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إِلَى اللهِ الْمَصِيرُ

"UNTO GOD IS THE BECOMING"

Not the least of the fascinations of the Qur'ān for the perceptive reader is the suggestiveness of its most familiar phrases and the invitation they offer to the discovery of undertones as well as overtones of meaning. Take the variants of the phrase: "Unto God is the journeying," as it is sometimes translated. It occurs in all some twenty-eight times in the Qur'ān and has, therefore, entered deeply into the devotional literature of Islam. Sometimes it stands as at the head of this page: sometimes the preposition 'unto' has the pronoun 'Him', 'Thee', 'Me', 'Us', as the context requires, but always in reference to God alone.

More than half the occasions have to do with retribution and the fire, frequently with the words بِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ: "a hapless journey's end," or "an ill passage," as the renderings have it. But beyond these references to the *Maṣīr* as the place or time of condemnation, are less numerous, but exegetically more fruitful, passages in which the meaning is linked with forgiveness, self-purification and valid faith, as describing a process of becoming in the life of the believer, of which God is the destination. "Unto Him is the becoming" might then be the best version, the more so as it opens the door to a significance that in other terms is the heart of the Gospel of the New Testament. It would then connote a kind of "quo vadis" of the soul, proclaiming that man in his human existence is called to a conformity to the Divine nature, through grace and the Holy Spirit, the climax and the crown of which is the vision of the King of glory.

English versions of the Qur'ān have not agreed on any single English term by which to express the sense of the word in question. The older translators tended to rely exclusively

on the idea of destiny in the last day. "There is no god save He . . before Him shall be the general assembly at the last day." Thus George Sale on Surah xl. 3. "To Him shall be the final gathering" was Rodwell's rendering of the same verse. More recent writers prefer: "the journeying" (Pickthall): "the eventual coming" (Muḥammad ᶜAlī): "the destination" (Yūsuf ᶜAlī): "the trend" (R. Bell). All these, save the last, could of course be restricted to an eschatological sense, but all of them are capable of an interpretation which, though it includes the ultimate, means the continual, and which sees the verdict of the grand assize as recording the becoming of this earthly scene.

This latter sense is corroborated by the word itself. *Maṣīr,* unlike *Marjiᶜ* (which means a coming back to an original state), signifies a becoming what we were not before. It may have to do with a place of alighting and pasturage and the idea of a journey is certainly implicit. But a journey is a profound analogy of becoming, as more than Bunyan know. The notion of 'the eventual' truly is present in the phrase. But is not the eventual made up of events? Does not destiny arise out of character, out of our becoming? So the Quranic phrase might be paraphrased to mean: "To partake of the Divine nature and to attain the purpose which God has set forth is the true goal of what you make of life and life of you." If that seems too far from the intention of the text, it is at least implicit in the force of the word. Back of it, emphatically, whatever other senses have accrued, is the verb 'to become.'

How far-reaching for good and ill are the potentialities of human conduct and human character! What man has it within him to be, or cease to be, or begin to be, the great historians, dramatists and philosophers have pondered since literature began. How diverse, from stars to secretions, have been the factors credited with man's shaping! How bewildering the estimates of what he ought to be, the ideals and criteria that have determined his verdicts upon himself! But above the discordance of these voices stands the conviction that man is self-responsible.

"The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars
But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

That responsibility, as the source and crux of real humanity, is only properly exercised in being answerable to the mind and law of God. It is a Quranic and a Biblical certitude that man is made in the image of God and stands under an answerableness to the Divine will. In this his responsible existence is poised and fashioned. "Unto God is the becoming." In the kingdom of the Divine law we find the pattern of human life. Only in the recognition of worship Godward are we safely and truly ourselves manward. All the issues of our lives are summed up and determined in our total acknowledgement of God. What we become is shaped inexorably by how we relate ourselves, mind and heart and will, to Him Who is the only Lord.

But the faith which Christians share holds a larger confidence, which we must at all costs interpret to all humanity. It is that God concerns Himself redemptively with this crisis of becoming that is inseparable from the vocation and the destiny of man. For He is not alone the Lawgiver whose calling we read in our own moral nature and hear in His Scripture. He is yet more wonderfully the lover and seeker of our souls. He comes to us Himself to show us in human terms the pattern of a life in which God truly reigns. By Incarnation He makes His law not simply a decree but a lesson. And in loving solicitude for our wrongness He bears in suffering the price of our retrieval. So He overcomes in redemption the evil of our selfishness and makes possible the good that of ourselves we can never attain. By His Cross and Passion He draws us into the self-knowledge that learns to pray:

"O that a man would arise in me
That the man I am might cease to be!"

and from the same resources of compassion He answers the cry He inspires. So the saving God, in Christ, opens to us the gates of new life. His is the way by which we come to Him. "To as many as received Him, to them gave He power to

become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His Name." In this sense we may say with the Qur'ān, "His is the becoming" — of Him and through Him and unto Him, God loving, redeeming, re-creating.

In three passages where it uses the phrase we are pondering the Qur'ān links repentance and forgiveness with man's destination unto God. Abraham, in Surah lx. 4, assures his father that the "journeying" is in penitence. Surah ii. 285 invokes forgiveness in clear connection with man's becoming, while the searching passage in Surah xxxv. 18 affirms that coming unto God is a seeking of purity which every man must make for himself. For here no substitutes can be found, no burdens shared, however near of kin. "For no man can deliver his brother" as the psalmist knew. But God can: and to do so He makes Himself our brother, saying: "I am the way."

