an Islamic scholarship *au fait* with western methods of approach and untrammelled by past failure to understand what Christians mean by their theological terminology. The Christian Church, meanwhile, must give no cause for any increase of misunderstanding. Enough for Muslims sincerely to approach the "criticism" of the gospels for an Islamic reappraisal of the Life of Christ. Then anything may happen in the relationship of Islam with Christianity, dividing as they do between them the conscious allegiance of nearly half the world. One most happy period at Bḥamdūn was an afternoon session during which a Muslim scholar of piety and erudition called attention to the monotheistic references in the Gospel. These are sometimes more evident in the Arabic than in the English versions; but it is a question deserving thorough consideration. These compelling monotheistic notes must not be muffled; they are as distinctive as similar notes in the Qurʾān.

Germane to this basic problem of ultimate relationship is the danger that may lurk in adulation or well-meant but ill-advised use by Christians of honorific titles as used by Islam in speaking of Muḥammad or other "prophetic" characters of history. Western appreciation by Christians of what Muḥammad accomplished is not enhanced by the use in English (or other European language) or translated Arabic titles of respect. While it was interesting to hear devout Shiites unite the name of ʿAlī with that of Muḥammad, when occasion demanded, it seemed unnatural and cumbersome—even out of the way—for a Christian to employ such phraseology, especially when in the case of the Prophet there seems no accepted single version of the "ascription." Rather be as frank as the Muslim merchant in Qairawan three years ago, who, in accepting a Gospel, remarked: "The difference between us is that you are not prepared to say that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, while I am ready to say that Jesus is the Word of God". The mutual recognition of wide divergence, from which Bḥamdūn started, has more promise of eventual harvest than what must savour to Muslims in-the-know, of bridge building by mere words.

Flimsiness is no substitute for the will to understand and the desire to estimate the value lying beneath words of familiarity, even affection, when used by the genuinely pious. Incidentally no one is deceived or cajoled into thinking that the gulf between us can be easily spanned. We Christians should guard against anything that might mislead our friends or blur Christian insistence on the Incarnation. Whatever Muslims may say of their undeniable respect for Jesus and the Quranic statements, for the most part Islam does not yet know "Jesus as He was."

For the most part, since there are some folk who do study the New Testament. One outspoken friend stated frankly that the references

to the "meekness and gentleness of Christ" were (to him) unimpressive. The phrase had even become descriptive of a type of modern Christianity he had come to despise and for which he had no use; refusing at the same time to believe that genuine Christians in Britain or the U.S.A. could not and would not claim their countries to be Christianly controlled in the realm of politics. For him the borderline in Christendom as in Islam between politics and religion was nonexistent. Opposed alike to "imperialism" and "missions," he had not reached the position of the Palestinian refugee from Haifa, who said a week after the close of Bḥamdūn that it was necessary to distinguish between a western people and its politicians. It is in this milieu of resentment and frustration that Christians in individual and collective discipleship must evidence the love that hopes and copes, bears and forbears. This should lead to two results in anticipation of fuller cooperation. There was greater diversity of world outlook as between the Muslims at Bḥamdūn and presumably generally than between Christians in a similar position in life. Christianity has already experienced the brunt and impact of scientific criticism. This has not yet been directed at the foundations of Islam. When the day comes—perhaps the Bḥamdūn Convocation was evidence that this is nearer than at one time supposed—Christianity should be ready to help spontaneously and naturally. This impact will likely develop first in India or Pakistan rather than in the distracted Near East, where (largely because of western encroachments) the older moorings are still the anchorage against adversive currents. Here it should be mentioned that two members of the Muslim Brotherhood were present. Both were "weighty", if in different ways. One had been in prison for his views. This movement should not forget the need for maintaining touch with Christian movements amongst the youth of the orient. To know what Christianity stands for in the world can only be of service.

In this general connection of relationship it was noteworthy that the New Testament was quoted by Muslims more often than the Qurʾān by Christians. It should further be noted that there was no overt suggestion that the New Testament had suffered tampering or "corruption." But at least two Muslims were candid in their criticism of the Arabic version, one adding that when he read the New Testament, he preferred to do so in English. He asked for an Arabic version that Muslims would "enjoy." This was a reminder of the practice three years ago of Christians in Nazareth in listening to the Friday broadcast from the Al-Aqṣā Mosque, because they enjoyed listening to the Arabic. This is a subject that still needs exploration; and we are thankful for the unexpected interest evinced at Bḥamdūn. The request to Muslim scholarship would be to see that the agelong, ill-considered charge of the "corruption" of the Scriptures be dropped.

It was quite obvious from the inception of the Convocation that

the Palestine Tragedy overshadowed the outlook of most, while those who lived furthest away from the centre came to understand more of the situation created largely by western politics. The deep feeling of the members coming from countries bordering on "Israel" was undeniable, the same being true to a less extent in the case of those from Iraq, Persia and Pakistan. For this reason those responsible made the one political exception in permitting a resolution expressive alike of sympathy and condemnation. One paper on the attitude to Communism was equally devoted to Zionism! In should be remembered that Bḥamdūn is less than 25 miles from several places of refugee accomodation—one of which was visited by most members at the close of the Convocation. This is the place to mention another desired result, which might be realised through the goodwill and leadership of academic Islam, the recognition that one of the greatest examples in this century of Christian philanthropy has been the unstinted service of Christian organisations towards the alleviation of refugee suffering, backed by the generosity of countless Christians mediated through the Churches. The recognition that service of this nature is the expression of New Testament Christianity needs acknowledgement by Islamic leadership, not excluding Government. The cup of cold water is ever offered in the name of Christ.

Much of the publicity given to the Convocation in the local press was unnecessarily distorted, deriving from different political extremes. Only once was the political issue of Communism raised and that not at an official session. To the unbiassed it should be clear that even if Communism as a modern creed figured in the prepared papers, it was not singled out for favour or disfavour as a political system. It was not in the picture any more than any other form of materialist philosophy. It would be calumny to foist "American" ulterior motivation on the promoters of the Convocation merely because the idea originated in a conversation with the King of Libya and came to fruition through the American Friends of the Middle East at a critical period in world history with the United States in the forefront of the stage. Whatever be the criticisms leviable at the conception and its outcome, they rest on other grounds and apprehensions.

Bḥamdūn happened. The programme was a series of events. The personnel was a group of people selected by an organisation. By personal invitation they launched an enterprise. This enterprise with the cooperation of more experienced leadership, available through the resources of the Roman Orders and of the International Missiinary Council, might well strive to improve relationships which have worsened down the centuries. The International Missionary Council has pursued this quest for decades. The American Friends of the Middle East is comparatively inexperienced, but its proved asset is in the second word of its title. Unilateralism must be steadfastly avoided. There is also the Union for the Study of the Great Religions, though

its terms of reference are wider than Islamic-Christian rapprochement. The A.F.M.E. with its verve and optimism and its human concern for the promotion of mutual information across the oceans, its manifest desire to share in making amends for wrongs committed and its happy insistence on the discovery of friendship, might well bring these and much else into the arena of fresh study and approach. This is in keeping with one of the more pertinent phrases in the *Statement of Purpose*—"there is urgent need further to explore ways of cooperation." As in all such enterprises the ways will be long and arduous—a fact which invites the suggestion that future "Bḥamdūns" should not forget the contribution of the sex to which the President of the A.F.M.E. belongs. It is only right to close these paragraphs with a quotation from the Report of the Findings Committee, accepted but not adopted:—

> "We pledge ourselves to do all within our power to further the spirit of friendship between the peoples of our faiths, to eradicate prejudice and misunderstanding and to create in every good way brotherhood and mutual understanding."

University of Glasgow, Scotland ERIC F. F. BISHOP

MUSLIMS IN INDIA SINCE PARTITION

The Muslims in India constitute the largest minority in the world. The Census taken in 1951 gives 45,000,000 as their number. It is estimated that the population of India (362,000,000) is 15.1 per cent of the total population of the world. On this reckoning the Indian Muslims form 1.875 per cent of the human race, which by itself should make them a unique "minority."

When the sub-continent was divided in 1947 into two independent countries, not only were the Muslim majorities which inhabited Pakistan separated from India, but also a very large number of Indian Muslims were attracted to Pakistan for a variety of reasons. These reasons continued to operate until very recently; even at present they have not disappeared altogether. But the exodus to Pakistan has now dwindled into a trickle. Wherefore Pakistan was encouraged to introduce the Passport system to regularise travel to and from India. Although irredentist solicitude for the minorities living across the border may still confront India and Pakistan with the disconcerting problem of the transfer of population, it is recognised on all hands that, unless dire necessity should so require the movement of millions of men is neither a practicable proposition to tackle, nor a pleasant prospect to conceive.

One of the many contradictions involved in modern life is that, although the demand for the separation of politics from other activities —particularly religion—is reiterated every where with increasing vigour, the political parties themselves tend to extend their influence over all the spheres of human life. Unless out-striped by the totalitarian state, or over-shadowed by the welfare state, they continually revise and refashion their programme to universalise its application. In un-divided India the two greatest political parties, the National Congress and the Muslim League lived up to this tradition. The alien administration of the country at that time was neither totalitarian nor altruistic; hence the two parties were enabled to dominate between themselves the entire fabric of the Indian society. Although primarily concerned with the freedom of the country, their vision of freedom included autonomy and self-realisation not only at the political level but all the levels of national life. The all-inclusive character of this ideal constituted complete justification for the pervasive influence they were destined to exercise upon the masses. On the other hand, the comparative immaturity of political consciousness among the masses, and their instinctive tendency to personalise their response to a "leader" led them to accept the authority of the political parties in all their activities. Therefore the Muslim League and the National Congress dominated the life of the Indians so completely that for practical purposes, if not logically, it was an anomaly in those days to be an Indian and not to be identified with one of the two. It is an open

question whether the details of the programme adopted by either party actually struck a responsive chord in the heart of the common man. Perhaps the primitive and un-happy conditions of the daily life of the common man had atrophied his judgement so completely that all political manoeuvres around him left him in consternation. But his intellectual passivity was accompanied by very powerful emotions. His predilection for hero-worship and the ceaseless brain-washing carried on by the hierarchy of political neophytes who intervened between him and the professional politician bound him to the party as no intellectual appraisal of a well-defined programme could bind.

Nothing of what is said here is intended to imply that the concrete result of the struggle carried on by the Congress and the League—viz., the termination of the British rule and the establishment of Pakistan—was gained in spite of the people. Nor is it insinuated that, in the case of the Muslims, competency of judgment (or at least the maturity of political consciousness) would have precluded their doing what they actually did as enthusiastic followers of the League. But the fact remains that the 45 million Muslims of India, who were second to none in their support for Pakistan, were not acting by fore-sight and independent judgment when they thought that the proposed division of the country was a desideratum for *them*.

It was for this reason that the independence of the country found them utterly un-prepared to face the situation. Responsible leaders in the new set-up impressed upon them that they were as good citizens as the followers of any religion, but that this right carried with it some onerous obligations. Living *in* the country, they must try to be *of* it as well. This meant a stupendous effort by them to reconcile themselves to the separation of religion from politics which came to be adopted as the cardinal principle of the newly established democracy. At this stage, it is not possible to hazard a guess whether this effort has, or has not, been attended with success. Perhaps it has not been begun at all. But, negatively the inhibitions which might retard such a consummation have been liquidated, slowly but surely. Ultimately, it seems, the conversion, not only of the Muslims but of all Indians, from an over-emphasised religiosity will depend on a number of circumstances, both internal and external.

It is not very easy to collect many details about the Indian Muslims, because, firstly, in the absence of organisation as a separate entity their far-flung numbers all over the country can hardly be reduced to general categories exclusively applicable to them; and, secondly, the national statistics do not always take into account communal differences. The principles of (community-wise) classification adopted during British rule—e.g. separate electorates, reservation in services, parallel enumeration in Census, etc.—have been discarded by the national government. However, the following account may be helpful in putting together the data scattered elsewhere.

A—Number of Muslim members of Legislative Bodies:

Legislature	Muslims	Total no. of seats
1. Central Parliament (Lower House) [1]	35	500
2. Assam L. A.	15	108
3. Bihar	19	330
4. Bombay	14	315
5. Madhya Pradesh	6	232
6. Madras	5	375
7. Orissa	2	140
8. Punjab	3	126
9. Uttar Pradesh	33	430
10. West Bengal	22	238
11. Hyderabad	8	175
12. Madhya Bharat	2	99
13. Mysore	1	99
14. P.E.P.S.U.	1	60
15. Rajasthan	2	160
16. Saurashtra	1	60
17. Travancore	3	108
18. Ajmer	3	30
19. Bhopal	5	30
20. Coorg	1	24
21. Delhi	3	48
22. Mawipur	1	30
23. Tripura	6	30
24. Vindhya Pradesh	1	60
Total	192	3807
Ratio	1 :	19.828
Ratio (Population)	1 :	8

B—Some Relevant Constitutional Provisions [2]:

Preamble: "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and to secure to all its citizens

Justice, social, economic and political
Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship
Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all
Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.....

[1] By an oversight the figures relating to the Council of State (Upper House: central Parliament) have been omitted. In that house, Muslims have 19 out of 25 seats.

[2] The figures quoted in this essay, and the selections from the Indian Constitution have been taken from the India and Pakistan Year Book, 1952-1953, Times of India, Bombay.

Section 14—The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

15—The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on ground only of religion, race, caste, etc.....

16—There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

25 (1)—Subject to public order, morality and health... all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion.

(2)—Nothing in this article shall effect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law.

a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice.

b) providing for social welfore and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

26—Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or section thereof shall have the right—

a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes.

b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.

c) to own and acquire moveable and immovable property. and

d) to administer such property in accordance with law.

27—No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

28 (1)—No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

(2)—Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

29 (1)—Any sections of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

30—All minorities whether based on religion or language shall

have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

44—The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India.

C—Politics

The words "Muslim politics" are anathema in free India to-day. The secular government is determined to stop, by force if necessary, all recrudescence, in any quarter, of communal politics. This is why Muslims can be seen among the followers of political parties—from the left-wing Communists, through the liberal National Congress, down to the Rightists like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh. Purely Muslim organisations like the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind and the Shia and Momin parties have, qua political parties, voted themselves out of existence. There is an Indian Muslim League in Madras, which, like the Pakistan Congress, has no connection with the parent body across the border. This organization whose candidate won a seat in the state (i.e., provincial) Legislature, claimed that although the Congress was the one organization with which Muslims could identify themselves still there was need for a separate political party to express the specifically Muslim point of view on a non-political questions—like the position of Urdu—which might elsewhere be defeated by the majority.

Most of the Indians who had been active members of the Muslim league in un-divided India have now joined the Congress. At the time of their parleys with the Congress, the Nationalist Muslims took the position that they should not be admitted to the Congress until such time as concrete evidence of their loyalty to the country is available. In their spirited counter-plea the ex-Leaguers made the following points:—

1. Congress should not act in a spirit of revenge.

2. Proof of the necessary psychological re-adjustment has already been furnished by the Muslims' consent to the abolition of separate electorates.

3. Muslims are convinced that their support for the progressive ideals of the Congress will insure their "safety."

4. If the Rashtriya Sewak Singh—the Hindu protagonists of communal politics—is laid under no obligation to prove its loyalty to the secular state, why should the League incur all the odium?

5. Muslims will be a source of strength to the Congress in its contest with the Leftists, like the Socialists and the Communists, on the one hand, and the Rightists, like the Mahasabha, on the other.

6. Admission of the ex-Leaguers to the Congress will demonstrate the secular character of the new order, and counter-act Pakistan propaganda that Muslims are victimised in India.

It goes without saying that the rapprochement was affected, and

history recorded another instance of the synthesis of antitheses. Like West Germany, the leaders of Muslim India underwent a re-baptism for the second time since the days of Khilafatism. It is ungracious to apportion blame for what happened in the past. It would be stupid for them not to prepare themselves for the future. Since the early days of independence the Congress has had an eventful career. On three specific questions it has been criticised from opposite extremes:

a) In regard to its continuance after the attainment of independence, some of its critics advised it to disband itself, while others suggested that it should be re-vitalised.

b) In regard to the development measures adopted by it, it has been criticised for too much as well as too little of initiative.

c) In its dealings with the Muslims, extreme rightists within the country accused it of appeasement, while Pakistan brought against the Congress government the charge of "cultural genocide."

As in many other controversies, the truth lies somewhere between two extremes. Historical events during the past seven years show how reciprocal adaptation between the Muslims and the Congress has materialised. Muslims recognise that it was solicitude for their welfare which cost the greatest Indian his life. On their part, they did not allow themselves to be perturbed when the Hyderabad "episode" was enacted. Recently, during the General Elections, when everybody feared that physical violence might be perpetrated or Muslim candidates might be crowded out, the Congress administration handled the situation firmly and successfully. During the intensification of the agitation over Kashmir, Muslims realised that there was a parting of ways between the interests of Indian Muslims and those of the Muslim state of Pakistan. The latest situation seems to be that the huge organization represented by the Congress has exhibited lack of co-ordination, particularly in its trial of strength with the Left. At the lower level, many members of the organization have succumbed to reactionary influences. Muslims seem to be disturbed by this trend; hence the growing popularity of Socialist and Communist ideologies among them.

D—Education, Language and Culture

The Constitution provides for complete liberty to all sections of the population in these matters. This has in practice proved to be a drawback in the Administration's effort for complete Westernisation. For instance it was for this reason that the government's measure to reform the (Hindu) civil law failed to win decisive acceptance. It seems that at present all the communities are hypersensitive to drastic measures aiming at revolutionary changes in the sphere of private law. While this dilemma continues—and it will take an un-predictably long time to resolve it—the cultural situation remains considerably the same as it was during the British rule. The only change is that the

government has explicitly stated its determination to discourage denominational education and fissiparous culturism. In the case of Muslims this has resulted in a "slump" in their denominational institutions. While the Muslim University at Aligarh, one of the four centrally administered universities in India, has under the government's mandate revised its scheme of compulsory theological instruction, smaller institutions have had to secularise themselves voluntarily, in order to rehabilitate their finances. They are running the race a bit earlier than others, because the depleted number of Muslims can not replenish them, or even if a sufficiently large number of Muslims is available, an over-dose of Islamic studies will not make bread-winners of them. The Muslim Educational Conference, founded by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān to propagate the ideals to which his M. A. O. College was dedicated, has been so adversely affected by the shrinkage of its funds that its ex-officio President, the Vice Chancellor of the Muslim University, advises it to close its career. This is a serious situation which may be considered to be deplorable too, but it is not the result of anything like political pressure or regimentation. In fact, political pressure whenever and wherever exerted has had a re-vitalising effect. Thus, on the question of Urdu, Muslims have now realised that if this language is to live at all, it must evolve an energetic response from within itself to the challenge with which history has confronted it. The movement of social forces is ruthless and inexorable; constitutional guarantees cannot impede it. This means that Urdu will live, if it lives at all, by the richness and vitality of its essence, not by the favour of law-makers.