Is there hope that the Church may patiently be able to convey to the Muslim heart its understanding in Christ of how God relates Himself to man's need of becoming what the Divine law requires? How may we share with all men the truth of a love so sovereign as itself to undertake the remaking of human nature? For this and no less is the Gospel of the Divine compassion, the Gospel of what God became as the means of men's becoming. In our duty to choose and do and serve the right, we trace both our human dignity and the Divine Law. In the power — with us, yet from beyond us — so to choose and do and serve, we discover our redemption as men and the glorious grace of God. But how shall the duty learn the power? How shall the Gospel of becoming speak to the ethic?

There is a further passage where the Prophet is at issue with those who saw things differently (Surah xlii. 14). After disclaiming controversy, he added: "God will bring us together" and then the assurance: "Unto Him is the journeying." The resources, then, to interpret the Gospel must be found in the God of the Gospel. He by His Spirit will be the way whereby we reach Him as our goal.

DEVELOPMENTS IN MODERN PERSIAN PROSE

The greatness of Iran's ancient literature cannot be questioned. Persian poets long ago explored and perfected most of the techniques of poetry and still inspire poets of every nation. The modern literary movement in Iran proves that the Iranian literary genius has continued strong. It seems, however, that the most important developments have been in prose. This may partly be due to the extent and excellence of past endeavours in poetry. It must also be due to the role of Western culture in the modern Iranian literary revival. The new subjects were better expressed in prose than in traditional Persian poetry.

During the Safavid period (1499-1722 A.D.), the educated were chiefly engaged in proselytism, administration and war. It was not an age of outstanding literary achievement. Prose was devoted mainly to religious tracts and clever despatches to the Court of the Ottoman enemy. The Safavid Monarchs wanted to weld Iran into a unit with a group loyalty strong enough to withstand, if not rival, the Sunnī Ottoman Caliphate. They decreed that their own family's Shīᶜī tenets should be the religion of Iran, and Shīᶜī missionaries were brought from Syria, the Ḥijāz and Baḥrain to preach to their subjects. These missionaries' ignorance of Persian is well known [1], but it was these men who had to write religious works, both for popular consumption and for the learned. Their style of writing did not have a good effect on Persian prose.

By modern standards, Persian prose at the beginning of the Safavid period was not in a healthy condition. During Mongol and Timurid times, from the 13th to the 15th centuries, the Arabic element had increased enormously. This cannot wholly be condemned because the influx of Arabic increased the flexibility and resources of what was already a very resourceful language. This resourcefulness is shown in the Persian writings of Ibn Sīnā and Al-Bīrūnī, and the *Siāssat-nāmeh* and *Qābūsnāmeh* of the 11th century A.D. These works prove that Arabic was merely an addition to an already rich store. The Arabic element when manipulated by a great master like Saᶜdī (died 1291) is, moreover, an adornment of great beauty. Samarqandī's *Chahār Maqāla* of the 12th century, though full of Arabic, is a masterpiece neither unpleasant to read nor lacking in clarity. The evil began with the degeneration of this style in the hands of less gifted writers. In a work like Juwaynī's *Tārikh-i-Gahān-Gusha* of the late 13th century, the Arabic element, with numerous epithets and synonyms, leads to sickening over-ornamentation. Meaning is often obscured. There may have been wisdom in this at the time: apparent abuse of Persian to obscure meaning need not always be blamed on the writers' bad taste.

[1] See E. G. Browne. *Literary History of Persia.* (Cambridge 1951) Volume 4. p. 360.

Unfortunately by the beginning of the Safavid era a highly ornamented arabicised style had come to be the acme of good writing. Subtle ambiguities and a mastery of Arabic vocabulary were the hallmarks of intellectual attainment. Though the Safavids wanted their people to be instructed in Shīᶜī doctrine, the introduction of Arab theologians [2] made impossible the writing of works in simple Persian such as earlier Ismāᶜīlī missionaries had produced [3]. According to Dr. Saᶜīd Nafīsī [4] Al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Sīnā used in their Persian writings a deliberately simple style as Ismāᶜīlī partisans aiming to instruct the lay reader. The Safavid tract writers, on the other hand, not primarily literary artists at all, filled volume after volume of religious works, (in which lay the road to preferment), using a style of language modern Persian writers have striven to avoid.

This style had none of the virtues of controlled choice of apposite Arabic words and figures of speech, but all the vices of a style made up of an artificial foreign element indulged in by writers wishing to show off learning. After the fall of the Safavids it was no longer confined to religious works. With the rise of Nādir Shāh the historian came into his own again and the degree to which the misused Arabic element had corrupted Persian is shown in the style adopted by a writer like Mirzā Mahdī Khān to describe Nādir Shāh's martial splendours.

The first Qājār King was crowned in 1796 A.D., and a period of social change closely linked with the modern literary revival began. Centralization of government led to a new civil service resulting in a class of professional people earning their living as clerks and having leisure to cultivate letters. The new class of writers and readers were no longer exclusively clergy, but a laity wanting stories and news about the world outside. A new public was thus created.

From the beginning of the 19th century, with European powers in India, Iran became involved in European affairs. After defeat by the Russians, Iran's rulers were awakened to the backwardness of the Empire compared with their neighbours. Notable among those awakened was Mirzā Tāghī Khān, the Amīr-i-Kabīr. He was Prime Minister when Nāṣir-al-Dīn Shāh ascended the throne in 1848 A.D. Mirzā Tāghī Khān had been to Russia and realised that if Iran was to remain independent urgent reforms were needed in education and administration. One of the greatest Iranians of modern times, Mirzā Tāghī Khān was the first to take strong action in answer to the need for reform. Modern Persian prose literature began, partly to publish this need, and in part to satisfy it.

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[2] See Browne op. cit. pp. 54 and 360.

[3] For example the *Haft Bab-i-Baba Sayyidna*: Text published by Ivanow Bombay 1933, Islamic Research Association.

[4] Introduction to Volume 1 *Shāhkarha-yi-Naṣr-i-Farsī-yi-Muᶜāṣir*, Teheran 1951.