There is, as there has been, no single all-inclusive Muslim or Hindu culture in India. From one geographical region, and one economic stratum, to another its manifestations differ, as they have always done. The way of life which characterised the middle and the upper classes used to be identified as the culture of Muslims or Hindus, as the case might be. Now in case of Muslims this culture is in the process of accelerated disintegration. In the case of the Hindus it is not. The explanation of the former instance lies in the impact of the forces let loose by Partition. That of the latter is to be found in the élan born of triumphant nationhood. The problem of the future will be, first, how to arrest this divergence, and second, to speed up a balanced re-integration in the total context of Indian life.

Now to sum up, in concrete terms and with particular reference to the Muslims, the position is this. The Muslim society is governed by the Muhammadan Law which was codified during the British rule. An important development is that some recent cases of intermarriage with the Hindus occasioned serious discussion whether the sanction for Muslim men's marriage with the Scriptuary women can be extended to the Hindus. The proposal in favour of such a step died still-born. But it is not improbable that if cases multiply, the Muslim law might be subjected to drastic revision. With their religion divorced from

politics, and their distinctive personal law rendered amenable to reinterpretation, Muslims in India might find themselves in a favourable position to take advantage of the opportunities for Westernisation which have been created in the country today. It will be deplorable if they allow themselves too easily to be reoriented out of their religion. It will be tragic if such a thing happens under duress. But if the process is smooth, self-determined and evolutionary, Islam will be enriched by the experience of its followers in India. In the sphere of education, the problem before the Muslims has narrowed down to one question, viz., the future of Urdu. The quantum of energy they devote to specifically Islamic subjects is not likely to be imperilled by external influences. But their own transformation from within, and the withdrawal of religious guidance from active life, will make it more and more a "matter of spirit." The stand they have taken on the question of Urdu shows that, although most apt to co-operate with the secular State, they are determined to retain their individuality as a distinct social unit. Whatever may be the consequences of this struggle, it is certain that Urdu will play on account of it a very important part in the evolution of an Indian culture on the linguistic plane.

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LANGUAGE REFORM IN TURKEY AND ITS RELEVANCE TO OTHER AREAS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In this paper is presented an English translation of an article by Agâh Sırrı Levend, an distinguished member of the Turkish Language Society, entitled, *From the Old to the New Script.* This was published on page 2 of the Ankara Daily Newspaper *Ulus,* on August 9, 1953, the 25th anniversary of Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk]'s famous speech which inaugurated the successful movement for the adoption of the Latin in place of the Arabic characters, formalized in the law of November 3, 1928. Since then, Turkey has made remarkable strides in simplifying and developing the spelling and vocabulary of Turkish. This in turn has enabled her people to become much more literate, with far less effort than was required to master the ill-adapted Arabic script which the Ottoman Turks had used for centuries. Agâh Sırrı Levend's book [1] gives a detailed study of Turkish language reform from the adoption of Islam by the Turks during the Middle Ages until 1949. In this article, however, the emphasis is on language reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th and early 20th centuries. His article gives no analysis of the course of the Turkish "language revolution" from 1928 to the present. Useful studies of this more recent, and important phase have been published elsewhere [2] and need not be repeated here. It must be emphasized, however, that language reform has been closely linked with national and cultural reform movements in Turkey and elsewhere.

Since December 1952, however, there has been a definite reaction against further rapid linguistic reform in Turkey. This change became notable when Parliament revoked the "modern" wording of the 1945 version of the Turkish Constitution and voted to return to the more traditional language of the Constitution as it had first been drafted in 1924. Thus, since December 1952, when this action was taken, we may note, for instance, that the older term for Ministry, *Vekâlet* has been restored to favour in place of the new word, *Bakanlık,* which had been in use for some years. On the other hand, the new Turkish word signifying Education, *eğitim* has not yet been discarded in favour of the older term, *maarif.* We can thus conclude that, although the

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[1] Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme safhaları. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1949, viii, 426 p. (*Phases in the development and simplification of the Turkish language*).

[2] Cf. Peyami Safa, "La révolution linguistique et le problème des termes scientifiques en Turquie," *Civilisations* (publiée par l'Institut International des Civilisations Différentes, Bruxelles), vol. II, No. 1 (1952), pp. 41-45; and L. Szabe, "Regression or New Development? Twenty Years of Linguistic Reform in Turkey," *ibid.,* pp. 46-53, with further bibliography.

pace of linguistic reform in Turkey is slackening, many newer terms will continue to be used in official circles.

It seems virtually impossible to lay down criteria by which one can determine which neologisms will survive and which will perish. The current dominant position of the new Democratic Party probably works against the wholehearted support of institutions such as the Turkish Language Society which were strongly supported by the opposition Republican People's Party. Another factor contributing to lack of popular support of these innovations is the current revival of interest in Turkey's specifically Islamic heritage which strengthens the conservatives in their opposition to linguistic reform. One of the serious charges which the reformers of the language still have to face is that their program perforce creates a serious gap in Turkish cultural history. In 1949, Turkey's present foreign minister, Professor Fuad Köprülü, is reported to have expressed concern at the break in the continuity of the development of Turkish civilization because the new script and language reform was alienating the yonger generation from its religious and literary heritage.[3] This is true, but the reformers reply that the great gains attained thanks to their efforts far outweigh any such disadvantages which they claim are in any case only temporary. Others seem ready to jettison most of the old heritage because they aver that it had much to do with Ottoman decline. Turkey now seems to be seeking a middle way between unreasonable extremes. The translation which follows, and the references already cited, will describe Turkey's concrete efforts at language and alphabet reform from 1861 to 1928 in further detail. It can fairly be said that without these earlier attempts, and the often bitter experience derived from them, Atatürk's catalytic action in 1928 could hardly have initiated such a dynamic and generally successful movement in republican Turkey. Before introducing the account of these important pioneering Turkish experiments it is worth considering the possible value or relevance of a study of the Turkish experience in language reform in a wider context.

This point is worth serious evaluation. Can a study of Turkey's long experience in linguistic reform, particularly the various sustained efforts undertaken since the mid-19th century, prove useful to the developing study of linguistics and to other countries and groups in their own efforts at language reform? At least one other Near Eastern country thinks that it can and a number of Arab and Iranian scholars have expressed their interest in the matter also. Recently, an Israeli scholar who has specialized in the study of modern Turkey has devoted considerable effort to such a study in order to ascertain what practical ideas and techniques might be derived from Turkey for possible application in contemporary Israeli efforts to revitalize Hebrew as the new, national language and to teach it to all Israeli citizens.[4]

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[3] Szabe, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cf. Uriel Heyd, "Language Reform in Modern Turkey," *Middle Eastern*

The question of linguistic reform is of universal importance. Consider the spate of articles and books dealing with the relatively simple comparison of British and American English; or the vastly more complex linguistic changes of Africa; language problems in the scattered French union; Canada's bilingual structure and the tension inherent in French Canada; the revived attempts to impose Russian as the dominant language throughout the U.S.S.R., the satellite states, and as a world language since 1949; the long argument over the relative importance of "demotic" as against "neo-classical" or "pure" Greek; and the gargantuan task of dealing with India's Babel of language. [5] In the Muslim world the question is equally acute. There is perennial debate over "classical" versus "colloquial" Arabic; over a "simplified" Arabic script, at least for printing purposes; on the use of Berber or Arabic in North Africa; on Urdu, Bengali or English in Pakistan; on the role of Islam and Arabic in Indonesia. The intimate relationship between language reform and deepseated ethnic, national, religious and traditional sensibilities gives added complexity to the issue.

Yet the overriding demand for education, for the participation of the barely literate and illiterate masses of the people in national life as citizens, as integrated producers of agricultural commodities, and their surge toward a better standard of living combine to force the pace for mass education, for short-cuts to literacy, and for almost inevitable language simplification and reform. Because learning is so ardently desired, and because education is admittedly one of the primary instruments for the transformation of national life, especially in the underdeveloped areas, vast new educational programs are being implemented. Perhaps not unjustly, the illiterate look to the literate, educated people as their leaders, and think that literacy is the first key to progress. Few indeed seem conscious of the dangers of a half-literate, poorly educated citizenry who have little reading matter or literature specifically designed to meet their level of literacy. Frank Laubach has repeatedly warned that if, for instance, the new literates of India are not provided by the Indian or world public with useful, adequate literature, for nothing, or else most reasonably, then the Communists will see to it that they read their own distorted literature which they are already making available in abundance to Chinese peasants, and to others elsewhere. In spite of this inherent danger of a barely literate citizenry, mass education which necessarily implies at least some radical language reform, is in great demand and is considered by many to be a panacea which must be used in the struggle to uplift whole peoples as quickly as possible.

Affairs, IV, 12 (December, 1953), pp. 402-409; and personal conversation with Dr. Heyd in Ankara, July 11, 1952.

[5] Cf. "India: Nation of Languages," *The Christian Science Monitor,* April 28, 1954; p. 3, which mentions 179 different languages and 544 dialects spoken in India in 1947.

Education, coupled with language reform has, indeed, played an important role in Turkey's remarkable progress, so that it is natural that other countries eager for comparable progress should be attracted to the methods employed in Turkey. In spite of all the dire prognostications of the conservatives, the Turks, both in Turkey and in other parts of Asia, have clung to Islam even after they have discarded the Arabic script. At the same time, they seem to have made great strides in their material and cultural development, thanks in part to language reform.

The Turks of Central Asia, Azarbayjan, and the Turkish Republic have, in the order named, replaced Arabic script in favour of simpler, modified Latin characters since the end of the First World War. All remain Muslim in spite of the great attractions and pressures to which they have been subjected in the past thirty years, and most have made great social and economic progress. The success of the Turks has a magnetic appeal to fellow Muslims and other peoples who wish to emulate them. The following translation may give them some helpful insights, and it may also emphasize the potential value, if not also the urgency, of studying Turkish language reform in order to learn whether or not certain principles and techniques might be derived from this experience which could be applied successfully to the solution of linguistic problems in other areas, and particularly in the wide Islamic world.

FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW SCRIPT

"Undoubtedly the happiest event in Turkish cultural history has been the alphabet reform. The revolutionary movement, which was started 25 years ago today with Atatürk's speech at Sarayburnu, [Istanbul], opened up a most fruitful era in our cultural life as a part of, or even as the very basis of, the total Turkish revolution which accepted Western Civilization as its aim.

The Turks were impelled to accept the present-day Turkish alphabet based on the Latin alphabet not only because of this transition from Eastern to Western civilization, but also perhaps because of the reaction created by the difficulties in the reading and writing of Turkish ever since our acceptance of the Arabic letters.

The Arabic alphabet was not well adapted to writing Turkish words. In the Uygur alphabet there were not the letters "se, sat, dat, tı, zı" which existed in Arabic, and likewise Arabic possessed only the vowels "elif, vav, and ye" which had to assume all the Turkish vowel sounds. [There are at least eight of these]. With regard to "elif"; in the words where it began the word, it undertook, according to the pronunciation of the word, the job of representing all initial vowels. The letter "v" took the place of the four letters "o, u, ö, ü" and "y" took the place of either "i" or "ı".

Since the Turks had received the Arabic alphabet through the Persians, it was necessary to take the letters "p, ç, j, and g" which the Persian had added to the Arabic alphabet. Thus "g" and "ke" were written with the same Arabic symbol but were pronounced as either "ke, g, n, or y" in Turkish.

The Turks who remained in Central Asia under the influence of the Uygur alphabet used more vowels in their writing and therefore met this difficulty to a degree. But, for the Turks of Anatolia this was not so. They, from the beginning, caused the spelling of Turkish words to conform to that of Arabic. Vowels were used for the most part in the last syllable. They tried to show the pronunciation of the syllables by the use of minor vowels. For example: the word "doğdu" was written "dgd"; the word "didi" as "dd"; "kıldılar" as "kldlr"; and "kamu" as "km". Even the Turkish noun ending, "den" was represented by the Arabic "tanwin" [nunation] and a doubled letter in a Turkish word by the Arabic "shedde" [doubled consonant sign]. When the minor vowels were not used these words remained an enigma.

The Turks, attempting to preserve the Arabic form in writing, could not decide on a uniform spelling of Turkish words. Later they reduced the number of minor vowels, and started using more major vowels. But in such a situation every writer had his own system of spelling. This anomalous situation continued, giving rise to no complaints or discussions as long as writing and reading remained a privilege of the educated class, and the government disregarded its obligation to educate the people.

During the "Tanzimat" period, [1826-1876 approx.] when the principle of saving the people from illiteracy was adopted, expressions of dissatisfaction were forthcoming. The writing system was in no state to ensure the easy mastery of reading and writing. The continuing illiteracy was due to this. The intellectuals were united on the following point, that it was necessary to submit spelling to a definite system to make reading and writing easier.

Yet no efforts were made to attack the alphabet problem. The first man who had the courage to put forth this problem was Münif Paşa. Münif Paşa said in 1861 (1278 A.H.) during a conference of the Ottoman Scientific Society, "According to the present custom of placing minor vowels in writing, there are at least five ways to read every word. Even if we use the signs already existing in the Arabic alphabet it is not enough to attain the aim of overcoming the disadvantages." After this he went on to praise the European system of writing and suggested the following two remedies:

1) To improve the existing system by placing the signs and minor vowels above the letters.

2) To write each letter in every word separately.

He said the first remedy was more difficult and preferred the second.

The famous Azeri Turk, Ahondzade Mirza Fethali, came from Tiflis to Istanbul in 1863 (1280 A.H.) and presented a proposal to the Sublime Porte. In this proposal he explained his ideas about the alphabet reform. The plan, having been sent to the Ottoman Scientific Society for consideration, was discussed and although Münif Paşa defended it and it was considered worthy, it was not accepted on the grounds of being too difficult.

A further attempt was made in 1869 (1286 A.H.) by the Iranian ambassador in London, Melkon Han.[6] Melkon Han had had printed in his reformed letter style, Şeyh Saᶜdi's *Gülistan,* and had sent it with a letter to the newspapers. Traces of this event can be found in the newspapers of that time.

It may be noticed at this time that Zehâvızade Cemil of Baghdad proposed a plan in 1895 (1313 A.H.). His plan was submitted to the Minister of Education but nothing came of it in the end.

If there is one thing that can be said of all these plans, it is that throughout [all this thinking] we see the problem of letter reform concerned only with the improvement of the existing alphabet. It is possible to group the ideas put forth in the following summary:

a) To preserve the spelling of the Persian and Arabic words, writing only Turkish words according to their pronunciation.

b) To change also the spelling of Arabic and Persian words.

c) Not even to affect the spelling of Turkish words, preserving existing forms but merely placing minor vowels ["elif, vav, y"] above their consonants.

The conservatives could not support the idea of writing even the word Turk with a "vav". The Arabs wrote the word Turk without "vav" and the plural as "etrak" according to their formation of plurals. It was inconceivable for them to see how any change could be made in the spelling of this word.

In the Constitutional [*Meşrutiyet*] period these discussions found freer expression and a broader foundation, because the government had accepted an educational system designed to save the people from illiteracy. Two plans, the Letter Reforms [*Islah-ı huruf*] and the Letter Modification [*Tadil-i huruf*] were put forth as measures directed towards improvement.

The first official move was made in 1909 (1327 A.H.) when the Ministry of Education established the Spelling Commission [*İmlâ Komisyonu*], and we can also mention the semi-official move made by Recai Zade Ekrem in 1911 (1329 A.H.) when he established the Committee for Alphabet Reform [*Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti*].

In 1912 (1330 A.H.) we see still another official organization established; the Council of Letter Reform [*Islah-ı Huruf Encümeni*] under the direction of Muhtar Paşa.

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[6] Cf. E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909,* Cambridge, 1910 pp. 38-39 where the approximate date of this experiment is put at about 1884.

In this period we find in existence those who believed either that there could be no reform of the old system or that acceptance straightway of the Latin letters was necessary. Those at the head of this movement were Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın] and Abdullah Cevdet. But their ideas were always sharply opposed.

In passing it can be mentioned that during the first World War Enver Paşa supported a system of spelling in which the syllables were written separately.

The last attempt in this period again originated with the Ministry of Education when it established the Board of Language Studies [*Tetkikat-ı Lisaniye Heyeti*]. The Alphabet and Spelling sections of this board stated in the pamphlet, *Spelling Usage* [*Usul-i imlâ*] prepared between 1336-37 A.H. [1917-18] that new letters and signs cannot be accepted and that the use of signs and minor vowels can appear only in the books designed for use in the first year of primary school and in the dictionary being prepared by the Dictionary Commission (*Lûgat Encümeni*). At the head of this committee was Ali Ekrem, Namık Kemal's son. In the 25th of December 1919 (1338 A.H.) edition of the Yeni Gün newspaper appeared an article signed by the teacher Ahmet Cevat. In this article he defended the existing system saying, "There cannot be a change in the alphabet of a society without its affecting their language and religion."

However, the actual course of events in history does not support such a view. The changing of religion on the contrary makes possible a change in the language, for the Uygur Turks accepted Brahmi with Buddhism and Manichean with Manicheism and Syriac with Christianity. And later the Karim Turks took the Hebraic alphabet. There are also such conditions in other countries. There are many examples of this. But, that religion and language must change with a change in the alphabet is not necessary.

Having arrived at the successful conclusion of the national struggle, an Economic Congress was held in Izmir in 1923. Although a plan regarding the acceptance of the Latin letters was presented at the congress by Nazmi of Izmir and two of his friends, it was rejected before it had even been presented to the General Assembly.

The first supporter in the National Assembly of the acceptance of the Latin letters was Şükrü Saracoğlu.[7] In the 25th of February 1924 discussion of the Educational budget, the first one to gain the floor was Saracoğlu whose suggestion of the acceptance of the Latin letters was opposed most violently. However, this did not fail to create a variety of repercussions in the press. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın in Tanin and Cenap Şahabettin in Servetifünûn supported this idea. There was also in Berlin in 1924 a group of young Turks organized in a New Alphabet Association (*Yeni Harfler Birliği*). They published their writings in a publication called The New Writing (Yeni Yazı).

[7] Died in Istanbul, December 27, 1953.

The controversy was growing and leading writers and thinkers were accepting their responsibility in it. There were those who opposed this movement with all the zeal of religious fanaticism. There were even those who swore they would break their pens and pencils and never write another word if the Latin alphabet were accepted.

It can be said that the years 1927-28 were the period when Atatürk sounded out the situation. Atatürk, who was planning to introduce a new Turkish alphabet based on the Latin alphabet, was very slowly searching out public opinion in this manner.

On May 20, 1928, during a discussion of the acceptance of the Western numerals in the National Assembly, Hasan Fehmi of Kastamonu asked if there were any objections to the simultaneous acceptance of Latin letters and the Minister of Education gave the answer that they were working on this problem.

In truth, the Minister of Education established a Language Commission (*Dil Encümeni*) which started work the 26th of June 1928 on the preparation of their first work, an alphabet and grammar report. However, both those working on the committee and those outside of it were of the opinion that the Latin letters could be applied to the Turkish language only after five or ten years of trial.

Atatürk showed his genius again in this situation. He said it must be done at once or never. So, Atatürk opened the great alphabet drive in the speech which he gave at Sarayburnu, and in this way made it a matter of national effort, the success of which demanded the support of every individual.

The new alphabet law was passed the 3rd of November 1928, but the movement had taken life the night Atatürk gave his speech on the 9th of August 1928. Twenty-five years have passed since the movement was started. The achievement within this short period of time has been so great and the results attained so promising that our feelings in the past and future can be only admiration for this event, the happiest in our cultural history.

Agâh Sırrı Levend
Ulus, Ankara, 9 August 1953
pg. 2.

Institute of Islamic Studies, Montreal WILLIAM A. EDMONDS

THE CULTURAL SITUATION OF BYZANTINES AND TURKS AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE 1453

In ancient times there was a great city of the West called "The Eternal City"—Rome; in modern times, there was a great city of the West, called "The City of Light"—Paris. In the Middle Ages there was a great city of the East, it was simply called "The City" (Ἡ πολις). As late as the 15th Century this city possessed the position and power to make an Empire by itself; for Fate gave to it the destiny of always being the centre of a community. But it was as if this community was waiting for a saving hand which would prevent it from drowning under the waves of murder and lust which were invading the city. Fate, as it were, did not want this hand to be anything but that of a young and strong power surrounding it, namely the Ottoman-Turks. Now on the 29th of May 1453 that hand opened the gates of the city and entered it.

To analyse the social and urban scene which the Conquerors found in the city is outside the scope of our study. It has been most impartially described by Louis Bréhier in his *La civilisation byzantine* (pp. 79-80). We simply propose to analyse briefly the path the Conqueror followed in thought and science and what he sought to do. But before starting this analysis, it would be useful to take a brief look at the state of science at Constantinople at the time of its Conquest in order to judge certain claims. Unfortunately Byzantine historians and authors give very little information on schools and teaching, which makes our task more difficult and the result less precise. The conclusion reached by Karl Krumbacher in his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (p. 591) is similar. It is to be noted that all Byzantine Emperors up to the very last ones were, with rare exceptions, enlightened. Many devoted themselves to scholarship. Michael Palaeologos (1261-1281) wrote studies on the Union of the Churches; Andronicus was responsible for the mosaics of the Chora monastery (Ka'riye mosque); John Cantacuzene (1341-1354), who wrote his most valuable memoirs and a famous history, is also worthy of notice. We must also add Princess Anna Comnena, the daughter of Alexis I Comnenus, who wrote her father's history (*The Alexiade*). While Byzantine historians are silent or give little information on matters cultural and scientific, this princess speaks about the orphanage and its teaching and the teaching method called "Schedographie".

The young Turkish Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror who took the throne of the Emperors who had pursued such a scientific tradition, had already shown his scientific and intellectual curiosity in the Palace at Adrianople while Regent for his father, by listening to and perhaps protecting *the Ḥurūfis,* adepts of an heterodox sect (see infra). What

did Mehmed II inherit from Byzantine scholarship when he wished to set up Eastern and Western science again in Turkish Istanbul? In order to answer this point we must make a digression.

We do not propose to go into details of the scientific legacy which the Conqueror found in Constantinople or repeat certain notions in the West about higher education in Byzantium, and exaggerated tales about 10,000 students who came there from Greece, Persia, Italy and Palestine. We will simply quote the words of the philosopher and theologian Georgius Gennadius, known as Scholarios (who was appointed the first patriarch of Istanbul after the Conquest) about the position of science in Constantinople up to eight years before the Conquest. This Scholarios was highly appreciated and according to Sathos, one of the last Byzantine historians, was called "The last Byzantine and the first Greek" (in *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge,* t. iv, p. vii, n. 17).

Gennadios says: "The city of science in Constantinople is now in ruins, reputation, honour and glory no more belong to science. Science only survived with an appearance of honour and glory. But with time this apparent glory will also vanish and ignorance will dominate the town." He adds: "While the Italians whom we used to reckon among the barbarians have turned towards science and made new contributions to it, for us books are beginning to be too much of a burden, they have even been sold for nothing to get rid of them. Now if we wish to restart scientific studies again, we will have to procure these books from foreign lands. While the Italians consider learning our language an honour, *we do not understand our own language.* While up till now we were the masters of the Latins, the rôles have been reversed; now the Latins have become the teachers." (F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel,* p. 68, quoted by Sp. Lampros). On the other hand, Aenas Sylvius who later became Pope Pius II and wrote drafts of letters and answers to the Conqueror, recommends living for a while in Byzantium for scientific researches. But he must have meant not to learn Greek and to read Greek classics, but to collect and buy them (F. Fuchs, *op. cit.* p. 68). It is surprising that Aenas Sylvius said, in one of his sermons after he became Pope, something like this: "But I fear that Greek scholarship will completely perish when the Turks are victorious". (Pii II, P.M., *Oratores* pars I Lucas 1755, Oratio XIII, p. 269).

There is no reason to assume that there was a great scientific movement in Byzantium at the time of the Conquest. History regards the Byzantine emperor, Manuel II (1391-1425), who had gone to Paris and engaged in theological discussions with Sorbonne scholars, as the last protector of science. Moreover, it appears from Greek sources that, with the death of Matheus Kamariotes, the teacher of the abovementioned Gennadius, the last generation of scholars in Byzantium vanished (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* V, p. 100).

If, on the other hand, we go back a century before the conquest of Byzantium by the Turks and study the situation of that time, a philosopher called Plethon will first attract our attention. He was born and educated in Constantinople and later taught at the monastery of Mystra. His real name was Georgius Gemistes, but he later altered it to Plethon which comes to the same meaning as Gemistes (full) and made it sound like Platon. Some authors mention him as having been for some time at the Turkish Court of Adrianople between the years 1360-1362 (Louis Bréhier, *La civilisation byzantine,* p. 439; unfortunately the original source is not mentioned here). This distinguished scholar who played an important part in the development of Humanism did not find the contemporary Byzantine atmosphere suitable for scholarship and, retiring to the monastery of Mystra in the Morea, placed himself under the protection of the despot Theodore Palaeologos II and began to teach there. Besides, Plethon had been asked in a friendly way to leave Byzantium because of his sympathy for ancient Greek philosophy and because of the fact that at the Council of Florence he had privately said to his friend, the philosopher Georgius of Trebizond, "in a short time the Jewish, Christian and Muslim religions will lose their grip upon the world and everybody will return to ancient religions." This aroused the suspicion of the Emperor and the Church. Amirutzes (Amirukis), the interpreter and translator of the Conqueror, who will later be discussed in detail, had been present at the Council of Florence together with Plethon, as the delegate of the Eastern Church. On the other hand, already from the 14th Century onwards, scientific books had begun to be fewer in Byzantium, only books of protocol had been added to those of a similar nature which had been written during the heyday of Byzantium. Krumbacher (*op. cit.* p. 425), who mentions this, says ironically, 'this is in keeping with a mediaeval Greek proverb which says: "The world is coming to an end and my wife keeps on decking herself up".'

As to the position of higher education before the Conquest, it is beyond doubt that the Emperor Manuel II (1391-1425) (whatever the political repercussions may have been) obtained results of great consequence in the scientific and intellectual domains after his contact with Europe. This Emperor on his return, profiting from the period of relative peace which the Tamerlane-Bāyazīd conflict had obtained for Byzantium, reformed education and established the last Byzantine University. As this University embraced all branches of science it was given the name of "Katolikon Mouseion", and an Italian student of this University, Filelfo, translated this word into Latin by "Universitas litterarum et scientiarum publicum discendi ludus", thus applying the word "University", of the West, to higher schools of Byzantium.

The first teacher of this university was the above-mentioned Greek Patriarch, appointed by Mehmed the Conqueror, G. Gennadios. We know that he had previously established a school in Constantinople and

endeavoured to teach philosophy and said that his opening of a school resembled a patient who, because there were no doctors, was trying to cure people who are worse than himself (F. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 67). On the other hand, we also know that he pointed out that there were hardly three or four young men at the time in Constantinople who could properly understand philosophy, but who could not attend lectures because of their poverty. Furthermore old and rich people who had previously obtained the title of professors felt ashamed of coming to classes as they despised philosophy. This man was given the title of judge (Katolikon kritis), Senator, Principal secretary of the Emperor, Secretary (mystikon) and vice-chancellor of the university. After a while, John Argyropoulos who, on his return from Italy in 1444, had tried to establish a private school, and who was professor of philosophy of the university, was appointed in his place, [1] because Gennadios had become unpopular by declaring himself against the union of the Eastern and Western Churches.

It is interesting, parenthetically, to discuss the building up of this last university, because, perhaps for reasons of economy, perhaps because medicine had gained in importance in Byzantium, the university was set up in the hospital which the Serbian king, Stephen (or Ourosch II Miloutine), had built. The site of this hospital must have been the Prodomos on the site of the building which later was called the Palace of Moldavia or the site of Saint John the Baptist monastery. Unfortunately, there is no information in any source about the fate and activity of this university up to eight years before the Conquest. But, we must add that a theologian of Trebizond by the name of Georgios, who came to Byzantium and opened a school of theology was attacked by the head professor of the Mouseion, the priest Argyropoulos, who said that he was teaching on behalf of both the Emperor and the Church. From all these facts, it can be deduced that at that time the Byzantine school of theology was active. It is also known that the teaching staff of the school was composed of the senior ecclesiastical officials of the church of St. Sophia. We must mention here the service of Joseph Bryennius, one of the teachers of this last ecclesiastical school of Byzantium, which is extremely interesting for our purpose. [2] He has left us a catalogue of the books kept in the library attached to St. Sophia Church. But, in the available sources, we can see only the names of a grammatical treatise, a book of rhetoric by Aristotle, the philosophical book of *Organon*, the book called *Peri Psyche* also by Aristotle, fifteen volumes of Geometry, and Ptole-

[1] A picture of John Argyropoulos teaching from the rostrum is to be found in an Oxford MS (Cod. Banoc 87 f.-35 a). The Building in the background is said (at the top of the page) to be King Stephen's Hospital.

[2] Positive sciences such as mathematics and astronomy were taught, together with religion, theology and philosophy. It can be said that this school corresponded to our *medreses* and consequently university and *medrese* existed side by side simultaneously, as was the case in Turkey until recently.

my's *Astronomy* and *Geography*. Later we shall see that these books and others still exist in Mehmed the Conqueror's Palace Library.

Unfortunately we have no definite and clear information about the educational background and early cultural life of the young Ottoman-Turkish Sultan up to the time when he entered Byzantium, whose cultural state we have summarily described, and perhaps passed before the above-mentioned hospital and a few monasteries which were then the only cultural institutions in the city where philosophy and theology were taught. Traditions about his teacher Molla Gürani having taught him by force and having tried even to use the stick must be considered as anecdotes rather than positive information. Though we do not know what he was taught during his education, it is necessary to form some idea of his intellectual development. To begin with, the Conqueror must have learned from an early age religious subjects such as Arabic, theology and law. According to information given by Turkish historians, quoting eah other, when the Sultan succeeded his father in the Court of Adrianople, or, according to another version, became Regent, [3] some Dervishes belonging to the *Ḥurūfi* sect, managed to come near him and obtain his favour. The Grandvizir Meḥmud Paşa and the Mufti of Adrianople Fahreddin Acemi who were anxious at this development, accused them of heresy and atheism and had them burned. [4] The arrest and execution of these *Ḥurūfis* at Adrianople has been mentioned only in Alī's *Künh ül Ahbar* and in the *Şakayika Numaniya* and has not been found in any other source. Jorga, in his *Notes et Extraits pour Servir à l'Histoire des Croissades,* mentions a note in a Venetian chronicle about this matter, Lately, Professor F. Babinger found this chronicle in Dresden City Library and published it textually in his article (to which there is a reference in Note 3). In this Italian chronicle, which bears the name of *Cronaca Zancaruola,* it says that "according to information received from Hungary, many people were preparing to join a Christian army [Crusade] and for that reason the Turks were disturbed, but they were more surprised by an extraordinary event which occurred at that time in Adrianople. This event was the coming to Adrianople of a very learned Persian who gathered round him many pupils, and who held that the religion of Jesus was superior to that of Muḥammed. The Mufti of Adrianople arrested him with 2,007(?) of his men and had the tongues of many cut out so that they could no longer preach. But many,

[3] In contradiction to information given by the Ottoman Chronicles, namely: that Sultan Murad II renounced the throne in favour of his son, Prince Mehmed, Fr. Babinger states in "von Amurath zu Amurath", *Oriens,* v. 3, no. 2, p. 238, (without mentioning a proper source) that the young prince was regarded as regent for the sultan, only over the European provinces and that he was then under the supervision of Çandarli Halil Paşa, and Molla Hüsrev, the famous jurist.

[4] Although in the book of biographies *Şakayık an-Numaniya* the name of Mahmud Paşa is mentioned, the vizir who was with Prince Mehmed at the time was Çandarlı Halil Paşa, cf., F. Taeschner, *Der Islam,* XVIII, 1928, p. 242.

ignoring these tortures, accepted death." The next sentence of the chronicle which is nothing but a different version of the incident of the *Ḥurūfis at Adrianople* speaks of the covered market and the mosque which were burned in a big fire which broke out at that time (22nd September 1444). Ottoman sources mention that after this fire a revolt broke out in the army and that Sultan Murad II, who wished to return to Anatolia, went to Adrianople and resumed control.

This tragic event shows that the Sultan's entourage were not very much in favour of freedom of thought and of conscience while, on the contrary, the Sultan at an early age had adopted a very tolerant attitude towards even heterodox sects.

It would not be right to think that the Sultan, who entered a cultural centre a thousand years old in such a state of mind, would remain indifferent to works and men of culture. Western sources are unanimous in recounting that the Conqueror had a special inclination towards metaphysical problems. It would not be out of place to suppose that this inclination of the Sultan's grew stronger in the atmosphere of Constantinople at the time of the Conquest, for philosophical and religious discussions were taking place among scholars and theologians. For instance the Conqueror engaged in discussions through an interpreter with the above-mentioned Georgios Scholarios in the monastery of Pamma-Christ (F e t h i y e mosque), and during the discussion he asked them to state with clarity and daring all Christian beliefs and asked to be given the minutes of the discussions. These minutes were later translated into Turkish by a Molla Ahmed, kadi of Karaferiye. This translation was transcribed from Greek into Arab characters and published in the review of Ebüzziya (No. 98, A.H. 1329). The text has also been published in facsimile in the excellent monograph of the Roumanian professor, Aurel Decei. The most important part of the summary of these minutes is the fact that the Conqueror made many tolerant statements about the Christian religion and accepted freedom of sect and religion. (Aurel Decei, *Versiuna Turceasca confesioni Patriarhulam Ghenadie il Scholarios,* Bucarest). On the other hand, Krumbacher (*op. cit.* p. 120), who says that during this discussion the Patriarch secured the Conqueror's favour towards the Christian faith, tries to represent as hypocrisy the intellectual tolerance which he showed in an interview with two Turkish theologians, Hocazade and Molla Zeyrek. We read in Western sources that a similar discussion took place between the Sultan and the Patriarch Maxim Manuel (G. Gillet, *L'Histoire du règne de Mohammed II,* pp. 135-142, 270). As an illustration of the Conqueror's intellectual curiosity about metaphysics, we find in the same sources the story of the Sultan's opening up a grave in order to check personally the orthodox belief according to which the bodies of the excommunicated remain unaltered in their graves.

These actions of the Sultan gave rise to odd ideas about him. In

the above-mentioned work and in Spandugino Cantacusino, *Le Petit traicté de l'origine des Turcqz* [Paris, 1519], edited by Charles Schéfer, Paris 1896, p. 202-205, it is said that: "The Conqueror was neither Moslem nor Christian and his faith consisted in believing only in virtue and Fate." It is after the spreading of such strange ideas in the West where the Conqueror's philosophic thought and toleration in religious affairs was interpreted in a completely odd fashion, that Pope Pius II (whose name and character have been discussed) must have written a letter to the Conqueror and told him that he would appoint him the Emperor of the whole of the Orient if he accepted the Christian faith. (A copy of this letter and the imaginary answer from the Conqueror are to be found in L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mehmed II,* p. 23-31.) It is needless to say that such a letter was neither sent to the Conqueror nor answered by him. Such letters were written at that time as specimens of literature like today's school essays.