Tāghī Khān's master, Qā'im Maqām Farahānī, Minister to Muḥammad Shāh (1834-1848), began to reduce the decorativeness of official correspondence. Tāghī Khān carried on his work and his master, Nāṣir-al-Dīn Shāh, chose a very simple Persian for his diaries. The modern world was something compelling to write about: paucity of subject matter no longer left room for complex elaborations. Journeys abroad led to travel books, a literary fashion with the seal of royal sanction. The Persians had always been fond of travelogues and biography, so this fashion was not in itself new, but the style was. The travel books were the first fruits of the new prose shaping itself to describe observed reality for a widening circle of readers. Lithography was followed by printing, introduced in Tabrīz in 1816 A.D. In 1851 the Dār-al-Funūn, a Technical College, was opened in Teheran and in 1864 Iran was linked to Europe and India by the telegraph. These are factors marking the beginning of a renaissance in speech and thought.

Towards the end of the 19th century the travel diaries increased. Nāṣir-al-Dīn Shāh himself published two. The secretary preparing the Shāh's *Diary of a Journey to Karbalā* (*Rūznāmeh-yi-Safar-i-Kerbela*) for the press felt obliged to apologise for its simple style lest it should be supposed that the Shāh was deficient in education. The secretary explained that the style was free from superfluous ornament and an exercise in brevity of speech to be more easily understood by the commonality. As Dr. Khānlarī says [5], if these travel diaries, many of which have not been printed, were collected they would provide important data on the political and geographical situation and about the minds of many leading men in Iran at the close of the 19th century. For information about conditions on the eve of the constitutional revolution of 1906, *the Travel Diary of Ibrāhīm Beg* is very useful, and marks a development of the travel diary of a kind doubtless not anticipated by the Royal Diarist.

The Siyāhat Nāmeh-yi-Ibrāhīm Beg by Zayn-al-ᶜĀbidīn of Marāgha was published in three volumes in three different places. The first is undated and was printed in Cairo; the second, of which this writer's copy is dated 1325/1907, was printed in Calcutta, and the third, the only one bearing the author's name, came out in Istanbul in 1327/1909. This book and the *Masālik-al-Muḥsinīn* (Cairo 1323/1905) and the *Kitāb-i-Aḥmad-ya-Safīneh-yi-Ṭālebi* (Istanbul 1312/1894 and volume II 1314/1896) of Mirzā ᶜAbdul Raḥīm Najārzādeh Tabrīzī, called Talibof, constitute a most important landmark in the history of modern Persian literature. The story of Ibrāhīm Beg's travels is a satire describing the journey to Iran of a young man, brought up in Cairo of Iranian parentage, to be a strong patriot, by a father who loved his

[5] Collected papers of the First Congress of Iranian Writers, Teheran 1326/1946 p. 135.

country with great fervor. When Ibrāhīm Beg eventually visited the paradise described by his father, he found it full of misery and corruption. These he describes, with frequent comparisons between the dismal present and the glorious past. As the hero is a hero and a fictitious one at that, this work may be classed among the first modern Persian novels. Its language is the spoken language. The writing is not without imperfections but is vivid in a way that makes it a delight to read. As a source-book for the state of Iran at the beginning of this century the travel diary of Ibrāhīm Beg is invaluable. It is also the assertion in three printed volumes of the right of the spoken language to be the vehicle of literary expression.

Talibof's *Masālik-al-Muḥsinīn* is a travel book of another kind. This time the journey is in the realms of modern science and the author wanted to introduce his readers to modern scientific methods. His *Kitāb-i-Aḥmad* is a kind of child's guide to modern science. The Persian is simple. Both writers were intent on social problems: the author of Ibrāhīm Beg revealed the misgovernment and foreign incursions under which Iran was suffering, while Talibof showed up the evils of an educational system in no way adapted to modern times.

In 1905 the Persian text of *Ḥājjī Bābā* was published in Calcutta, after the English version by James Morier. The Persian edition set a standard for modern writing in the language of the people. The vernacular idiom is reproduced with all the grace and liveliness of ordinary Persian speech. This book is one of the most important memorials in the new style of Persian prose.

In 1894 Prince Muḥammad Ṭāhir's translation of the *Count of Monte Cristo* appeared on the orders of the Shāh. Families used to gather to hear this work read aloud, showing the extent of popular interest in the new literature. Iran's interest over the past 40 years in literary experiments is reminiscent of Elizabethan London, when translations and new forms of expression were subjects of eager discussion as they have been in Teheran since 1890.

Translation has played a vital part in the modern Iranian literary movement and early translations of drama helped to overcome prejudices against the use of the spoken word in written works. For centuries nobody had dreamed of writing as they would speak. The spoken language was considered too vulgar and too terse for the written document. Moreover, there was a variety of spoken languages: the Court spoke Turkish while writing in Persian, dialects differed very considerably from place to place throughout the vast country and each city had its own idiom. These differences were reduced as centralization in Teheran increased and the secretary class, living in Teheran but recruited from all over the Empire, grew. Merchants, teachers and scribes began increasingly to take their cultural standards from the capital and a standard form of Persian spread as communications were facilitated. Through translation, new types of thought and

literature were introduced. The European theatre had fascinated Persian travellers and the Iranians were quick to realise the educational value of the drama. In a very interesting preface to seven plays translated from Azarbaijānī Turkish in 1874, Mirzā Qarachī Dāghī stated his aim to use a language which both the literate and illiterate could understand, so that all may benefit from the lessons exemplified in the plays. He went further: he also tried reproducing the sounds of ordinary speech and drew attention to instances where pronunciation differs from conventional spelling. This was a big step forward. The writing of the spoken language having been introduced, the text problem was whether to represent direct speech as it is heard in a language where sound is often remote from spelling [6].

Another important feature of the new literature was the newspaper, as was inevitable when critical faculties were being reawakened and political consciousness aroused. European papers and the nascent Arab press in Egypt were strong influences. The first paper was Mirzā Ṣāliḥ Shirāzī's *Kāghaz-i-Akhbār,* literally *Newspaper.* Ṣāliḥ Shirāzī was one of the first students to be sent to Europe and India for modern education. A large number of papers appeared, generally shortlived, though their existence pointed to developing interest in world affairs and the growing political and national consciousness. Mirzā Malkūm Khān, of Armenian origin, brought out his *Qānūn* (Law) in London in 1890. It was forbidden in Iran because of attacks on the rulers. Mirzā Malkūm Khān used a simple, direct style much admired by modern Iranian writers, who consider him an important pioneer in a movement by no means wholly literary, but also political. Malkūm Khān wanted the establishment of a rule of law instead of government according to the whims of an autocrat. The autocrat in question, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (died 1896), had sent Malkūm Khān to Britain to get him out of the way. When the exile resorted to journalism he proved that Iran was no longer immune from the lengthening arm of the press.

Other Persian language papers printed abroad were the *Habl'ul-Matin* in Calcutta, (at whose press the Persian *Ḥājjī Bāba* was produced), and *Akhtar* which, begun in 1875 in Istanbul, lasted for twentyfive years; while Persian papers also appeared in Cairo. In studying the rise of modern Iranian nationalism, as well as the modern literary movement, these papers are of first importance.

From the literary standpoint probably the most interesting of the Persian papers outside Iran was the second series of *Kaveh,* issued in Berlin between 1920 and 1921 in monthly editions of many pages. *Kaveh* was named after the blacksmith famous in Iranian legend as the defender of liberty using his leather apron for a banner. It was

[6] See an article in the *Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies,* Vol. XIV, part 3, by J. A. Boyle, for a study of the way two modern Persian authors have tackled this problem.

edited by the distinguished scholar and patriot, Taghizādeh. In his leading article to the first number, H. E. Senator Taghizādeh declared the aims of his journal to include the purifying of the Persian language, the combatting of fanaticism, the spread of European culture and science in Iran and the preservation and extension of Persian literature. This article might be taken as the manifesto of the modern Iranian literary movement.

Following the constitutional revolt in 1906 influential newspapers in Iran itself were a sign of the newly gained articulateness of the nation. *The Ṣūr-i-Isrāfīl* (Trumpet of Isrāfīl) was the vehicle for a series of articles by Dehkhuda, who, signing himself Dakhau, began his great services to modern Persian letters with articles called *Charand Parand* (Balderdash). These marked the arrival of a literary genius of the first order. In these satirical pieces, Dehkhuda skilfully employed the idioms of the popular speech and parodied the Arabic style of writing practised by the clergy. In 1310/1943 Dehkhūda's collection of the numerous sayings that are the salt and savour of spoken Persian appeared in his *Amsāl va Ḥikam* (Proverbs and Aphorisms) [7]. The proverbs represent the distillation of the folklore of one of the most ancient and distinctive civilizations in the world. An outstanding feature of the modern prose is the extensive use of these sayings and idioms, and Dehkhuda's collection is, therefore, very useful as a reference book for the student of modern Persian literature.

In Persian the aphorism cannot always be easily distinguished from the ordinary statement expressed idiomatically. The spoken language is full of idioms whose sense and relevance to a particular situation generally need explanation for the uninitiated. Thus it is not easy for the foreigner to understand the works of many modern writers. Dictionaries are not much help, though Ha³im's *One Volume Persian-English Dictionary* (Teheran 1953) sometimes gives the answer [8]. In 1906 the Bengal Asiatic Society published a list of about three hundred and sixty-two "Common Saws and Proverbs" collected in Southern Persia by Lt. Col. Phillot; but a great deal of work remains for the student of Persian to accomplish in this field. The sayings are often purely local. They are, after all, an oral tradition and part and parcel of local speech. An Isfahānī speaking to a Teherānī and wishing to use an Isfahānī expression will generally preface his remark by "As we say in Isfahan." Many of the sayings do, however, occur in the classical poets. Some of them may have passed into current use as

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[7] For many years Dehkūda has also been collecting material for a very large Dictionary, rather on the lines of Larousse, which is now being issued in parts.

[8] Other works worth referring to in this connection are the *Farhang-i-Amanieh* of Yūsuf Raḥmatī, Teheran 1320, *Dāstanha-ye-Amsāl* and *Hazār-o-yek* Sukhan *dar Amsāl va Nisāyeh va Ḥikam* by Amirgoli Amīnī (Isfahan), *Jame³al-Tamsīl* Teheran (1328), Professor Levy's article in the Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XIV. Pt. 3 and Elwell-Sutton's *Persian Proverbs,* Wisdom of the East Series 1955.

quotations. On the other hand, the poets themselves may have culled them from oral tradition already ancient in their own time, thus helping to preserve them. The modern prose writers in not hesitating to use these sayings extensively may, therefore, be following an ancient precedent.

An ancient forerunner in the satirical vein developed by Dehkhūda over forty years ago in the *Charand Parand* articles, was ᶜUbaid-i-Zākānī (died 1371 A.D.), to whose works [9] the student of modern Persian literature is invariably referred by contemporary Iranian writers. There is every reason to suppose that Dehkhuda's articles were a source of inspiration to a second great master, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Jamalzādeh, who entered the field with his collection of stories, *Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud* ("Once upon a time ..."), published in Berlin in 1339/1920-21. Jamalzādeh not only brilliantly blazed the trail for the new prose, he also introduced the modern Persian short story. So much did Jamalzādeh use popular idioms that he appended to the stories a short dictionary of some of them. Here, with a vengeance, was the language of the people. The first story, *Farsi Shekar Ast* (Persian in Sugar) [10], parodies the modes of speech of the "Frenchified" student just back from Europe, the mulla with his Arabic phrases and the ordinary Iranian waiter with the unadulterated Persian of his district. The story is very good and extremely funny; it seems improbable that it could ever successfully be translated into another language.