Before giving information about Greek manuscripts in the Conqueror's Palace Library, we must enter upon the controversial subject of his knowledge of languages. Traditions concerning his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Slavonic, Latin, even Chaldean, apart from Arabic and Persian, were first started by Greek historians and taken up by both Western and Eastern writers. We do not find this information authenticated as already stated in *Osmanli Türklerinde İlim* (see pp. 16-17). To begin with, the fact that Kritovculos, the Conqueror's Greek secretary and the author of the famous work in Greek, *History of Sultan Mehmed II,* after mentioning Mehmed II's thorough knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature, says that the Conqueror used to read Aristotle and works on Stoic philosophy in translation from the Greek is sufficient to show that he did not know Greek. The fact that this author, who, in every line of his work, tries to be sympathetic (to say the least) towards the Emperor of the day, says that he had them read in translation instead of saying that he knew many languages, is not only circumstantial evidence, but proof. The Conqueror may have found many manuscripts when he entered Constantinople. It is certain that he had some of them kept in reserve and some translated. It is reported for instance that he had Plutarch's *Lives* translated into Turkish. Today we find the original and the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* preserved in the palace library. The number of works was known in the West to be 120, according to a report given by a Jew in 1611, but lately it has been established from a catalogue made by Adolf Deissmann that the Conqueror's private Library contained 587 manuscripts of non-Islamic works (Adolf Deissmann; *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*). Only 75 of these manuscripts belong to the 11th to 15th centuries, and one can presume that these were books which the Conqueror had transferred from the Library of the Basilica of St. Sophia to the palace library. The fact that many of the books mentioned

above, according to a Byzantine professor, exist among these books, shows us that the Conqueror had them kept with special care. Instead of giving detailed information about the library, we think it best to refer to Deissmann's work and *Osmanli Türklerinde Ilim* which gives a summary of it. It is interesting to note that Mehmed II had Ptolemy's *Geography* translated by the philosopher Amirutzes of Trebizond, during the winter 1464-65. We ought to add in parenthesis that this person, whose real name in Greek was Amirukis, was a theologian and a philosopher who went to the Councils of Florence and Ferrara with John Palaeologus and Cardinal Bessarion to represent the Eastern Church. He was Protovestarius of the Emperor of Trebizond, David Comnene, until the fall of Trebizond (1461) and in 1452 he came to Byzantium and took part in discussions concerning the unification of the Latin and Orthodox Churches. In 1461, he was taken prisoner by the Conqueror and later he became one of his chief intellectual companions. Although it is said that he accepted Islam after a long discussion, it was his son who became Muslim, learned perfect Arabic, and took the name of Mehmed. This philosopher who admired the Conqueror wrote three odes in his praise, which have been published in *Deltion* in Athens, by Sp. Lampros. The most up to date and succinct information about his life is in the Greek Encyclopaedia and there is a critical biography in Krumbacher (*op. cit.* p. 785). His son translated the Bible into Arabic and assisted his father in the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*. These Arabic translations have been found by H. Ritter in duplicate in the Ayasofya [St. Sophia] Library, and at the beginning of the first copy it is specially noted that the translation from Greek into Arabic has been carried out by the Conqueror's order. The second translation contains maps which have been reproduced in *Monumenta Cartographia Africae et Egypti*, by the Egyptian prince, Yusuf Kemol. Ptolemy's famous astronomical work *Almagest* and some other mathematical works are also in the Conqueror's Library. Recently, another manuscript in the same Library was published by Paul ver Ecke, under the title *Les Opuscules mathématiques de Didyme et Diophane*, Paris-Bruges, 1940. Thus, it can be seen part of the works which were collected from the Byzantine Library and placed in that of the Conqueror remain there in spite of many vicissitudes. The only existing copy of Kritovoulos' *History of Sultan Mehmed II* is also there.[5]

If we now give a short outline of the Conqueror's relations with Greek and Italian scholars and artists, other than the two mentioned above, it will better indicate the character of the openminded ruler who came into possession of a dying cultural centre in 1453. One of the most important of these is Cyriaco d'Ancona. His name has

[5] There are Turkish and French translations of this work. An English translation has been prepared by the late Dr. Charles Riggs of Istanbul, and it is scheduled for publication by Princeton University Press in the near future.

entered into the Conqueror's cultural history by means of a letter which he wrote to Mehmed II, begging him to release from slavery the mother-in-law and daughters of Filelfo, who has been mentioned above in connection with the Byzantine university, and also by his having commissioned a picture of the statue of the Emperor Justinian on a high column in the Augustan Square at Ayasofya. The Conqueror acceded to Cyriaco's request and ordered the release of the prisoners. According to a report, Cyriaco used to read Roman history to the Conqueror at night (Emil Jacobs, "Cyriaco von Ancona und Mehemmed II", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX, 1927, p. 202). Apart from these scholars, it is known that the Italian painter, Gentile Bellini, painted the Conqueror's portrait a few years before his death (now in the National Gallery, London). The Conqueror also asked the Venetian government to send Matteo di Pasti, the painter and medallist of Verona. Although the medal of the Conqueror at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is attributed to this artist, it has not been proved that it is his work. For details, see L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mehemed*, Paris, 1882.

Hence we cannot accept literally the statement about the Conqueror, who, as we have seen above, showed so much interest in science and art, and tolerance in religious and philosophical discussion, that: "He was neither Muslim nor Christian and did not belong to any religion". This simply means that the Sultan was liberal-minded and extremely tolerant in matters of religion and speculation. Also, this great prince protected science and scholars as much as the Byzantine Emperors whose capital he had conquered. Consequently it is difficult to believe legends according to which he destroyed libraries, burned books and had precious manuscripts sold for nothing. First of the services which the Conqueror rendered to science after settling in Istanbul was his summoning to his new capital of contemporary Turkish and foreign scholars, and the building of a complete *medrese* (*medaris-i semaniye* = eight *medreses*). For the most authentic information about the establishment and syllabus of these medreses, one must refer to his *vakfiye* [document establishing an Islamic trust] (Nos. 1872, 6354) which is thought to be the Conqueror's first *vakfiye*. We learn from this *vakfiye* that among these *medreses* which comprised various branches of science and religion, there was a *Darüşşifa* (House of Healing) devoted to the teaching of medicine. The fact that in the section of the *vakfiye* dealing with the *Darüşşifa* it was stipulated that an experienced demonstrating physician and other medical officials should be appointed irrespective of community (i.e., either Muslim, Christian, or Jewish) shows that we are in the presence of a prince who believed that national and religious fanaticism has no part in science.

It is mentioned that the syllabus of this *medrese* was drawn up by the Grandvizir, Maḥmūd Paşa and by Alī Kuşçu, the Astronomer. I

would like to remark in passing that although in this syllabus the name of a *medrese* called *Iptida-yi Hariç* (elementary extension courses) is not mentioned, it is stated that in small *medreses* called *Tetümme* outside big *medreses,* elementary courses were held. If we turn our eyes for a moment towards Byzantium, it is interesting to observe that in the religious seminar of the Patriarchate, encyclopaedic, i.e. elementary course known as *Enkykleio Paideia* were called "Gate" Courses, i.e. outside (extracurricular) courses, (ἡ θυραθεν σοφια παιδεῖα). It is possible that this division of Byzantine education had attracted the attention of scholars at the time of the Conqueror.

Sentences about the library in the two *vakfiyes* of the Conqueror, in Arabic, are an excellent expression of the respect felt for books at that time. There it is stated, that the trustee of he foundation should inspect the books every three months, or, if he thinks it necessary, every month, and should request the librarian to register all the books and to see that they should be dusted and the folios well kept. Books lent to students and scholars should be duly recorded.

It is a historical fact that the Conqueror invited ᶜAlī Kuşçu, the great mathematician of Transoxania and commanded him to give courses in astronomy and mathematics. Manuscript works of this scholar, who is buried in Istanbul, are available in Istanbul libraries. The Conqueror showed the greatest magnanimity to ᶜAlī Kuşçu and always encouraged him to take part in scholarly debates with local Turkish scholars.

Although medicine was taught in the *Darüşşifa,* attached to the *medrese,* at the time of the Conqueror there were many physicians from foreign countries, among whom was the Conqueror's private physician, the Jewish doctor Yakub (later Paşa) who received a firman which exempted him, his family, his children and descendants from all sort of taxes. This illustrates the Conqueror's great respect for this Jew's scholarship and skill in his profession (Bernard Lewis, "The Privilege granted to his physician by Mehmed II", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* XIV, 3, pp. 550-63, London, 1952). Also in our opinion the preface to the translation into Turkish, of a famous work *Kitāb al-Tasrīf* of Abū-l-Qāsim Zahrāwī, by Sabuncu oğlu Şerafeddin, a physician in a hospital at Amasya, is important, as it mentions:—"The reason for bringing forth this work is the favour which the Conqueror Sultan Mehmed shows to scientific work."

Apart from these positive sciences, the Conqueror was much interested in theology and philosophy and protected encyclopaedic scholars like Hocazade, who were called in the Middle Ages *Doctores Universales,* and invited them to debates. At one time a debate on theology with a scholar called Molla Zeyrek lasted for exactly six days. Hocazade won a competition for writing a thesis confirming Al Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa,* which was a refutation of Ibn Rushd's:

Tahāfut al-Tahāfut. This book has been copied several times and printed in Egypt.

After thus summarizing the cultural situation of Byzantium at about the time of the Conquest, it must be admitted that it is difficult to compare this city under both Empires with the cultural life of the West at the same period. Compared with the discovery and quick spreading of printing three years before the Conquest and with the Italian Renaissance which had begun in the 13th Century, the Conqueror's open-mindedness and tolerance seem only to show that this great prince at least desired to create a feeling for a Renaissance in the East. Now as a hypothesis we can wonder, with some historians, that if the Conqueror had known Greek and Latin, what works written or printed in the West would have flowed to Istanbul and whether a real Renaissance might perhaps have arisen like an ethereal body behind the walls of antiquated Byzantium. In short, we can say that Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror was a great secularist who wanted to establish the hegemony of rational sciences in the Ottoman Empire, and who walked with courage towards the Renaissance. He planted himself at the Gate of the East and West, and gazing in both directions, he founded (Konstantino) Polis for the second time.

Istanbul A. Adnan-Adĭvar

BOOK REVIEWS

The Theology of Āl-Asᶜharī. The Arabic texts of Al-Ashᶜarī's *Kitāb al-Lumaᶜ* and *Risālat Istiḥsān al-Khawḍ fī Ilm al-Kalām,* with briefly annotated translations, and Appendices containing material pertinent to the study of al-Ashᶜarī. By Richard J. McCarthy, S.J., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Beyrouth, 1953, Distributor in U.S.A., Weston College Library, Weston 93, Mass. pp. 276 and 110. $ 5.00.

This book is a notable addition to the literature on fundamental works on the Muslim religion published in carefully edited original texts and satisfactory English translations.

The volume contains the very important work on dogmatic theology by Abū 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī al-Ashᶜarī, Islam's ablest and most influential theologian, along with the same author's least influential book, his treatise in vindication of theological discussion. There are appendices on Al-Ashᶜarī's life, his renown, his works and his creed. The indices include a long list of technical theological terms invaluable for students of Arabic.

The translation is marked by exceptional competence and modesty, with suitable excuses for the typographical defects, such as "scriptuary" (p. 151) for Lammens' "scripturary." On page 168, note 48 mentions sleep. After sleep minor ablution is required before worship, as none knows whether or not the hands have touched anything that destroys the ceremonial cleanliness of the previous worship. Prof. ᶜAbdal Malik informs me that falling asleep or dozing while sitting with arms crossed, thus keeping the hands clean, does not necessitate ablution.

On page 170 the importance in the Orient of dreams is noted. The subject is discussed in Chapter III of Duncan Black Macdonald's not antiquated book, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam,* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1912), on "The Muslim Conception of Intercourse with the Unseen World in Sleep," where the same account of Al-Ashᶜarī's conversion through dreams as given in the present book on pages 152 and 153 is recorded. The account is translated from the edition and translation of Al-Ashᶜarī's *Kitāb al-Lumaᶜ* in Wilhelm Spitta's *Zur Geschichte Abū '-Ḥasan al-Aśᶜarī's,* (Leipzig, 1876), which is included in the Bibliography of Macdonald's *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory.*

School of Oriental Studies, Cairo EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

The Policy of Tomorrow. By Mirrit Boutros Ghālī, translated from the Arabic by Ismail R. el Faruqi: American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C. 1953, pp. 121 plus notes, $ 3.00.

Although written in 1938, this book forms a useful background for the recent revolutionary movement in Egypt. Here is a candid diagnosis of some of the basic problems whose mounting tensions finally erupted in July, 1951 to sweep the old order away. Written by an Egyptian with unusual frankness and objectivity, it offers the English reader acquaintance with progressive Arab political thought.

It is refreshing to read a study of Eastern difficulties that does not

begin by blaming the foreigner for everything amiss. Ghālī states as his opening thesis that "the national future lies in our hands and that it devolves upon us alone to form it and give it order" (p. vi). He is especially concerned because, after the struggle for independence (this was written shortly after the signing of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty), "returning from the foreign to the internal front, we found the latter in utter decomposition and decline."

The basic cause of this decline is the lack of "unity, coordination and continuity in state policy" (p. vii). To remedy this, the author calls for the creation of genuine political parties, devoted to the national interest and offering a consistent program of leadership, to replace the cliques of personally ambitious politicians who have governed Egypt in the past. He also urges that the civil service be separated from party control and placed under the direction of a non-partisan National Commission.

The bulk of the book is concerned with the social and economic problems that a revived and reformed government must attack. Of these the most basic are the expansion of the cultivated area and the increase of food production. With these accomplished, public health, economic diversification and the raising of living standards will be possible. The author correctly diagnoses the factors involved in such advances and offers many practical suggestions for government action.

The brief section on education is unusually interesting being written just as the rapid expansion of state schools began. In contrast to the current policy, Ghālī calls for the greatest government effort in the field of general primary education, with a sharp limitation on University enrollment. He correctly recognizes that the undistinguished, overly-numerous Egyptian University graduate is a major element of national instability and discontent. The solution is to limit enrollment in Universities to superior students and to control their number in relation to national needs. How many restless and disillusioned Egyptian students would be better off today if this advice had been followed!

The closing section of the book discusses national defense and the national consciousness. Defense is considered possible only on the basis of a great power ally—in this case, Britain. The main military task is to develop a force that would safeguard the country until the ally could respond. The national consciousness is really the cultivation of a wise nationalism among all classes of people. Yet this must be done with the realization that Egypt is neither Oriental nor Occidental—but both. Therefore, "Egypt's world message is to work, in this unique position, for the rapprochement of peoples and countries and to do everything in its power to maintain spiritual and cultural trade between Europe, Asia and Africa" (p. 110). It is not surprising that there is little discussion of the role of religion. As as Christian the author naturally thinks in terms of the modern, secular state—and in 1938 such revived Islamic movements as the Muslim Brotherhood were not in evidence.

Much has happened since this book was written. Party and parliamentary life has destroyed itself by its own failures. Some social progress has been made, but mounting population and the failure to apply drastic remedies still leave many basic problems unsolved. The

renewed foreign pressures of the war and the following uneasy peace make the prospects of a continuing British alliance very dim. Largely because of the creation of Israel, Egypt has turned her nationalism in the direction of the Arab world. The author's vision of improvement has not become a reality—but to read what might have happened, and then to ask "what went wrong" is an excellent introduction to the current Egyptian situation.

New York JOHN S. BADEAU

Yaum al Islām [The Day of Islam]. By Aḥmad Amīn, Dār al Maᶜārif, Cairo, 1952, pp. 246.

This is the last of the historical studies to come from pen of the late Dr. Aḥmad Amīn prior to his recent death. In the preface to the book Dr. Amīn mentions that it had been his plan to complete his study of the intellectual history of Islam, *Ẓuhr al Islām,* in four or five volumes. However his eyesight was failing and because of an operation for cataract on both eyes his doctors had advised against long hours of reading especially at night. Because of this and a general failing in health since a serious thrombosis in 1950, Dr. Amīn had been forced to give up his ambitious plan.

Out of his years of experience and reading, and not out of recent research, Dr. Amīn attempts to add encouragement to the reform occurring in the world of Islam. His plan is to present Islam as it should be through a rather detailed description of the time of the Prophet and the first three caliphs. This occupies the first third of the book. He then sweeps quickly to the Crusade period on which he spends some time. Another quick jump and he arrives at the 19th century. The last half of the book is concerned with the 19th and 20th centuries.

If this book were but a historical record of these periods it would be of no great interest, but as its subtitle indicates it deals primarily with the condition of Islam inwardly and with the interaction of Islam and Christianity. As such it is of great interest in the contemporary scene. In the first respect it adds to the great debate, now going on within Islam, the views of a great, moderate, intellectual Muslim leader. In the second respect it is of value because it is one of the rare instances where a Muslim intellectual has written concerning Christianity and its relations with Islam other than with impassioned anti-Christian feelings.

Dr. Amīn's diagnosis of the present "misfortunes" of the world of Islam is that it has forgotten the wholeness of original Islam in its pursuit of the spiritual half alone and its negligence of the intellectual half. The way out is to open the door of *Ijtihād* (see pp. 189-207), to catch up with the intellectual and scientific advances of the Western civilization, and to apply this specifically in Egypt through an entirely new educational program where the scientific and spiritual are taught harmoniously (see pp. 219-225). He feels that both Al-Azhar and the government systems of education are lacking.

His approach to the relations of Islam and Christianity though superficial is one of tolerance. His listing of the "four pillars of Christianity" (pp. 179, 180) shows a possible lack of acquaintance

with the beliefs of Orthodox Christianity. Dr. Amīn's studied conviction, often repeated, is that the East is spiritual and the West is intellectual or scientific. These are both good, but alone they are inadequate. What is needed, emphasizes Dr. Amīn, is that the world of Islam will accept the scientific approach of the West and retain its spirituality, and the West will retain its scientific mentality and add to it the spirituality of the East. Thus one philosophy will become prevalent in the world whereas today there are two conflicting philosophies.

A disappointing feature of the book is that in comparing Islam and Christianity, Dr. Amīn usually compares Islam as he pictures it ideally with materialistic Western civilization as it is today. In no place does he compare Orthodox Muslim beliefs with Orthodox Christian beliefs.

Another great lack is the entire avoidance of the basic problem of evil. The one place where it is hinted at is in Dr. Amīn's contrasting of the teachings of Islam and Christianity concerning the nature of man. The trouble with Christianity, says Dr. Amīn, is that it pictures man as essentially evil through the fall of Adam. Islam, however, portrays man correctly as good. This leads him to this very optimistic prediction for the future. "Undoubtedly in time animosity [between the world of Islam and Europe] will lessen. Then in time animosity will turn to tolerance. Finally, in time tolerance will turn to love." (p. 228).

Though these weaknesses have been noted, *Yaum al Islām* remains a very good book in which one may see the many events and conflicts of our century through the mind of a great Muslim scholar who holds the profound respect of liberal and conservative Arabs today. Such issues as French and English colonialism, the Palestine question, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Christian missionary enterprise (Dr. Amīn twice quotes from Dr. Zwemer in *The Muslim World*), and the various Muslim efforts for reform, are commented upon at some length. This book is an essential addition to any bibliography on the Middle East or the world of Islam.

Somersville, Connecticut KENNETH L. CROSE

Moslems on the March: People and Politics in the World of Islam. By F. W. Fernau. Translated from the German by E. W. Dickes. Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1954. $ 5.00.

Here is one of those books which is so up to date, that it puts itself out of date before the page proofs are corrected. This is the penalty of wide knowledge and much travel. The author has the first and did the second. For him the great expanse of the Islamic world is the "Intercontinent" stretching from Dakar to Jakarta. To this Intercontinent the first four chapters are devoted, including rapid geographical and historical surveys (in the latter case to the "Harvest of the Second World War"). Starting with "all life a pursuit of water" Islam has expended into Monsoon Asia, which has given a home to nearly half the Muslim population of the world, and Negro Africa,—with two fifths of its inhabitants already Muslim, when Egypt and the Barbary States are added. "The western European learns measure and

moderation from the natural conditions amid with he lives; the Moslem does not." (Misprints will be found on pages 33, 50, 52, 62; while on page 25 the reference to Medinat-en-Nabi being shortened to Medina might be disputed by some).