The short story is very old and dear to Iran. Modern authors have been influenced by Western writers in this genre and the names of de Maupassant and Edgar Allan Poe are often mentioned in this connection. But in using this form, writers of the present day are simply returning to the traditional *Ḥekīyah* or anecdote, though this has been given a new kind of plot and subject matter. Jamalzādeh expressed the trend towards external reality and people in his preface to *Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud* when he said that the short story and the novel are the best means of mirroring the morals and minds of nations and describing the way of life of different classes of society.

Probably the greatest literary genius of modern Iran is Sadegh Hedayat. Like Jamalzādeh, Hedayat was chiefly influenced by France, and he also specialised in the short story. Born in 1903, he died in Paris in 1951. He is a writer who, deserving nothing short of detailed study, cannot be treated justly here. His work must however be noticed as the culmination of this period of Iranian letters; he is the

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[9] A useful edition of the *Kuliat-i-ᶜUbaid-i-Zakānī* was printed last year, prepared by ᶜAbbās Iqbāl Ashtiānī of Teheran University and published by the Sharq Press.

[10] It is not irrelevant to notice that, when an Iranian drinks tea, he generally places the sugar—a piece of "qand"—on the tongue, not in the tea, which is then allowed to filter through the sugar in the mouth.

Shakespeare to the Marlowes, Jonsons and Lylys of his age. He wrote three plays, two of which were on historical themes of which he was fond, about Iran before it was overwhelmed by the Arabs and Islam. He also wrote two travelogues, one of which — *Isfahān* — has been printed, works on Iranian folklore and old Iran, translations and articles, including an important essay on Kafka, and, from 1930 to 1948, about fifty short-stories (that are known) in Persian, besides two in French. But it is not in the quantity or the fineness of his work that the whole sum of Hedayat's greatness lies. In his everyday life, to those privileged to know him and be taken into his confidence, and particularly to the poor, ordinary and unpretentious, Hedayat showed himself a man of rare qualities. Because he was careless over printing and distributing his books, it is fortunate that since his death their publication has been undertaken by a committee consisting of members of his family and old friends [11].

Hedayat possessed the great writer's gift, which is the power to understand a wide range of emotions. He also had the absolute sincerity that must go with this gift if it is to lead to great literature. He fled from all forms of pretence. He believed that our lives are controlled by a blind destiny unconcerned with merit and justice, and he was incapable of pretending that there was room for hope in a world that filled him with gloom. Perhaps the reason for his suicide lies in his inability to deceive himself about final issues. Religion held no solace for him and, significantly, he was attracted by the quatrains of ʿUmar Khayyām. What interested him were the underdogs, the unfortunate and beaten. He wrote about these with superb mastery of Persian. Every word from the most wretched of men was of supreme importance to him when uttered in the hard unforgettable idiom of his own people. Every scene of misery and despair was ineffaceably printed on his vision, which was that of an absolute artist. Passages of great beauty resulted and, as is to be expected in the work of such a sincere writer, his style is quite free from any trace of artificiality and remains a splendid example of the abiding genius of Iran.

By the nineteen thirties, the field had been captured by the short-story and novel. The literature of scholarship, however, also had noteworthy contributions. The literary renaissance was accompanied by a revival of learning. Leeway had to be made up in the modern sciences of the west and efforts had also to be made to establish knowledge of Iran's own great cultural heritage in the light of modern scholarship. To this end men like Taghizādeh, Qzavinī, Ghānī, Saʿīd Nafīsī, Shafaq, Minovī and many others, were working and much useful work has been done for the preservation of Iranian literature and antiquities. One of the greatest scholars of Rezā Shāh's reign was Muḥammad

[11] See Vol. 63 No. 148, 1949 of *Life and Letters* for admirable translations and notes on Hedayat by H. D. Graves Law, and also Roget Lescot's French version of the novel *Buf-i-Kur, Le Hibou Aveugle.*

ʿAlī Farrūghī, whose output included studies on western philosophy written in matchless prose.

The problem of language for the scholar differed from that facing the story writer. The latter had to overcome prejudice against using spoken Persian, rich in idiom and folklore, as a written language. If books were to be written about ordinary people, it was thought that they should be written in the language of ordinary people. This theory could not be applied to scientific works, yet here, too, reform was needed. Scholars in the new age no longer wished to write in the arabicised, laborious language of ages just preceding. Men like Farrūghī, Taghizādeh and others have developed a new kind of scientific prose of great clarity and strength, and a standard has been set for future scholars. An illustration of how modern Persian has become an accurate instrument for twentieth century scientific discourse is seen in articles published in monthly reviews like *Sukhan* and *Yaghmā*; notably in articles by Mujtaba Minovī, whose Persian, while of a very high order, shows an extremely interesting, consciously controlled English influence in the choice of certain turns of phrase. Here it should be mentioned that reviews like *Sukhan* and *Yaghmā* play a very important part in the field of scholarship and literary criticism. They are worthy inheritors of the role proclaimed by Taghizādeh in his editorial to the second series of *Kaveh*. There is also the "Strand Magazine" of modern Iran, the *Tehran-i-Musavvar* (Teheran Illustrated), which at present sells about forty thousand copies weekly. The large consumption of books and periodicals is proof of the popular demand for reading matter. Quality and language vary a great deal, but wit and ingenuity are never lacking and indicate the continued subtlety and liveliness of the Persian mind.

Returning to fiction writing, another outstanding author of the thirties was Muḥammad Masʿūd, whose *Dar Tallash-i-Maʿash* (*In Search of Livelihood*) appeared in 1932. Masʿūd's work is a pessimistic criticism of social conditions in a world in which, as he saw it, only vice is rewarded, while the virtuous are reduced to viciousness by their unfortunate circumstances. The prose is often successful and moving, though at times it veers from obvious "fine writing" to a style resembling the crime column of a modern newspaper. But the author's handling of dialogue, in which as far as possible the pronunciation of Teherānī speech is reproduced, is very skilful, and so is his evocation of atmosphere. The derivative note cannot be missed and the minute descriptions remind a reader of Zola. On his death by assassination [12], Muḥammad Masʿūd left a number of full length novels, an important step towards establishing the novel form in modern Iranian literature.

It seems likely that his successor in this field will surpass him as a

[12] Masʿūd was not the only journalist to be assassinated. Dehqān, the founder of *Tehran-i-Musavvar*, was also assassinated.

craftsman. Buzorg Alavi began as a short-story writer. His first collection, *Chamadan* (The Suitcase), was published in about 1934. He is influenced by modern psychological theories and handles the theme of human relationships with deep insight into the promptings of human emotions. After five years in gaol on political charges Alavi produced his *Varq-Parehha-yi-Zendan* (Prison Scraps) about the life and people of prisons. In his *Fifty Three Persons* he wrote of himself and those charged and imprisoned with him. A very fine collection of short stories (not however untinged by leftist propaganda), *Namehha* (The Letters), has been followed by a novel, *Chashemhayash* (Her Eyes), which deserves attention and praise. It may mark the beginning of Alavi's mastery as a novelist. Among foreigners whose work interests him are Virginia Woolf, Henry James and Proust. Alavi has also translated from German and Russian. In his work the reporting technique, commonly found in modern Persian books, is absent. This sincere and conscientious craftsman is a very important writer, and it is to be hoped that politics will not interfere too much with his development as an artist.

Another influential writer is ʿAlī Dāshtī, who has gained a position of prominence with a number of admirers. He has devoted his considerable artistic gifts to the study of the female mind, chiefly as found in capricious females of the upper middle class of modern (consciously modern) Teheran society. Dāshtī's work centres on this class. He is therefore also a social writer, interested in people and reflecting the strains of a society in transition.

The essays of Ḥedjāzī provide a complete change. In many circles Ḥedjāzī is hailed as a master of Persian prose and particularly as the perfector of the essay form; while others regard his gracious contributions as of little importance, viewed against the main trends of literary development. Another short-story writer, perhaps more truly at home in this medium than the others, in Sadegh Chubak, with whom we return to the sheer originality of Jamalzādeh's *Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud*. Chubak is a writer of unique gifts, well deserving the interest taken in his work by his late friend Sadegh Hedayat, who was certainly a good judge.

Chubak is nothing if not original, but it seems likely that the full force of his originality remains to be recognised. This may partly be due to his not yet having fully exploited the resources of his genius; partly also to his still being, in the popular mind, under the shadow of Hedayat. Although Hedayat was a great influence in making Chubak write, it is wrong to see Chubak as his imitator. The outstanding individuality of Chubak's style leaves no room for imitation. Much in modern Persian prose literature is derivative; the lack of this feature is one of the most interesting points about Chubak's stories [13].

[13] Chubak's works so far published are difficult to obtain but several appear in a recent publication, *Panj Shuʾle-yi Javid* (Teheran 1955) a collection of

The difficulty he still sometimes has [14] in hiding the painstaking art that goes into his work may prove that his genius has yet to be completely freed. His work so far, however, has a perfection that bodes well for the future. It is a relief therefore to find, though his mode of life has altered considerably since Hedayat's death, that he is still writing. He has stories under construction and he is also engaged in the translation into simple Persian of fairy tales for children, and intends translating *Alice in Wonderland*. His work is supremely Persian for Chubak is in the old tradition of the Iranian artist seeking perfection on a small scale, like the *Ghazal* writers and miniaturists. He works like Jane Austen within the limits of his own small ivories. Like Jane Austen's, his work is for all time.

Because this review ends here, without mentioning many other writers or discussing the vigorous press, it must not be supposed that nothing more remains to be said. Clearly Iran for the last five decades has been the scene of both a political and a literary revival, and is as capable of great and original literature now as ever it was. The significance of this should not be lost on those interested in Iran's future. If literature is accepted as the mirror to men's minds, then the present animation of Iranian literature proves convincingly that the unusual genius of this nation is still very much alive.

Baghdad P. W. Avery

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stories by Chubak, Hedayat, Alavi, Partu and Jamalzadeh, edited by Feridun Kar, which should be useful to students of the modern Persian short story.

[14] Especially in an attempted masterpiece like *Antar-i-Keh Luttiash Mudeh Bud* (*The Baboon whose Master had died*).

AL-GHAZĀLĪ AND THE SUNNA

From a comparatively early period in the history of Islam the duty of following the practice (*sunna*) of the Prophet in all matters has been incumbent on good Muslims. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) was the one who above all others established the importance of the Prophet's *sunna* as a basis of law second to the Qurʾān; and as law in Islam includes every aspect of life, this means that the Prophet's *sunna* should be followed in everything and not merely in such matters as are commonly associated with the law in Western countries. With the immense growth of Tradition, collected both in the 3rd century works which eventually came to be considered canonical and in other collections, earlier and later than these, Muslims were provided with all the information they required to model their lives on that of the Prophet. The question of the genuineness or otherwise of the enormous mass of traditions does not concern us here; it is enough to notice that they were treated as genuine by the Muslim community, so long as no authoritative statement declared any tradition to be weak or spurious. Thus Muslims had no excuse for ignorance of how the Prophet had conducted himself and, accordingly, of how they ought to conduct themselves.