In the second "half of the book, the reader is plunged *in medias res* with nations in fermentation or fomentation. The chapter on "The Persians: Incubus of Foreign Interference" will be found informative. The author has his finger running along the borders of a country where neutrality would seem the one hope of salvation. He does not forget the borderland of Soviet States; while it may be good for Anglo-Saxon ears to hear the story of the nations of the Near and Middle East (for India was once reckoned by the British a bastion against Russian expansion) from Teutonic lips. In telling his story from the Maghrib to Pakistan and beyond he introduces not only policies but personalities. His paragraphs on Turkey will be appreciated; while Russia again comes into the picture with the "permanence of the Soviet Social achievement." The more familiar lands of the Near East are not forgotten, with "the struggle for Palestine, the shadow of which threatens to cast a gloom over the Near East for a long time to come." The critics of the peacemakers of Versailles must be careful of their own schemes and proposals. The final chapters on the Muslims' oil, which needs nothing like the pursuit of *water* in the home of Islam, and "The Moslems and World Peace" might well be read first as well as last, that he who reads the earlier pages may not have to run as fast as he can to stay where he is! For the book intended chiefly for "the ordinary reader" is readable, but covers much ground. There is a Bibliography, most of the books mentioned in which would be found in provincial libraries for further study; there are a dozen maps to illustrate specific problems, and there are five Appendices, useful to students, even to those called upon for lectures at short notice. (There is a mistake on page 119, for King ᶜAbdallāh was assassinated close to the entrance to the Aqṣā Mosque, and not as stated in the text; while we rather suspect that on page 168 "set off", though picturesque in the context, should read "offset").

University of Glasgow, Scotland ERIC F. F. BISHOP

A Symposium on Muslim Law. The Washington Foreign Law Society, pp. 186, $ 1.25.

This little book represents a series of lectures delivered at the Washington Foreign Law Society and reprinted from the George Washington Law Review. It makes interesting, and in parts instructive, reading; but, like most symposiums, it is of somewhat varied quality. Part I consists of three lectures: on the "Nature and Source of Islamic Law" by Majīd Khaddūrī, on "Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance in Islamic Law" by Maḥmud Ḥoballāh, and on "Principles of the Islamic Law on Contracts" by ᶜAbdul Jalīl al-Rāwī. These were given, we are told, with the purpose of discussing "the background and some of the important institutions of Islamic law," in order to provide "an introduction to one of the great systems which underlies and which is the basic root of the law of the present-day Near East".

The first of these contributions is attractively and persuasively written; but it is marred by a number of questionable, and even inaccurate, assertions, and betrays little regard for recent work on this subject. The second is much shorter and more pedestrian in character, and attempts, not very successfully, the herculean task of covering the Islamic law of marriage, divorce and inheritance in a few short pages. But its major defect consists, perhaps, in its "special pleading" in favour not only of certain provisions of Islamic law, such as polygamy and divorce, around which much controversy has raged, but even of social conditions in the Muslim world. (The statement, for instance, that "the number of cases of divorce ... in Muslim countries is not proportionately alarming ... Muslims as a rule do not easily resort to divorce" from the pen of an Egyptian leaves one gasping!) The third largely consists of a summary of the provisions regarding contracts in the Majalla, and is unexceptionable if unexciting.

More valuable information is found in Part II, in which the treatment of "The Impact of Western Law in the Countries of the Near East" by Herbert J. Liebesny deserves pride of place. This provides an interesting and instructive summary of the situation. But one wonders why the words of a judgment given in Cyprus that "The utterances of the Prophet, as recorded in the Koran and elsewhere and those of his earliest exponents, the *Imams,* are still part of the law of Cyprus and the articles of the *Mejelle* are to be construed in the light of those utterances" are quoted without comment, or why it is asserted (incorrectly) that "Personal status law was not included" in the civil code of Iran. The next contribution, entitled "The Practical Application of the Law in Certain Arab States" by Theodore E. Mogannam, reprsents an instructive summary of the organisation and procedure of the courts in Jordan and Syria. A note on the "Legal Position of Foreigners and Foreign Enterprise in Egypt" by ᶜAbdal Shāfi al Labbān follows, which is useful but a trifle thin. Next comes a summary of the "Application of Hanbalite and Decree Law to Foreigners in Saudi Arabia," by Parker T. Hart, which makes most interesting reading, though one cannot but question the accuracy of a few statements. Three examples must suffice:—(i) "The *qadis* (religious judges), however, are equipped to apply the doctrines of all Sunnī schools of jurisprudence in cases involving conflict of laws" (p. 165) — for, although many of the *qadis* no doubt have some knowledge of schools of law other than their own, it is the law of their own school exclusively that they must apply; (ii) "The victim (of a knife stab) can exact a suitable term of imprisonment" (p. 170)—for the right of the victim is limited to the exaction of blood-wit, while imprisonment is a punishment for wrong-doing imposed, in addition, at the discretion of the court; (iii) "The accuser must three times say, before the *qadi,* that he forgives the accused, before the *qadi* can close the case" (p. 171)—a statement that may well be true in bedouin custom, but not in the Sharīᶜah (as the context asserts). Finally, Zuhair E. Jwaideh, writing on "The New Civil Code of Iraq", provides a useful summary of the background and scope of this code but does not give any very clear impression of how much of it has in fact been derived from the Sharīᶜah, while the statement that "similar codes have been adopted by

Egypt and Syria" tends to obscure the considerable differences which in fact exist.

University of London J. N. D. ANDERSON

The Home Letters of T. E. Lawrence and his Brothers. The Macmillan Company, 1954, pp. xvi & 722 with index, $ 10.00

There were five Lawrence brothers, the sons of an Anglo-Irish landed gentleman and a mother, who was partly Highland Scotch. They were Bob, a doctor who served in the army and the China Inland Mission; Ned or Colonel T. E. Lawrence; Will who taught at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, before he was killed in the war; Frank, another war casualty; and Arnie who helped Lionel Curtis to compile this volume.

Unlike the book published by David Garnett in 1938, this new collection is entirely devoted to intimate family correspondence and includes the letters of the brothers killed in the war, as well as of Colonel Lawrence himself. The volume is a handsome one, with forty-five photographs of the brothers and the places described in their letters.

During their student days the brothers wrote about their holidays on the Continent. As Ned and Will were especially interested in mediaeval buildings, many of their descriptions have historical importance.

Colonel Lawrence's letters reveal his brilliant intellect, his ability as a linguist and his literary genius. Whether he was describing the technical details of a castle, commenting on the French peasants, quoting poetry, or giving reports about his bicycle rides, his style is always full of originality and charm. His famous physical energy started during his student days. On one occasion, for instance, he rode seventy miles on his bicycle in the pouring rain and on the country roads between Carcassonne and Toulouse in only seven hours.

Two hundred and seventy-two pages of Colonel Lawrence's letters are about his life in the Middle East. He first visited Beirut in 1909 and walked to Sidon with some American teachers. Then he continued on foot to Palestine via Banias, sleeping in peasant houses, learning Arabic and studying ancient ruins. After that he visited the northern castles and Aleppo at a time when few people found their way to the sites around Lataqiyya or even to the Crac des Chevaliers. He was especially loud in his praise of the American Mission and the College at Beirut.

After serving as an apprentice with Sir Flinders Petrie at Kafr ʿAmmār, he spent most of the next five years excavating the Hittite city of Carchemish on the Euphrates with Leonard Woolley. As a special project he surveyed Southern Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Palestine Exploration Fund and gained knowledge, which served him well during the Arab Revolt. Intimate remarks about the excavations and life in the Ottoman Empire are amusing and instructive, as are also the numerous references to famous persons like Sayce, Hogarth, Gertrude Bell and Baron Von Oppenheim.

Then there follow the letters which Colonel Lawrence sent home during the war. He went to Kut al-Amara and wrote an excellent

description of Iraq under the Ottomans. By the end of 1916 he was transferred to the Arab Bureau. As he was not permitted to write much about his work, there is no duplication with the "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," but his letters do give side lights on the revolt in Arabia. During 1917 ten successive nights was his maximum stay in any one locality and he slept in two hundred different places. In one letter he wrote:— "They have now given me a D.S.O. It's a pity all this good stuff is not sent to someone who would use it! Also apparently I'm a colonel of sorts."

After the war, when he was T. E. Shaw of the Royal Air Force, his letters became irregular, as he was busy with the publication of his books as well as with his military duties. The last letter to be published was written a year before he was killed in a motor-cycle accident during May, 1935.

The letters of Colonel Lawrence's brothers are not as original as his own, but Will's accounts of India and Frank's vivid descriptions of trench warfare make interesting reading. These two boys gave their lives in the war and their letters breathe a spirit of courage and idealism.

People in the future will wonder what it was that enabled England to pass through the terror of two world wars. As Ned, Will, and Frank Lawrence were similar to other English boys, their letters have real historical value. The unstinted devotion to God and country, unconsciously revealed by what they wrote, will explain to future generations why England not only survived but was victorious.

Princeton BAYARD DODGE

The United States and India and Pakistan. By W. Norman Brown, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. x. 308. $ 4.50.

This volume is the twelfth in the American Foreign Policy Library. The author is Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania. He knows India as the son of missionaries, as a student of Hindu culture, and as a specialist in India and South Asia with the OSS during the war.

The events of 1954 in India and Pakistan emphasize the timeliness and usefulness of Professor Brown's study as a guide to Americans who would understand these countries today. The book provides an authoritative introduction to the political, social, economic, and religious developments that mark the emergence of these powers into world politics—and into the consciousness of Americans. A strikingly large number of the events in the subcontinent that have made headlines in American newspapers this year concern the United States and its interests: Pakistan's "Islamic Constitution"; the defeat of the Muslim League in East Pakistan's elections and later the ousting of elected officials; the outlawing of the Communist Party; the Pakistani-United States Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement; the Pakistani-Turkish Defense Pact; Pakistani versus Russian overtures to Afghanistan; outbreaks of Muslim-Hindu communalism; expressions of the so-called "neutralism" of India, such as the visits exchanged by Chou En-lai and Nehru; self-determination for the French and Portuguese

enclaves in India; the movement for autonomous Christian churches in India; the dispute over the Bhakra-Nangal canal; the roles of India and Pakistan as Colombo powers; and their response to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. Professor Brown provides the facts needed for understanding the background of all these events and issues. Many judicious interpretations supplement these facts.

Indians, Pakistanis, and Americans do not completely grasp the others' points of view. The author makes an admirable contribution to knowledge and understanding on all sides. He treats the issues on which the United States has disagreed with these countries. One of the sore points is India's position in the cold war. Mr. Bowles, Mr. Stassen, and Mr. Dulles have sought to reassure Americans that India is committed to promoting democracy in the world and to preventing the spread of totalitarianism. Professor Brown demonstrates that the detachment of the Indian government from the western bloc does not mean it is pro-Russian. He would have Americans understand the attitudes of countries emerging from feudalism and colonialism: their dread of war and their desire to build up their own economies, their fear of renewed colonialism, their feeling against racial discrimination. "The opinion of many Indians and Pakistanis in large terms is that the United States has only one motive in all its international relations, and that is to check the U.S.S.R. Their comment is that this aim is not primary in their eyes...."

The author would also have two "young nations" recognize the high purposes of the United States: to gain the confidence of India and Pakistan, to maintain our policy of opposing communist expansion, to promote the peace and prosperity of the Near East. Helping India and Pakistan to solve their problems of population and production cuts the ground from under the feet of Communism. One of the useful services of the author is to expose deliberate propaganda against the United States. Those who charge that we used the atom bomb on the Japanese, not the Germans, on Asians, not Europeans, ignore the fact that it was first available after surrender in Europe.

Professor Brown concludes that as the Communist Party comes into more conflict with the democratic governments of India and Pakistan, "the two nations will find it increasingly difficult to maintain a position of nonpartisanship in the cold war, and will be drawn to the West, with which they have most of their productive relationships." Time is bearing out the validity of this prediction.

The author does not foresee fully the mutual orientation of Pakistan and the United States, economically and politically. Pakistan has been less anti-British than India. She was earlier disillusioned by Communism and less attracted to Communist China than India. At the Colombo Conference she joined Ceylon and Burma in condemning communist aggression. She has joined the Defense Pact with Turkey, the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the United States, and the Southeast Asia Defense Treaty.

Culturally, Pakistan is united with the Near and Middle East by the bond of Islam. The Islamic religious state is mentioned but the reasons why Islam acts as a barrier to Communism are not developed. These are, in part, belief in God, the sanctioning by the Qurʾān and Muslim

practice of private ownership, and other tenets of "Islamic democracy."

Pakistan's positive leadership in the pan-Islamic movement is underestimated. Besides forming new ties with Turkey, she has been host in Karachi at conferences of the Prime Ministers and religious leaders of all Muslim countries. She is sponsoring an Islamic missionary campaign in Africa. She is championing the independence of Tunisia and Malaya, as earlier of Indonesia, Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland. She is aiding Afghanistan in withstanding Russian penetration. Her wide influence may enable her to bring the various Muslim nations into accord wth Western aims. The far-reaching effect of this strengthening of Islam merits the attention of students of politics and religion throughout the world.

New York G. J. Calder

Art of Asia. By Helen Rubissow, Philosophical Library Inc., New York, 1954, pp. 232, Index, $ 6.00.

Taking as its conviction that "Art is mankind's most authentic record," this fine volume reviews in sum, with 84 illustrations, the achievements of Asian artists from Korea to Byzantium, from their earliest origins to their highest glory. Islamic art is discussed in some thirty two pages with emphasis on Persia and Turkey. The treatment is necessarily brief and is confined to ornamental art without the inclusion of architecture. The book suffers from its very compactness, though it is well produced.

The Social Function of Art. By Radhakamal Mukerjee, Philosophical Library Inc., New York, 1954, pp. 280 with 59 illustrations of sculpture and painting, Index, $ 10.00.

"The old legend that Islam was born of the desert" wrote Professor Gibb, "is taking a long time to die." In this interesting work the legend is still very much alive. In his brief notice of Islamic architecture, amid a full and intriguing discussion of the interplay of art and environment, Professor Mukerjee derives all from the desert. The central dome repeats the absolute vault of blue, the tall minarets belong to open country, the circular horizon establishes the law of the circular form in architecture, while the rigorous simplicity of desert living explains the use of light materials in construction. Even the ablutions in the mosque are attributed to desert heat rather than to ritual law. "The environment of the steppe, where nothing intervenes in the horizon to titillate or fix man's gaze, encourages the architect's restless fancy to perfect the *arabesque*, an ornamental design in which there is neither beginning nor end." If this item is a misplaced consistency in explanation, it should not detract from the merits of this essay in comparative art.

Understanding other Cultures. Edited by W. A. Parker, The American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, 1954, pp. 91.

Talks designed to deepen American understanding of Asia, both East and West, originally given under the auspices of A.C.L.S. on the University of the Air, a Washington venture in adult radio education, in the spring of 1954. Harold W. Glidden deals with the Arab world and Horace L. Poleman with India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Further reading is listed for all the areas except the Arab world. Though brief and general the studies are suggestive, and the need is stressed for painstaking and depth in the task of understanding.

Falcon of Spain. By T. B Irving, Orientalia, Lahore, 1954, pp 141, with bibliography and Index Rs. 6/—.

The Associate Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Minnesota here offers a study of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, the founder of

Umayyad greatness in Spain, and known to history as *Ṣaqr Quraish*. The book is the first monograph in English on its theme and represents a work of careful scholarship based on a study of the sources. After tracing his hero's adventures from fugitive to Lord of Andalusia, the author deals with the organization, defense and culture of Arab Spain during these thirty-two years, and, not least, the splendour of Cordoba.

The Rev. James Warley Miles. By George W. Williams, The Dalcho Historical Society, Diocese of South Carolina, Charleston, 1954, pp. 19.

This brief mimeographed study tells of the life and library of an industrious South Carolina clergyman (1818-1875) who served as an Episcopal missionary for a short period in Mesopotamia and Turkey and returned to his home State to collect one of the largest private libraries in the fields of Comparative Religions and Oriental studies. Celebrated as a preacher and of wide erudition, Miles was none the less a victim to some degree of his own failure to concentrate on a single line of ministry. But he stands in a worthy tradition as a parson with a personality.

The Bible in Islam. By J. Windrow Sweetman, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1953. pp. 144.

The author of this small booklet is well-known for his volumes on *Islam and Christian Theology*. Here he writes in popular form, outlining the place of the Bible in Muḥammad's work, in the Qurʾān and in Christian ministry among Muslims today. He draws upon his wide experience in India-Pakistan and sees the missionary enterprise as a work of redress for the Christian failure contemporary with Islam's birth. In all a refreshing expression of the winsomeness of the Bible's Gospel despite all resistance.

Middle East Resources: Problems and Prospects. Addresses at the Eighth Annual Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs, the Middle East Institute, Washington, March 1954, Edited by Harvey P. Hall, pp. 114.

Economic resources and financial development were the twin themes of the Middle East Institute's 1954 Conference. The Report contains useful analyses of land, power, water and manpower in the area and proposals for rural credit expansion, capital investment and economic co-operation. The Ambassadors of India and Iraq contribute addresses on the problems and aspirations of their countries.

Atlas of Islamic History. Compiled by Harry W. Hazard, Maps by H. Lester Cooke, Jr., and J. McA. Smiley. Princeton University Press, 3rd. Edition, 1954, pp. 49.

The welcome given to this ambitious and effective atlas-handbook to Islamic study is indicated in the appearance of a Third Edition after three years. Population figures have been revised to the end of 1953 and some spellings have been simplified along with certain other

corrections in text and maps. (Pity the compiler did not also correct 'Moslem'!) Students will find this compilation a great *vade-mecum* in the perplexities of Islamic history. Transposing the adjective, let us say it is, indeed, a grateful work.

Cradle of our Faith. By John C. Trevor, Historic Counsellors, Inc., Wichita, Kansas, 1954, pp. 87.

A product of the Religious Activities Committee of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, this book presents some thirty-one color plates of the Holy Land with brief one-page summaries of its history and message.

Tomorrow's Egypt. By Mahmoud Kamel, Cairo, Eastern Press, 1953, pp. 134.

This is the first English edition of a book which first appeared in Arabic in 1939 and in French in 1946. The author is a well-known lawyer who has travelled widely in Europe and visited the U.S.A. He has published several books of literary criticism. His concern here is for the problem of the national income in Egypt, analyzing with statistics up to 1949-50 the maldistribution of Egyptian income and the unhappy consequences in health, culture and society. Among his concrete proposals are a large increase in cultivable land, the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and development of 'tourism.'

Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of the American Friends of the Middle East. New York, 1954.

The general theme of these brief reports is "Friendship through Co-operation." The speeches and remarks are given just as they were made in session. Readers will be specially interested in brief notes on Muslim-Christian relations, pp. 76-81 and 121-126, and therein perhaps in the plea for genuine freedom of movement of conscience, as well as the insufficiency of 'the golden rule' as a basis for inter-religious meeting. Most Conference reports are tantalising in their incompleteness. But that does not diminish their stimulus.

A Pilgrimage Conference at Mecca. The pilgrimage of 1373 A.H. may well become historic as the first occasion of a general conference of Muslim leadership coinciding with the Meccan ceremonies. King Saʿūd of Arabia, the Governor General and Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Egyptian Premier, the Sudanese Minister of Justice and others participated in Mecca on the occasion of the feast of Bairam. The suggestion has been made that such a meeting should be an annual event and that a permanent secretariat should be established in Mecca for this purpose. Press comment in Pakistan and the Arab States warmly welcomed the idea and expressed the hope that Mecca might become the center of Muslim civilization and unity. Final statistics issued for the pilgrimage of 1373 A.H. gave 164,072 foreign pilgrims, as compared with 149, 841 in the previous year. There appears also to have been a meeting of ʿUlamāʾ in Mecca, including particularly the Shaikh al-Islam of Tunis, the Mufti of Saudi Arabia and the former Mufti of Egypt. They took special cognisance of the educational needs and dangers of Muslim youth, of the need for a build-up of Islamic military strength, and of the obligations of ʿulamāʾ to the present situation.

The Light, the Lahore Aḥmaddiyyat fortnightly, in its issue of July 1st, 1954, quotes with approval an editorial calling the use of the pilgrimage for political conference a blow "at the root of a great Islamic institution which certainly has no ulterior motive except that of bringing man closer to his Creator." *The Civil and Military Gazette,* from which *The Light* quotes, goes on: "It is nothing short of an outrage to import politics into this purely religious ceremony." Political conferences may be held anywhere. The pilgrim to Mecca has supposedly doffed worldly concerns when he donned his pilgrim garb. Resentment against Egyptian aloofness from the Turkish-Pakistani Pact is also written into this comment, and ʿAbd al-Nāṣir is credited with the mischief of suggesting the Conference, though other sources attributed the initiative to King Saʿūd.

Muslim Demonstrations, Beirut and Jakarta. Street demonstrations occurred in Beirut and the Lebanon in late July in protest against a book said to be insulting to the Prophet Muḥammad, which the government was allegedly reluctant to ban. The author was an employee of the Syrian Bank and a Christian, George Shukr by name. The President of the Lebanon received deputies and heads of Muslim communities requesting their co-operation in restoring order and calm throughout Lebanon. Earlier in Jakarta there had been similar street demonstrations against insults to the faith of Islam made at Nationalist and Communist rallies. The Masjūmī Party, the largest political grouping, and other Muslim parties, joined to demand the prosecution of the offenders and warned the Vice-President that failure to do so would be interpreted as an indication that the Government was pro-Communist.

Social Service in Pakistan. *Al-Islam*, the Karachi fortnightly paper, wrote (Vol. ii, 9) regretting that there was almost no conception of social service in Pakistan. It reproached its readers for their complete pre-occupation with income-earning and their idle use of leisure and contrasted its diagnosis with the large and vigorous social service organizations in neighbouring India. "Here in the Federal Capital of Pakistan one looks in vain for any organization of the kind." After instancing possible channels of service to the community the editorial continues: "There are many educated young people who lead a vegetable life, who follow what is called the philosophy of the turnip. They cannot live even the life of the animal because they have not the courage to marry the girls of their hearts' desire. They do not want to take upon their shoulders the responsibilities of married life and its natural consequences." This appears to be a reference to the existence of bachelor clubs which some young men in Pakistan have formed as a means of dealing with what they consider to be the excessive pressure of population upon the standard of living.

Over-Population and the Birth Rate. *The Light* (July 8, 1954) devotes an article by Dr. Iqbāl Aḥmad Ṣiddiqī to the question of population pressure in Pakistan. The writer denies that over-population is a real problem, and declares that certainly it is no curse. After some discussion of Malthus in the Western context, the author asks how over-population can be a problem when infant mortality is so great and the average expectation of life in Pakistan is 24 years. He does not raise the question what it may be when infant mortality is happily reduced by vigorous health measures. Insisting that there remain great resources for population-sustenance as yet unused, he adds: "It is a painful truth that for many years we have been awfully busy with politics and constitution-making to the exclusion of things that matter to the common man—food, health, education and material development. In our country people do not live but merely exist due to chronic famines and poignant poverty." But family limitation and contraception are not desirable. The Qurʾān exhorts to trust in God and says: "Do not slay your children for fear of poverty."

The Mosque Sermon. Increasing attention is being devoted in Islam to the role of the mosque in communal and social life and, in particular, to the place of the sermon in the direction and education of the community. The recent decision of the Egyptian Government to set up a body within the Ministry of Waqfs to compose and supervise all mosque sermons was given a dramatic character in the Western press because of an isolated incident at Ṭanṭā, in which a strongly-worded sermon provoked a public disturbance. But this should not obscure the fact that the decision climaxes a steady growth in general concern about the inadequacy of the mosque discourse. In Damascus for example a new manual has been issued under the official supervision of the Department of Waqfs, for the direction of the *khutabāʾ* in their task. Elsewhere several new works have appeared offering sample sermons and taking in hand the problem of inadequate preach-

ing. Arab writers for more than two decades have commented on the re-iteration, the dullness, the insensitivity to modern issues of many preachers. These writers have seen the problem to be part of the larger issue of theological education in general, and in some quarters it is being so treated. It should be remembered also that traditionally the mosque sermon is considered in Islam to have a hortatory function. Preaching is not conceived as primarily responsible for the ordered presentation of the faith and as a means of vigorous education in it, but rather as a call to those already within the faith to practise it more worthily. It is this pre-occupation with exhortation to loyalty to something assumedly understood, which has long precluded or obscured the necessity, created by ever changing circumstances, to interpret freshly what such allegiance means and involves. In other words mosque preaching is confronted with the need to explain as well as to exhort and to deal with meaning as well as with duty.

The other and more evident side of the question is the political aspect. 'Sedition' in sermons is no new notion. But régimes which find themselves resisted by strong religious elements are especially sensitive to the threat. It will no doubt be difficult, however, to keep sermons religiously adequate, if they are to be politically innocuous. The Egyptian requirement that all disputed questions must be avoided is hardly likely to foster sane, responsible and intelligent preaching. Does the ruling that politics shall be excluded from the mosque pulpit apply also to those sermons which commend government policy? (For it is not only the Muslim Brotherhood that has made the pulpit its instrument.) Does the insistence on *purely religious* matters imply that Islam can successfully become merely religious? It may well be doubted if the new sermon writers can find the answer, or succeed in separating 'church' and 'state' in Islam. But at least they may ensure propriety and discipline of word and tone.

Meanwhile there are similar questions in Pakistan. Kemal A. Faruki, the author of *Islamic Constitution* and of an influential discussion of *Ijmāᶜ* and *Ijtihād,* has lately suggested that after the Friday prayers debates and group discussions should be led in the mosques by the imāms and preachers, in order to direct opinion on social questions. He believes that this might help to correct distortion and prejudice, reduce provincial animosities and deepen Muslim unity. Mosque committees should also be established to publicise constructive views and to undertake solutions to the problem of poor attendance. There should also be alms committees to administer the mosque worshippers' gifts and *Ḥājj* committees to serve would-be pilgrims. Inter-mosque consultation should also be established. "In essence" he concludes "the key to the organization of an Islamic state is the basic social unit of the mosque. It is from the mosque that the institutions of the state must receive their sanction, it is through the mosque that the different schools of thought within an Islamic society can safely operate ... it is in the mosque that the individual believer can see for himself the practical results of the social organization of Muslims through the principles of Islam."

Russia and Ramaḍān. News of the situation among the many millions of Muslims who are Soviet citizens is hard to come by, but the silence was partially broken during Ramaḍān when the Ashkhabad radio made a sharp attack upon fasting as a hindrance to agricultural output. It went further and denounced Islam in general as reactionary. Fasting was described as a remnant of capitalism and religious leaders were reproached for perpetuating "the poison of religion." Feudal and patriarchal ideas, the broadcast said, were sustained by Islam and the workers were delivered by means of them into the hands of exploiters. Evidence that religious instruction and religious practice were vigorous enough to effect the land and labor programs of the State was also forthcoming from the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* which castigated religious rites and "superstitions" among the children under Islam. Strong attacks have also been made on Christian religious life. The observance of religious festivals is apparently too widespread for official liking.

An Editorial in *The Times* (London) refers to the Ashkhabad broadcast as a quite novel and open disregard of Muslim susceptibilities by the Soviet government. It would be premature to see in this instance a final abandonment of the recent policy of wooing the Muslim world by assertions of the compatibility of Communism with Islamic teaching. But the sharpness and bitterness of the attack, with its references to the blood and fire of Muslim conquests of Turkmenistan, are remarkable.

The Islamic Congress. It has often been remarked that the Muslim Brotherhood represents an earnest effort after the emotional and spiritual satisfaction of certain basic aspirations in the Muslim soul—aspirations after cultural security and credal continuity in the face of alien challenge and penetration. It has often been pointed out, too, that these aspirations cannot be merely repressed and that government philosophers would do well to find means of integrating and satisfying these deep demands. It would appear that the new proposals for an Islamic Congress may have this in view, if the enmity between the régime and the Brotherhood has now gone too far for effective reconciliation. The aims of the Congress were outlined in September in Cairo as follows:

(a) To spread Islamic culture free of all inhibitions and to prepare the Muslim peoples, who adhere strictly to the teaching of Islam and its moral virtues, to raise their educational and social standards.

(b) To harmonize the economic policies of all the Muslim nations and to collaborate in economic development.

(c) To bring to every Muslim nation the best financial and administrative system, according to its capacities.

The Congress will work through the Arab League and with Muslim organisations throughout the world, and its Executive will meet yearly in Mecca during the pilgrimage and will consist of Muslim Prime Ministers and leaders. The General Assembly, consisting of representatives of all Muslim peoples and bodies, will elect a new President each year. It will be assisted by *ad hoc* committees of experts, and will be

financed from national budgets, in proportion to wealth, and by subscriptions.

Affirming its opposition to any form of fanaticism the Congress yet desires to assert Muslim unity and foster the freedom and self-consciousness of Muslims everywhere. It plans to establish headquarters in Zamalek, Cairo, in the palace of ex-Prince Said, where its secretariat will be financed by the Egyptian Ministry of Waqfs. It is not at present clear whether the Congress will grow increasingly pre-occupied with politics or whether it will be able to develop a cultural function and appeal to displace the Muslim Brotherhood, whose 'intolerance' it has criticised. It has been emphasised that the Islamic Congress does not wish to be interpreted as anti-Western, nor yet to be regarded as an 'Islamic Commonwealth' that would exclude it from useful relations with Africa and other areas of non-Islam or partial Islam.

"The Restoration of the Caliphate." It is many years since this topic has been seriously discussed, but recently a lengthy treatment of the subject under this title appeared in an Urdu newspaper *Jumhuriyyat* in Bombay. *Umm al-Qura,* the Friday weekly in Mecca, reproduced its arguments in part. The writer insisted on the need for a caliph to bring together the community of Islamic nations. He urged King Saud of Arabia to convene a conference to elect a council to nominate a caliph.

The Election in Syria. One million, nine thousand and six hundred male voters had the right of franchise in the September elections in Syria. Women with an elementary education were also permitted to vote but no figure as to their number is available. The election of two Communist deputies among the ninety-three elected representatives caused considerable comment. Half of those elected were classified as independents.

Communist Parties in Muslim Countries. In the summer of 1954 an order was promulgated banning the Communist party, first in Karachi, and then in all West Pakistan. Some thirteen hundred Communists had been rounded up and interned prior to the enforcement of the order. *The Light* (Lahore) commenting on the decision confesses to a change of mind. It had held that the ideological aspects of Communism should be freely permitted the right of expression and propagation. "Freedom of conviction is a cardinal principle of Islam." But Communism is a diabolical ideology and uses the free speech it enjoys to spread absolutism. But most of all there is no reciprocity. Muslims in the Soviet Union have no freedom to fulfill themselves, while even the diplomatic representatives of Pakistan have been subject to unfair treatment in Moscow. Retaliatory measures are therefore justified. Freedom cannot afford the risks of subversion.

Meanwhile in Iraq there have been strong measures designed to eliminate political elements held to be subversive by the government. By the Law of Registration of Parties, Organizations and Clubs ap-

plication for legal status had to be made by all such bodies and those failing to comply stand disbanded.

Islam in the U. S. A. The International Muslim Society of the U.S.A. and Canada held its third annual Convention in Chicago, where more than one thousand Muslims took part. The aim of the Convention is to organise Muslims in the North American continent and to interpret the faith, culture and problems of Islam to Americans. A new journal appeared in the autumn of 1954 designed for this same end, with the title *Moslem World and the U.S.A.* Its editor is Abdul B. Naeem, of Iowa City, Iowa, and its functions are described as educational. Yet another journal has also made its appearance, namely *Islamic Affairs,* the quarterly publication of the Council on Islamic Affairs. The latter is a new body formed of business executives and professional men. Its aims are defined as follows: "To bring together on a regular basis all those whose professions require them to keep in touch with political and economic developments in the Muslim world; to disseminate to the American people, through institutions, business organizations, libraries and other channels of selective communication, information on the Muslim world and to inform the leaders of Islam of the increasing American interest in Islamic affairs. The Council's address is P.O.B. 140, Radio City Station, New York, 19, N.Y. The first number of *Islamic Affairs* appeared in October last. With three new publications last year also devoted to Islamic studies, the growth of periodical literature in a field in which *The Muslim World* had many years of almost solitary service is indeed phenomenal.

Muslim 'Observers' at Evanston. The Continuing Committee for Muslim-Christian Co-operation, set up by the Bḥamdūn Convocation, deputed a number of Muslim observers to attend the 1954 General Assembly of the World Council of Churches, at Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. In a subsequent 'communication' the observers, who were not officially such, referred to their attendance and then elaborated with Quranic quotations at some length a statement relating to the tolerance of Islam and its attitude of belief towards Christianity. They affirmed that Muslims believe in the Old and New Testaments and regard Islam, not as a new religion, but as the faith of the patriarchs before Judaism and Christianity as well as the later consummation of those faiths. They also commented on the allowance of evangelism all over the Muslim world. "Missionaries are respected by the governments of all Islamic countries."

It is remarkable that the 'communication' contented itself with these general statements and did not relate itself specifically to the theological and other issues with which the Assembly was wrestling during its historic meeting. It may be that the observers regarded these deep and exacting discussions as the domestic concern of the Christians, about which it would be inappropriate for a Muslim 'communication' to express itself. This was the more regrettable, however, inasmuch as if there is to be real and significant progress in the movement for Muslim-Christian intercourse, it needs to go far beyond these general,

and often ambiguous, statements, into the depths of our common heritage, our contemporary issues and our contrasted theologies—into the mystery of the nature of man, the burden of evil, the meaning of salvation and the shape of man's hope in God. A sense of shared monotheism, vital and grateful as it is, should not be allowed to lull us into complacent and easy silence about how we understand it. For such silence would be to frustrate and finally make barren the very intercourse we prize.

The Internal Debate in Islam. Readers will be interested in this document of self-examination deriving from a group of Muslim scholars in Hyderabad, Deccan.

TOWARD REORIENTATION OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT

A Call for Introspection

The Qur'ān styles those who hearkened to its call in the time of the Prophet to constitute a new type of society wherein one's worth was to be measured solely in terms of one's upright conduct in life as *Ummatan wasaṭā,* a society standing between two extremes and yet avoiding both to live a balanced life, a society whose function it was to serve as "a pattern unto others even as the Prophet was a pattern unto them." Do we meet this type anywhere to-day?

Those who claim to be the followers of the Prophet number at this moment between 350 and 400 million. Their habitat extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a gigantic belt stretching across two continents, Asia and Africa, with several off-shoots running into North and South, a belt possessing both economically and politically an immense strategic importance dividing along a lengthy stretch of it two rival worlds, the Anglo-American and the Soviet, each out to supplant the other, and spread its gospel throughout the world. They have here an excellent opportunity to assume the role of an *Ummatan wasaṭā,* and bridge the gulf between the two. But are they fitted for the task?

On the contrary, divided as they are into numerous geographical entities with varying political status attached to each, and infected further with diverse sectarian cross divisions, and one and all, more or less backward in every sphere of life, each sliding along an indeterminate track as pulled by its governing classes, they stand the grave risk of being dragged severally into the conflict of the two power blocks, and losing what outward Islamic aspect they may still retain. Let us, however, hope that things may not shape themselves that way. But this is clear that the Muslims cannot in the set-up of the present-day world achieve a place of self-respect or self-confidence unless they develop betimes the mood of introspection and make an earnest effort to discard from their way of life and thought all that has hindered their progress. It is only then that they will have the occasion to cultivate the qualities which mould a people into an *Ummatan wasaṭā.*

For some time past, attempts have been made by Muslim thinkers to locate the causes of Muslim decadence. Without exception, the line

of approach followed by them has been precisely the same. The question they have all set to themselves has been: why is the Muslim no longer a dominant political force in the world, as if political dominance over others was the aim of a Muslim's life? It is from this standpoint that every one has tried to look back. In this retrospect no one has missed to malign in some degree the grasping hand of the West, hardly pausing to consider seriously why it was that the Muslim had grown so handy. Even where a few have thus paused, they have done so only to decry the neglect of religion among them. Could that be a correct estimate? As we see, no other people in the world have been so much obsessed with religion. Yet they are what they have been for several centuries, a backward people.

What is it then which has made them what they are? They were a pattern to others once. Why have they ceased to be so to-day? To this there could be but one answer. The qualities which once gave them the character of a pattern *Ummat* have ceased to keep them company, as these could not co-exist with qualities of a different make for which the Muslims in the course of their history have come to show a preferential leaning—qualities which acting at first as narcotics or stimulants eventually lead to sterility. The supreme desire of the Prophet, be it noted, was to create a type of mind which could transmute its sense of the unity of God into a unerring sense of the unity of man through one's own *'amal-i-ṣāliḥ*, his *taqwā* or balanced activity conceived and directed with a steady eye on the *ḥuqūq-Allāh*, obligations to self, and *ḥuqūq-al-ʿIbād* or *ḥuqūq-al-Nās*, obligations to society. Individuals who form the salt of the earth do exist in the Islamic fold to display this mind. But do we meet that mind on the corporate plane anywhere to-day in the Islamic world?