It is therefore only natural that religious teachers should have emphasised the importance of following the *sunna*. Among such teachers no one has a higher reputation than Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) whom many have considered to be the greatest man in Islam since the days of the Prophet. He combined vast scholarship with a deep religious devotion, and he devoted all his gifts to commending a religious life to his fellow men. He was an ardent Muslim not merely because he had been brought up to believe in the teachings of Islam; he had studied the doctrines of different schools both within and without Islam, and he was led to a firm conviction of the truth of the religion revealed through Muḥammad. He believed that Muḥammad was under divine guidance not only when he gave utterance to the verses of the Qur'ān, but at all times, and that, therefore, some spiritual secret lay hidden beneath all his actions. So whether or not one could understand its significance, the *sunna* of the Prophet should be followed in detail. For Al-Ghazālī comparatively insignificant matters of everyday life were invested with a religious significance, and he stoutly contested the views of those who believed otherwise. So when he exhorted men to follow the Prophet's *sunna* in the most ordinary affairs, he did it because he believed that such action had an important influence on happiness both in this world and in the next.

To those who have been brought up in a different religious and mental atmosphere some of his teaching may seem strange. He rose to great heights of spirituality, and yet at the same time he seemed to be controlled by ideas which appear to have little connection with a

spiritual life. For example, the order in which one cuts one's fingernails and toe-nails may seem to be a matter of little importance, but to Al-Ghazālī it was important to cut them in a particular order because that was the order in which the Prophet was said to have cut his.

Al-Ghazālī wrote a large work entitled *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* of which a section, entitled *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn fī uṣūl al-dīn,* has been published separately. This section forms a unit in itself and therefore suitably appears as a separate work. Indeed Ḥājjī Khalīfa says that Al-Ghazālī gave permission for it to be copied by itself and that people availed themselves of this.[1] A convenient edition of 320 pages was published in Cairo in 1344/1925. The forty (*arbaᶜīn*) sections of the work are arranged in four groups of ten. The first group deals with matters of belief, largely taken up with a discussion of the divine attributes, and covering much the same ground as the creed from *Iḥyā' ᶜulūm al-dīn* translated by D. B. Macdonald in Appendix I of his *Muslim Theology.* The second group deals with duties incumbent on a good Muslim, the third with blameworthy traits from which the heart must be purified, and the fourth with praiseworthy traits.

The tenth section of the second group[2] deals with the following of the *sunna* of the Prophet. In this Al-Ghazālī deals with principles rather than with details. He quotes the Qur'ān to support the necessity for following the Prophet's *sunna.* He does not, like Al-Shāfiᶜī, argue that the Quranic phrase: "The Book and the Wisdom" (cf. ii, 146; iii, 158; iv, 113; lxii, 2) speaks of the Qur'ān and the *sunna,* but quotes verses which speak of following the Prophet and obeying his commands and prohibitions (iii, 29; lix, 7). This provides him with all he needs to show the importance of the Prophet's *sunna.* He realises that some people will want to know why the *sunna* should be followed, and so he proceeds to put forward three main principles which he calls secrets. In doing so he lays emphasis chiefly on everyday affairs, after which he explains that this was the aspect which required more emphasis, because the only reason one could have for not following the Prophet in religious exercises must be either latent infidelity or clear folly. He discusses the foolishness of people who believe astrologers and physicians, even when they do not understand the point of their advice, but refuse to learn from the Prophet. He then concludes by quoting a few traditions, and says that there are many more traditions about everyday affairs, underlying each of which there is an important secret.

This section of the book has great interest, as it shows us a reasoned attempt to prove the importance of following the Prophet's *sunna.* While Al-Ghazālī does mention some matters of detail, they are used merely to illustrate the general principle. He obviously cannot here

[1] *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum,* Leiden and London, 1835-1858, No. 442.

[2] pp. 89-97 in the edition mentioned above.

speak of all the matters in which one must copy the example of the Prophet, as that would involve producing something in the nature of a complete compilation of Tradition. But by his treatment he makes it clear that he believes in the necessity of following the Prophet's *sunna* in the most minute details.

It is of interest to notice that when he quotes traditions he does not confine himself to such as are found in the six books now considered canonical. This is not surprising, for in his time there was no general agreement on the matter. The first man to give Ibn Māja a place along with the other five was probably Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī [3], who died in 507/1113, two years after Al-Ghazālī's death; but many others did not accept him for centuries after this. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī [4] (d. 584/1188) and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ [5] (d. 643/1245) still spoke only of the five books, omitting Ibn Māja. In Al-Ghazālī's time Al-Tirmidhī had also failed to gain general acceptance among the most authoritative books [6]. But it should be noted that while the six books eventually received special honour, Muslims have never at any time felt bound to confine themselves to their contents. That being so, it is only natural that Al-Ghazālī should be catholic in his sources. There are traditions quoted by him which I have been unable to discover, even with the help of the Concordance which gives traditions from fourteen different collections.

In preparing the translation of the section on following the *sunna* I have used the edition printed in Cairo, but I have had the advantage of consulting an MS of the work in the John Rylands Library, Manchester [7]. Such differences as occur between the MS and the printed version are of no account. Occasionally the MS adds or omits a word, or gives a different form of a word from that in the printed text, but this does not affect the general sense. In only two places have I felt it necessary to refer to the reading in the MS. To save space I have omitted the conventional phrases used when the names of God or the Prophet are mentioned.

TRANSLATION

The tenth principle: concerning the following of the sunna.