This note is intended for the consideration of scholars or of those who know, and it therefore hardly needs us to describe for them the transformation wrought, or trace its sorrowful story. They can easily see for themselves that the mind of the Muslim almost everywhere is at a discount to-day. There is a lag between the life as enjoined on him by the Qur'ān and the life he has devised for himself. There is a lag between the social and political institutions which the Qur'ān desires him to install and the institutions which he has set up for himself and developed in the course of history. There is in short a big lag between the purpose of the present-day Muslim, his isolationist religiosity, and the abiding purpose of the Qur'ān, its universality and active humanism, the world purpose.

Strange as it may seem, this great falling off from the ideal begins its course within a few years of the Prophet's passing away, as soon as the democratic character given by the 'Rāshidīn' to the State founded by the Prophet was violently replaced by absolutism in the time of the Umayyads. The first century of the Hijra forms therefore the most trying period of Islam. The simple living Arab had come into possession of a vast empire offering him great temptations. The verdict of history is that he fell a victim to them. Civil strife was the result. The bone of contention was the Khilāfat. This is not the place to judge motives or apportion blame. Indeed, it will be idle to do so across

the vexatious centuries which intervene. But the result was a schismatic life for Islam.

The tendency let loose in the time of the civil wars to drift from the anchorage of the Quranic ideal gathered momentum, as time went on, and expressed itself eventually, assisted by alien cultural strain, into the proverbial seventy-two sects of Islam. As an off-shoot of this tendency and at the same time as its source of nourishment came into play the urge by over-zealous partisans to invoke, where argument failed, the very name of the Prophet, and ascribe to him utterances and actions bodied forth from their fertile imagination in support of their rival claims and standpoints. The result was the rise of a number of entire systems of law, theology and custom, each designated a *Madhhab,* none of which however was precisely the *Dīn,* the Islam of the Qur'ān which the Prophet had bequeathed to his people on the day of his farewell address at Mecca.

Thus the faith of the Qur'ān which had called upon its followers to "hold together to the cable of God," and live a united life, as an example unto others, was itself pressed into the service of a divided life by the very people who professed to follow it.

Will Islam once again assume the form and character of a single community and function as an *Ummatan wasaṭā,* is the wistful questioning which beats in us at the present day? In other words, is there any hope of returning to a single Sharīʿat for the Islamic world, or of at least paving in our lifetime the way to it by trying to lift the veils which have been allowed to rest on the Qur'ān and cloud the picture of the Prophet?

But how to lift the veils and who to lift them? These veils are all interwoven with 'Riwāyāt' or traditions ascribed to the Prophet. How to know the genuine traditions of the Prophet from the seemingly so forged by rival political parties and warring sects of the early centuries of Islam? It is true that we have with us what are styled as the *ṣiḥāḥ* purported to contain authentic traditions of the Prophet. They are the result undoubtedly of much hard work done. How onerous the task of their compilers was may easily be judged from the simple fact that when *Bukhārī,* the most renowned of them, undertook to sift what seemed to him the authentic from the spurious, and codify them, he had to discard out of nearly 6,00,000 of which, according to Ibn-Khallikān, he took cognizance, all except 7397 according to some authorities, or 7295 according to others, as fabrications. Indeed, if repetitions under different heads or chapters are to be discarded, the number, is reduced to 2762. The same story repeats itself, more or less, in the case of the other compilers. And yet even this *Ṣiḥāḥ* of theirs is no sure guide to the mind of the Prophet, for apart from variations and contradictions, one meets therein quite a number of Riwāyāt which directly conflict with the fundamental attitudes of the Qur'ān and the character of the Prophet portrayed therein. And this, because the criterion applied in selection was essentially subjective in character influenced largely by the outward equipment of piety of the narrators who came to the compilers to deliver their stories, and not exactly objective. If the veils are to be lifted and reorientation sought of our thought and

life, the first step is to institute a thorough enquiry on modern scientific lines in to the Riwāyāt and prepare a single authorized corpus of them.

This is a task which has to be undertaken by a body of competent scholars drawn from all over the Muslim world. It is up to the governments of the Muslim countries and representative Muslim institutions therein to evolve a joint plan of research at a convenient centre. For, without this further cleansing, the sifting of the gold from the dross, every attempt at reorientation will be but a patch-work as was the case with all the attempts at *Ijtihād* made so far, whether in the distant past or in recent times. Much of the dross is largely Judaic, Magian, Nestorian or Neo-platonic in origin wilfully attributed to the Prophet giving rise to beliefs and practices so alien to the inherent spirit of the Qur'ān. Until the gold is sifted from that which is foreign to it and a single authorized corpus of Ḥadīth literature is prepared, as an aid to the study of the Quranic directions as carried out by the Prophet in the circumstances of his time, no attempt at reorientation of the Islamic religious thought in the context of the present-day world, and codification on that basis of a common basic 'Fiqh' for the entire *Ummat* is likely to produce the desired result.

The task is stupendous. But it will have to be faced boldly, if the Islamic world is to rise again as one community, purified in mind and rejuvenated, to function as an *Ummaṭan wasaṭā,* or as a balancing factor in a world torn between exaggerated opposites. Indeed, what was once possible for solitary gatherers of Riwāyāt working single-handed, and recording but with a quill-pen and sifting laboriously things chiefly orally delivered, should not be impossible for a band of modern scholars, versed in comparative religion, assisted by a well-equipped modern secretariat trained in scientific research. With one unchanging Qur'ān, and one authorized corpus of the traditions of the Prophet, both made available to every Muslim through translations, wherever necessary, and one common ideology binding the entire *Ummat,* Islam will once again come into its own and be a force for abiding unity and peace among mankind.

In determining the authentic traditions of the Prophet, it will not be enough to confine our survey to the four corners of the *Ṣiḥāḥ.* As pointed out above, the compilers of these collections have made an essentially subjective approach to their work of selection. It is quite possible that among the Riwāyāt discarded by them in thousands, here might be some traditions which, from the very character of their contents, or by virtue of their internal evidence, deserve to be treated as genuine. A man who does not put on the visage of piety for others need not necessarily be an untrustworthy narrator. Even a habitual liar sometimes speaks the truth. In the field of research, one has to go chiefly by the character of the thing that comes up for examination and not exclusively by the reported reputation of the person who brings it to our view, although that fact should be helpful in keeping us all the more on our guard. Such being the aim of research, it will be up to the investigating body to call for their own personal review every other collection in the field over and above the *Ṣiḥāḥ.*

These other collections are of various kinds. Even before the compilation of the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, the Riwāyāt, most of them in the form of folklore or in a floating condition, had gone to supply the material for the 'Sīrat' or sketches of the life of the Prophet, the general histories of the times, and works on 'Fiqh.' The bulk of the Riwāyāt, discarded by the *Ṣiḥāḥ* are probably either still extant in these sources, or have gone to swell the collections subsequently made, particularly that voluminous collection known as *Kanzul-ᶜUmmāl* published in 1313-14 A.H. by the Dā'iratul-Mᶜārif, Hyderabad-Dn. Add to these the collections of Riwāyāt with the different sects of the Shīᶜa denomination, particularly the Riwāyāt either preserved in the Ithnā ᶜAshari' collection known as *Baḥrul-Anwār* or made use of in the *Tafsīr-e-Ṣāfī* or incorporated in works on Fiqh such as *Baṣā'irud-Darajāt, Man lā Yaḥḍirul Faqīh* and *Kāfī Kulainī* and also the Riwāyāt, in vogue among the Ismailians contained in their unpublished sources of theology, some of which have by now been brought to the notice of the general public.

So vast then and varied is the material to which the process of elimination has to be applied!

Once an authorized corpus of the Ḥadīth is prepared by a representative body of scholars, the way will lie open for the study and appreciation in right perspective of the Quranic 'Muḥkamāt' as actually implemented by the Prophet in the circumstances of his times, and for the codification of a common basic *Fiqh* for the entire *Ummat*, without which the Muslim world has little chance of functioning as an *Ummatan wasaṭā* in the world of to-day. If the Muslims cannot agree to-day to develop the mood of introspection and cleanse their mind and life, the world outside would have advanced so further off in the field to-morrow that they might never have any chance to rise again. The tide has reached its lowest ebb. Either it must have a flow again through its own momentum or it will lose itself in the sands of the desert for ever.

No doubt, the proposal to make a fresh enquiry into the character of the Ḥadīth literature is bound to raise very great opposition from our ᶜUlamā belonging to different denominations, and the *ᶜṢūfī'* orders. Some of them might realise the gravity of the situation and rise equal to the occasion. A good many, however, particularly those who have taken to religion as a calling, and are the staunchest supporters of medievalism in our thought and life, will fight the proposition with their backs to the wall. Let us hope for the best. Eventually, even they might relent. As Muslims they should rejoice in sifting the gold from the dross which has clung to the 'Dīn' of Islam and spiritually profit by the result. In any case, the imperative demands of time call for a reorientation of our life. The unitial step suggested here will have to be taken despite all opposition from vested interests, if we care to survive in the world of to-morrow. What a day for Islam if our ᶜUlamā' themselves come forward to lead the movement!

This note is addressed to representative leading Muslim scholars, publicists, legislators and administrators in the different parts of the

world. The plan is to publish a symposium of their reactions. The symposium might reveal the trends at work at the present moment, and pave the way to the holding in some central place of a world Muslim convention who might give a concrete shape to the proposal. Opinion is solicited under the following heads:—

(*i*) The need for enquiry and research in the Ḥadīth literature and the codification of a single authorized corpus of the traditions of the Prophet.

(*ii*) The method of approach.

(*iii*) The agency under whose auspices the proposed Board of Research is to be constituted.

(*iv*) The composition of the Board.

(*v*) Terms of reference to the Board.

(*vi*) The provision of finance for organizing research and publishing its results.

Syed Abdul Latif, B.A., Ph. D. (London): PRESIDENT: *Nazir Yar Jung*, M.A., LL.D. (Dublin): *Muhammad Rahatullah Khan*, M.A., D. Phil. (Leipzig): *Zahid Ali*, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon): *Abdul Moid Khan*, M.A., Ph. D. (Cantab.), D. Litt. (Cairo): *Syed Vahiduddin*, M.A., Ph. D. (Marburg): *Hamiduddin Qamar*, FĀḌIL (Devband): *Muhammad Yusufuddin*, M.A., Ph. D. (Osmania) SECRETARY. *Council of the Academy of Islamic Studies*. Hyderabad-Dn., India.

Africa in Egyptian Islam. Not the least significant feature of Colonel ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir's recent book: *Falsafat al-Thawrah* is the place he gives to Africa in the concern and context of Egyptian Islam. Egypt as a part of Africa ranks in his mind with Egypt as a part of the Arab world, and as a party to the general Islamic community. Both political and press commentary has stressed the duty of Egyptians to champion the cause of all African peoples, and not only those of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, whose relation to the Middle East is more familiar. The régime has given clear indication of its alertness to issues throughout the whole continent and not least in those vast areas adjacent to the Sudan. There are some signs that the tendency of some opinion in the Egyptian Council of the Revolution is to discourage 'Islamic Blocs' such as those proposed by Pakistan lest they be interpreted simply as counter to the Asian-African bloc envisaged by Pandit Nehru. 'Colonialism' must continue to be the main objective of resistance and this might be compromised in African eyes by too close an association with Western camps.

North Africa and the Arab League. In April 1954 a charter was signed at Arab League Headquarters in Cairo by representatives of political parties and groups in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, setting up a single organization known as "The Committee for the Liberation of North Africa." It began by asking the Arab League officially to declare Algeria an integral part of the Arab world. Meanwhile there have been rumours that Spain is preparing to declare the Spanish Zone of Morocco independent during 1955, with a treaty of friendship defining the future relations of the Zone and Spain.

Miscellanea. A $ 300,000 College for girls is being opened in Khormaksar, Aden Colony, to serve both Aden and Shaikh ʿUthmān. Fourteen acres have been set aside as a site for the College, which is part of a general development program approved by the Select Committee on Education.

A Conference on free compulsory education in the Arab countries was due to convene in Cairo in late December, 1954 to consider the financing and policy of compulsory, free education, as well as its role in the development of democratic traditions and the betterment of health standards. It is realised that such education is a vital element in social reform.

The 22nd Arab Medical Congress met in Damascus during August, 1954. It gave attention to a variety of diseases and stressed the need for the development of a wider medical vocabulary in Arabic. The head of the Egyptian delegation was the Chairman of the Congress.

The appointment of the Begum Liaquāt ʿAlī Khān as Pakistan Ambassador to the Netherlands at the Hague has created an important precedent for the Muslim world. It was so hailed by the Begum herself when she left Karachi to take up her new duties in September, 1954.

A Court in Rabāt, Morocco sentenced twenty one men and a woman to six months in prison and to a fine of 10,000 francs each for trying to force the wearing of the full veil by women. They were charged on the ground of infringement of personal liberty.

In Beirut the Union of Arab Women held its Congress in June last to discuss the bearing of the Muslim Sharīʿah on marital relations, health standards in the Arab world and means of improving the lot of women. It was the Third Congress of the Union.

Millenary celebrations of the birth of Ibn Sīnā according to the Hijrī calendar brought some thirty Arab and Western scholars to Teheran in the spring of 1954. A Conference was held in the Ibn Sīnā Hall of the Teheran Medical College and a new mausoleum was inaugurated at Hamadān.

Al-Riyād, the first illustrated weekly magazine in the history of Saudi Arabia, began publication in April, 1954, under the Institute of Press and Printing in Jiddah. It covers news, books and events and contains short stories and poems.

Generous contributions from King Saud, the ruler of Kuwait and notables throughout the Arabian peninsula have been received in Jerusalem for the repair of the Dome of the Rock.

The corner stone of a new mosque in London has been laid by the Saudi Arabian Ambassador. The building is to cost about a quarter of a million pounds and will serve a Muslim community estimated at 50,000 in the British capital. The cost will be borne, as with the mosque in Washington, by twelve Muslim countries having diplomatic representation in London.

It is reported that Muslim pilgrims from the Soviet Union sought during their stay in Cairo to arrange enrollment at the University of al-Azhar. The Rector, Shaikh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tāj replied that it would be possible if arranged through the usual diplomatic channels.

Plans are now in hand for the erection of a new mosque and a

mausoleum at Karachi in memory of the Quaid-i-Azam, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Jinnāḥ. The mosque is to measure 600 feet by 500 feet with minarets 160 feet in height, while the plan for the mausoleum calls for minarets of a slightly lower height and domes covering an area 250 feet square.

An American film producer is reportedly preparing a film to be made in Turkey, depicting the life of Kamal Ataturk, founder and first President of the Turkish Republic. The full co-operation of the Turkish authorities is promised and the necessary historical data has been gathered. The location will be in Turkey and the battles of the 1923 campaign will be staged, with authentic military equipment and detail.

President Naguib honored with his presence the opening of a new study center in Cairo, which the Franciscan Order has established in its monastery. Its nucleus is a library inaugurated in September, 1954 containing some ten thousand volumes on Islamic subjects and on the history of Christianity in the East. Board and lodging are available for visiting orientalists and students, both clerical and lay. It is hoped to make steady progress in the printing of old texts as they are studied.

ERRATUM

The April issue, 1954, Vol. xliv No. 2 p. 11 contained a mistaken identification for which we apologise. The author of *Research in Saudi Arabia,* Dr. Charles D. Matthews, is Senior Research Arabist in Arabian American Oil Company (which should be written without 'the'), not Director of Research as we inadvertently stated.

Also throughout the article Al-Ḥamdānī should read Al-Hamdānī, while on p. 119 Dām should read Dam, and on p. 139 (in the book review) read Āl Faiṣal for Al Faiṣal.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Autobiography of Aḥmad Amīn. M. Perlmann. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* N.Y. January, 1954. pp. 17-24. A review of "Ḥayātī", which appeared in Arabic in 1950 and which covers sixty years, tracing an eventful life from lowly Cairo to political and intellectual eminence.

Deux Minarets a l'Époque Seljoukide en Afghanistan. Janine Sourdel-Thomine. *Syria,* Paris. 1953, part 1-2. pp. 109-136. A detailed description, with illustrations, of the minarets at Gazna and at Dawlatabād. An appendix lists minarets classed as "Khorasanian", Seljoukide or later.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1954 and Spring, 1954. pp. 29-90; 184-204. Cover Sept. 1, 1953-Febr. 28, 1954 and stress the fall of Mossadeq, the Sudanese elections, the removal of the Sultan of Morocco and the Syrian coup against the Shishaklī regime.

"The Genius of Christ" — a Muslim Estimate. Kenneth Cragg. *The East and West Review,* London. July, 1954. pp. 88-96. A detailed review of "Abqariyyat-al-Masiḥ" by Abbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād.

The Great Leader. Yusuf A. Haroon. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi. Vol. 3, no. 4. pp. 4-8. A sketch of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.

Islamic Culture and Archaeology. John A. Wilson. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1954. pp. 1-9. In a paper prepared for the Colloquium on Islamic Culture at Princeton University in 1953, the author urges adequate preservation of the relics of the past and arousal of national pride in the wonderful achievements of talented forebears.

Ein Kleiner Radiokrieg um den Propheten Mohammad. E. Kellerhals. *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin,* Basel. Mai, 1954. pp. 86-89. Describes a programme given over Radio Basel, which caused a protest from S.N. Ahmad of the Aḥmadiyya Mission in Zurich.

Rūḥīn. Dominique Sourdel. *Syria,* Paris. 1953, part 1-2. pp. 89-107. Tells of a 13th century Muslim pilgrimage site in Northern Syria at the floot of Ǧabal Barākat. Cites historical sources.

Un Pionnier de la Poésie Arabe Moderne. Moustafa Abdel Latif El Seherty. *Revue de Caire,* Cairo. June, 1953. pp. 36-47. An appreciation of Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, the leader of a new school of Arabic poetry. With excerpts in translation.

Poetry in East Bengal. Syed Ali Ashraf. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Ka-

rachi. Vol. 4, no. 1. pp. 28-39. A critique of style, language and content illustrated by contemporary poems translated by A. F. M. Haqī.

Das Studium des Orients und die Europaeische Kultur. H. S. Nyberg. *Zeitschrift der Morgenländische Gesellschafft,* Wiesbaden. 1953, part 1, pp. 9-21. The European Orientalist can do much for the cultural unrest of this era by trying to have the historical approach recognized and upheld.

Das Tuerkenbuechlein Theodor Biblianders. Rudolf Pfister. *Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel. November-December, 1953. pp. 438-454. Analysis a work which appeared in 1542 written by a French philologist who was head of Islamic studies in Zurich.

II. ARABIA

Geographische Grundlagen und Frühzeit der Geschichte Südarabiens.. Hermann von Wissmann. *Saeculum,* Freiberg. 1953. no. 1. pp. 61-114.

The New Reign in Saʿūdī Arabia. H. St. J. B. Philby. *Foreign Affairs,* N.Y., April, 1954. pp. 446-458. Discusses the great opportunities possessed by King Saud for the economic betterment of all classes because the state he inherited from his distinguished father is in almost ideal condition.

Sculptures and Inscriptions from Shabwa. W. L. Brown and A. F. L. Beeston. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1954, part 1-2. pp. 43-62. Detailed description of first and second century (A.D.) findings in the Hadramaut. Illustrated.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Confessionalism and Feudality in Lebanese Politics. C. G. Hess, Jr. and H. L. Bodman, Jr. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1954. pp. 10-26. An historical survey of the systems from Ottoman times to the elections of 1953.

L'Empire Néo-Byzantin des Omeyyads et l'Empire Néo-Sassonide des Abbassides. G. West. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale,* Paris. July, 1953. pp. 63-71. Tells of the powerful Byzantine and Persian influences prevalent during these two periods.

From the Mediterranean to India. S. D. Goitein. *Speculum,* Boston. April, 1954. pp. 181-197. Gives the contents of business letters, legal documents, accounts and other papers related to trade to India, Southern Arabia and East Africa during the 11th and 12th centuries.

Great Britain and the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774. M. S. Anderson. *English Historical Review,* London. January, 1954. pp. 39-58. The history of diplomatic fencing by the governments of Britain, Russia, France and Turkey.

The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey. Bernard Lewis. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale,* Paris. July, 1953. pp. 105-125.

The non-religious terms—liberty, equality and nationality (not fraternity)—carried the main ideas of the movement to Islam largely through young Turkish officers.

The Origin of the Janissaries. J. A. B. Palmer. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester. March, 1954. pp. 448-481. Surveys sources and literature.

Un Partage de Seigneurie entre Francs et Mamelouks. Jean Richard. *Syria,* Paris. 1953, part 1-2. pp. 72-82. The author explains the weakness of the French in the Holy Land through discussion of a contract between the Sultan Qalaoun and Marguerite, widow of Jean de Montford.

Saladin and the Assassins. Bernard Lewis. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. June, 1953. pp. 239-245. Examines the reasons for the two attempts to murder Saladin.

Shifting Sands. Mark Alexander. *The Twentieth Century,* London. May, 1954. pp. 407-418. Considers in detail the Egyptian "revolution" and also conditions in Syria since the fall of Shishaklī.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Aš-Šayḥ al-Yūnānī and the Arabic Plotinus Source. F. Rosenthal. *Orientalia,* Rome. 1953, part 4. pp. 370-400. A continuation of this study.

Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens. Hans J. Kissling. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden. 1953, part 2, pp. 233-289.

The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1953. part 4. pp. 215-231. Opinions on the subject through the years.

Deux Textes Inédits de Mystique et de Théologie Musulmanes. G. Anawati. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1953, part 3. pp. 385-396. Describes al-Firkāwī's commentary on the Manāzil of the 11th century Ḥanbalī mystic, Al-Anṣārī of Herat and the "Theology of Al-Ash'arī" by J. McCarthy.

Ibrāhīm al-Muwailihī. Der Spiegel der Welt. Gottfried Widmer. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1954, part. 2. Whole issue, pp. 58-126. Contains a biography of this noted Egyptian (1846-1906), a bibliography, an introduction and "Der Spiegel der Welt".

The Individual in Democracy and Iqbal's Conception of Khudi. Dr. J. J. Houben. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi. Spring, 1954. pp. 18-21; 62-67.

Il Pensiero Religioso di Maulānā Gialāl ad-Dīn Rūmi. Alessandro. Bausani. *Oriente Moderno,* Rome. April, 1953. pp. 180-198. A clear exposition of Rūmī's thought.

Réflexions sur les Origines et la Fonctionnement du Régime Représentatif et Parlementaire en Turquie et dans les États Arabes du Moyen Orient. Marcel Colombe. *Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1953, part 1, pp. 251-259.

Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar al-Tabarīs. Heribert Horst. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden. 1953, part 2. pp. 290-307.

Zur Form der Eheschliessung in der Türkei. G. Jaeschke. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. part 3. pp. 143-214. Compares Christian and Muslim religious and secular forms and gives much historical and legal information, even including folklore.

Zur Herkunft der Monotheistischen Bekenntnisformeln im Koran. Anton Baumstark. *Oriens Christianus,* Wiesbaden. 1953. pp. 6-22.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Abul Camp in Central Afghanistan. H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1954. pp. 44-53. Tells of adventures und life in a camp existing mainly for recreation, peopled by thousands of male Pathans and regulated by two Mirs.

The Assimilation of Nomads in Egypt. Mohamed Awab. *Geographical Review,* New York. April, 1954. pp. 240-252. A thorough study of the situation with statistics and maps.

Attraction des Villes et Sous-Prolétariat en Afrique du Nord. G. Lettelier. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1953, part 3. pp. 659-676. Describes conditions in the Casbah of Algiers, crowded with miserable, uprooted Berber peasant families.

Le Drame de la Jeunesse Marocaine. P. Buttin. *Études,* Paris. January, 1954. pp. 17-30. Depicts business and family problems facing the young and suggests that Christian forebearance and understanding offer a means of restoring confidence and faith in the future.

The Egyptian Women's Movement. Ceza Nabaraoui. *Asian Review,* London. April, 1954. pp. 156-158. Traces progress from the days of the Prophet's granddaughter to the present university-going and craft-perfecting times.

The Gezira: An Example in Development. Willam A. Hance. *Geographical Review,* New York. April, 1954. pp. 253-270. By careful methods of irrigation and production, a five million acre clay plain has given a great yield in cotton as well as a stable living to thousands.

Iran Today. The Rt. Rev. W. J. Thompson. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1954. pp. 124-133. The Anglican Bishop of Iran states that the discovery of oil and its accompanying problems of money and foreigners is endangering the Persians with love of superficialities.

The Iranian New Year Season. Robert C. Alberts. *The Near East,* New York. May, 1954. pp. 7-11; 14-16. Describes the festivities of Eyde Nowrus.

Landslide in East Bengal. *Round Table,* London. June, 1954. pp. 286-289. Discusses the implications of the sweeping defeat of the Muslim League by the United Front Party in the first election since partition.

The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Teheran. F. W. Cleaves. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* Cambridge. June, 1953. pp. 1-107. New translation and annotations of material relating to domestic affairs in Persia.

Neue Untersuchungen zum Domestikationsproblem der Altweltliche Cameliden. Reinhard Walz. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden. 1954, part 1. pp. 45-87.

Problems of Education in Under-Developed Areas. Omar A. Khadra. *The Near East,* New York. February, 1954. pp. 11-16. Urges Arab leaders to prepare their people, through education, to gain the greatest benefit from the U.N.'s Point Four Programme.

The Progress of Education in Egypt. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1954. pp. 79-81. A statistical presentation contrasting 1922 figures with the encouraging ones of to-day.

Remarques sur Quelques Curieuses Bida' Observées chez les Musulmans d'Algérie. G.-H. Bousquet. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1954, part 1. pp. 34-45. Comments on marriage customs.

Some Demographic Aspects of a Rural Area in Iran. Mohammad B. Mashayekhi and others. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* London. April, 1953. pp. 149-165. Data from a survey of 173 villages.

Sujets d'Examens Proposés aux Etudiants de la Grande Mosquée. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1953, part 2. pp. 247-254. Arabic text and Translation of examinations in mathematics, physics and Arabic literature.

Syria To-Day. Alford Carleton. *International Affairs,* London. January, 1954. pp. 24-30. Conditions have improved but heavy military expenditures, through fear of Israeli agressions, are a drain on the budget.

The Turkish Government's Plans. *Great Britain and the East,* London. June, 1954. pp. 15-17. Most impressive is the start of the great new harbour works at Haydarpasha to increase the capacity of the port of Istanbul.

Wealth For Export. Jehangir A. Khan. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi Vol. 3, no. 4. pp. 53-59. Discusses disposal of the principal products.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Accalmie ou Apaisement en Tunisie? Pierre Rondot. *Études,* Paris. February, 1954. The author deals with the Tunisian situation since 1951 and with the three factors to be considered—the Tunisians themselves, the French inhabitants and the French Protectorate.

Afrique du Nord-Est; Afrique du Nord-Ouest; Afrique Oc-

CIDENTALE; PROCHE-ORIENT. *Le Monde Missionnaire,* Paris. 1954. pp. 85-132. A general survey of conditions.

BRITAIN, EGYPT AND THE CANAL ZONE SINCE JULY 1952. T.R.L. *World Today,* London. May, 1954. pp. 186-197. Advocates British withdrawal as her soundest policy.

DANGER IN KASHMIR. Josef Korbel. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. April, 1954. pp. 482-490. India's reluctance and slowness in permitting a fair settlement of the Kashmir dispute is affording the Communist interests amazing opportunities for penetration and eventual domination.

CROSS PURPOSES IN EGYPT. *Round Table,* London. June, 1954. pp. 223-235. After surveying the record of the past two years, the author fears that neither Egypt nor the Sudan are ready for complete self-government.

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM IN ASIA. Sir William Barton. *The Quarterly Review,* London. January, 1954. pp. 59-71. A thoughtful inspection of the subject from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, where the real crisis for the West lies and where non-Communist Asia must be won over to trust and coöperation.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING A SETTLEMENT OF THE IRANIAN OIL CONTROVERSY. Walter J. Levy. *Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1954. pp. 91-95. Reviews the whole controversy and believes in a satisfactory outcome.

EGYPT SINCE THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1952. T.R.L. *The World Today,* London. April, 1954. pp. 140-149. Gives a study of conditions up to the rise of Abd-al-Naṣir to power.

LES ÉLITES GOUVERNANTES EN AFRIQUE DU NORD DEPUIS LA CONQUÊTE FRANÇAISE. G.-H. Bousquet. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1953, part 1. pp. 15-33. Studies the old and new influences at work among the population, especially the new social class and the new political trends.

THE FRENCH UNION: CONCEPT, REALITY AND PROSPECTS. Georges Catroux, International Conciliation, New York. November, 1953. pp. 195-256. Discusses specific problems to be met in French North Africa and includes administrative charts.

LIBYA AFTER TWO YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE. William H. Lewis and Robert Gordon. *Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1954. pp. 41-53. Although many encouraging developments are emerging, it is disturbing to observe the disunion caused by factions in Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

OIL FOR PEACE OR WAR? Herbert Feis. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. pp. 416-429. The author believes that the U.S. oil situation has improved during the last ten years, that we are not so concerned with Near Eastern oil production, but that reserve stocks must be carefully concealed and protected for survival in an all-out war.

RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH ASIA. Sir Alvary D.F. Gascoigne. *Royal*

Central Asian Journal, London. April, 1954. pp. 94-103. Gives a graphic account of the decline of Islam in Central Asia mainly accomplished through violence and famine as well as by mass population transportation.

THE SOUTHERN SUDAN IN THE MELTING POT. A. N. Tucker. *World Dominion and The World To-Day,* London. January-February, 1954, pp. 23-28. Should the Sudan become independent, there will undoubtedly be struggles for equality between the Muslim North and the primitive South.

STRESSES IN FRENCH AFRICA. Thomas Hodgkin. *The Twentieth Century,* London. May, 1954. pp. 419-430. The main pressures come from Nationalism, Communism and Islam with its six million Muslims.

TROUBLED WATERS EAST OF SUEZ. Capt. E. M. Eller, U.S.N. *National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D.C. April, 1954. pp. 483-522.

TURKEY JOINS THE WEST. G. C. McGhee. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1954. pp. 617-630. Traces the swing from East to West and stresses the immense value to the West of Turkey's steady opposition to Russian aggression.

WILL PERSIA'S OIL WELLS FLOW AGAIN? Ernest Hauser. *The Saturday Evening Post,* New York. July 3, 1954. pp. 26-27; 67-68. Due to an international consortium consisting of five American companies plus Anglo-Iranian and Shell, oil will be forthcoming for the West.

VII. THE MIDDLE EAST

DECLINE OF THE WEST IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Norman Bentwich. *International Affairs,* London. January, 1954. pp. 50-54. A Jewish comment on Mr. Hourani's forceful article which appeared in an earlier issue of *International Affairs.*

IMPRESSIONS OF A RECENT JOURNEY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. M. Philips Price. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1954. pp. 104-114. A detailed account of political and economic conditions in Turkey, Persia, etc. The author reports increased anti-British and anti-U.S. feeling since his last visit in 1947.

LITERATURE ON THE CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES OF THE GREAT POWERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. George Lenczowski. *Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1954. pp. 205-211. Annotates books from the days of World War I to those including and following World War II.

THE MIDDLE EAST AFTER ABADAN. *The Round Table,* London. December, 1953. pp. 32-41. Although the free world has not suffered from the lack of Persian oil, the author urges friendly treatment to prevent the country's surrender to Communism.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN 1953. S. Yin'am. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New

York. January, 1954. pp. 1-17. An annual political survey full of compelling facts and interpretations.

Middle East Power Vacuum. Emil Lengyel. *Annals,* Philadelphia. July, 1953. pp. 47-55. Arguments for a defense organization set up by the Middle East itself.

Soviet Policy in the Middle East. E. George Lenczowski. *Journal of International Affairs,* New York. 1954, part 1. pp. 52-61. Summarizes developments since 1945 and finds the decline of French and British supremacy in the area has furthered Soviet interests.

Strategic Problems of the Middle East. George Fielding Eliot. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. October, 1953. pp. 313-323. Analyses the military aid the states could render the West once diplomacy has eased existing tensions.

Tension in the Arab Near East. Farid S. Hanania. *Annals,* Philadelphia. July, 1953. pp. 56-64. Cites various reasons for Arab bitterness against the West.

What now in the Middle East? Cyril Falls. *The Illustrated London News,* London. August 21, 1954. Discusses the military value of bases in Cyprus, Libya, Malta and Egypt.

VIII. PAKISTAN

Economic Outlook in Pakistan. Fergus Innes. *Asian Review.* London. January, 1954. pp. 47-54. Stresses the need for training all types of engineers and high grade, well-paid civil servants.

Education in Pakistan. Raziuddin Siddiqi. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi. Vol. 3, no. 4. pp. 30-35; 50-51; 63. An illustrated survey with statistics.

The External Interests of India and Pakistan. Lt.-Col. Lord Birdwood. *Asian Review,* London. April, 1954. pp. 91-104. While the Middle Eastern countries are of paramount importance to Pakistan, India is concerned with the Far East, while together Pakistan and India parallel British policy in the former undivided India.

Industrial Development in Pakistan. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1954. pp. 58-63. A statistical article dealing with the progressive work of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC).

Pakistan and the West Four Thousand Years Ago. Dr. V. Gordon-Childe. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi. Vol. 3, no. 4. pp. 16-21. An illustrated account of Indus Valley excavations and finds of the Harappan civilization.

Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. Ahmed Abdulla. *Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi. Vol. 4, no. 1. pp. 48-54; 68. Tells of progress in the manufacture of paper, cement, wool, chemicals and the building of ships.

Pakistan's Fish Industry. Johangir A. Khan. *Asian Review,* London. April, 1954. pp. 152-155. Describes efforts being made to

popularize fish-eating habits to improve the Pakistani's diet and to make use of the abundant fish supply.

POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN PAKISTAN. F. M. Innes. *Pacific Affairs,* Richmond, Va. December, 1953. pp. 303-317. Discusses relations with the Arab League, Russia and India and praises Pakistan's loyalty to Britain and to The United Nations.

IX. PALESTINE

THE ARAB-ISRAELI BOUNDARY PROBLEM. Lewis M. Alexander. *World Politics,* Princeton. April, 1954. pp. 322-337. A graphic picture of this incredible and, apparently, insoluble situation.

AMERICAN POLICY AND ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE. Hal Lehrman. *Commentary,* New York. June, 1954. pp. 546-556. An argument for strong Jewish support by the United States.

THE CONDITION OF ARAB REFUGEES IN JORDAN. Winifred A. Coate. *International Affairs,* London. October, 1953. pp. 449-456. "If the account that has been given seems sombre, it cannot be worse than the truth. The present situation is one of despair"—and this despite UNRWA.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF PALESTINE REFUGEES. James Baster. *Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1954. pp. 54-68. The author believes that a political settlement between the Arab States and Israel is the refugees' only hope, since economic measures have proved insufficient to better their appalling condition.

HAIFA. I. Schattner. *Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem. Vol. 4, part 1. pp. 26-46. Gives geographical reasons for the choice and success of the city as a principal port to Israel.

ISRAËL A LA CONQUÈTE DU DESERT. Henry de Farcy. *Études,* Paris. January, 1954. pp. 47-63. Depicts the agricultural efforts of the Jews in their need to support a population of nearly two millions.

KIBYA, JERUSALEM AND THE RIVER JORDAN. Hal Lehrman. *Commentary,* New York. April, 1954. pp. 317-329. Discusses the relation of these elements to the long-desired Arab-Israeli peace.

RELIGION AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN PALESTINE OF THE BRITISH MANDATE. A. L. Tibawi. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1953, part 1. ppl. 1-14. A thorough survey,

SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. Norman Bentwich. *Hibbert Journal,* London. January, 1954. pp. 127-133. An idealistic, optimistic article accompanied by a contrasting footnote telling of the massacre of Arabs in two Jordanian villages by Jewish border guards.

VIOLENCE ON THE JORDAN-ISRAEL BORDER. Lieut.-Gen. J. B. Glubb. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1954. pp. 552-562. A fair, unanswerable presentation of the perfidious Jewish measures against the refugee situation, created by Jewish harshness ever since the Armistice of 1949.

X. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

ANNUAL REPORT, 1952-1953. Charlotte B. Kellien. *Arabia Calling*, New York. Spring, 1954. Whole issue. Paints a glowing picture of progress in the area, but stresses the great need for more trained workers.

ANNUAL REPORT NUMBER. *Egypt General Mission News*, London. 1954, no. 1. Whole issue tells of a good year without government interference and with the official attitude of religious toleration.

ANOTHER EVEREST. Alfred Hargreaves. *World Dominion and The World To-Day*, London. May-June, 1954. pp. 170-173. Describes challenging experiences in various sections of the Muslim World.

MISSIONSBESTREBUNGEN IM INDISCHEN ISLAM. Dr. E. Bannerth. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, Münster Westf. 1953, part 4. pp. 294-307. An account of vigorous endeavours in this area.

PIONEERS OF PROTESTANTISM IN ASIA MINOR. Marie S. Banker. *Armenian Review*, Boston, December, 1953. pp. 85-109. A narration of the work of William Goodall and Cyrus Hamlin.

RURAL CHURCHES IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. D. J. Lichty. *Town and Country Church*, New York. September, 1954. pp. 12-13. Spread orally from family to family and from village to village, the Christian message quietly reaches more and more of the countries' immense rural population.