Know that the key of happiness is following the *sunna* and imitating God's apostle in all his goings out and comings in, in his movements and times of quiescence, even in the manner of his eating, his deportment, his sleep and his speech. I do not say that concerning his

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[3] See his *Shurūṭ al-aʾimmat al-sitta,* Cairo, 1357/1938.
[4] See his *Shurūṭ al-aʾimmat al-khamsa* publ. along with the above.
[5] See his *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth,* Aleppo 1350/1931, p. 42.
[6] cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.,* ii, 262.
[7] Arab. 259. In Mingana's Catalogue it is No. 72. The passage translated is on ff. 25a to 28a.

manners in matters of religious observances alone, because there is no reason to neglect the traditions (*sunan*) which have come down concerning them; nay, that has to do with all the matters of use and wont (*al-ᶜādāt*), for in that way unrestricted following arises. God said, "Say, If you love God, follow me and God will love you" (Surah iii, 29). And He said, "What the apostle has brought you receive, and what he has forbidden you refrain from" (Surah lix, 7). So you must sit while putting on trousers and stand while putting on a turban; you must begin with the right foot when putting on your sandals [8], and eat with your right hand [9]; when cutting your nails you must begin with the forefinger of the right hand and finish with its thumb; in the foot you must begin with the little toe of the right foot and finish with the little toe of the left. It is the same in all your movements and times of quiescence. Muḥammad b. Aslam used not to eat a melon because the manner in which God's apostle ate it had not been transmitted to him. A certain man was unmindful and began to put on the left shoe first, so he made atonement for that with a *kurr* [10] of wheat. Now it is not fitting to be lax in such matters and say that this is one of the things which pertain to use and wont, so that there is no point in following [the Prophet] regarding it, because that will lock against you an important gate of happiness.

CHAPTER.

Perhaps you now wish to enquire about the reason which makes one desire to follow [the Prophet] in these actions, but consider it unlikely that it should have underlying it some important matter which necessitates such severity towards acting differently. Know then that to mention the underlying secret concerning all the items of these practices (*sunan*) would take too long and that this book cannot undertake their exposition, but you must understand that that can be comprised within three kinds of secrets.

The first is that we have drawn your attention in a number of places to the connection between this world (*mulk*) and the world above (*malakūt*), and between the members of the body and the heart, and to the nature of the effect on the heart of the action of the members of the body, for the heart is like a mirror in which the true nature of things is clear only by polishing, illuminating and adjusting it. As for polishing it, it is by removing the depravity of the appetites and the turbidness of blameworthy characteristics. As for illuminating it, it is by the lights of remembrance of God (*dhikr*) and knowledge which are aided by sincere worship when you render complete service

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[8] cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Libās*, 38; Abū Dāwūd, *Libās*, 41.
[9] cf. Bukh., *Aṭᶜima*, 2; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭᶜima*, 19.
[10] See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2601, where it is explained as a measure of wheat amounting to six ass loads.

in accordance with the requirement of the *sunna*. As for adjusting it, it means that in all the movements of the members of the body it should follow the rule of equity (*qānūn al-ᶜadl*), for authority (*al-yad*) does not reach the heart till you purpose to adjust it and produce in it a symmetrical and sound form which has no crookedness. The only way for the heart to have freedom of action is by means of adjusting the members of the body and adjusting their movements; and for this reason this world has become the place where the harvest to be reaped in the next world is produced (*mazraᶜat al-ākhira*). On this account great is the grief of one who dies before adjusting [them], because the way to adjusting them has been closed by death, since the connection between the heart and the members of the body has been broken. So as long as the movements of the members of the body, nay, the movements of the thoughts also, are weighed in the scale of equity, there arises in the heart a straightforward and good form which is prepared to receive the verities in a manner characterised by soundness and straightforwardness, just as a symmetrical mirror is prepared to copy sound forms without crookedness.

The meaning of equity is putting things in their places. To illustrate it, the directions, for example, are four, but the direction of the *qibla* has been distinguished among them in honour. So equity involves that you should face it (i.e. the *qibla*) when engaged in remembrance of God, worship and ablution, and turn away from it when relieving yourself and uncovering your private parts [11], to display the superiority of that whose superiority is apparent. The right hand has excellence over the left generally because of the excess in strength, so equity involves that you should prefer it to the left and use it for certain noble actions like handling copies of the Qurᵓān and food, and you should leave the left hand for cleansing yourself and handling impure things. Cutting the nails, for example, is a purification for the hand and it is a means of showing honour, so it is fitting that you should begin with the more honourable and excellent. Perhaps your mind may not be able to understand independently how to arrange about that and how to begin, so follow the *sunna* regarding it and begin with the forefinger of the right hand, because the hand is more excellent than the foot, and the right hand is more excellent than the left, and the forefinger which is used in pointing when declaring the Unity of God is more excellent than the rest of the fingers. Then after that you go round to the right of the forefinger. The hand (*kaff*) has a back in the direction you face; and when you make the palm (*kaff*) the face of the hand (*yad*) [12], the right of the forefinger

[11] cf. Bukh., *Wuḍūᵓ*, 11; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, 4.

[12] While *kaff* is strictly speaking the hand and *yad* the arm including the hand, *kaff* is commonly the palm and *yad* the hand. In this passage *Al-Ghazālī* uses *kaff* in both its senses. The John Rylands MS reads *wa-lil-kaff ẓahr fī jihat mā yuqābiluhu*. The printed text reads *wa-lil-kaff ẓahr wa-wajh fa-wajhuhu*

will be on the side of the middle finger. Now consider the hands with their faces opposite one another, consider the fingers as though they were individuals (*ashkhāṣ*), and go round with the scissors from the forefinger until you finish with the thumb of the right hand. Thus did God's apostle, and the wisdom regarding that is what we have mentioned. When you accustom yourself to pay attention to equity in niceties (*daqā'iq*) of movements, uprightness and soundness will become a mode rooted in your heart and its forms will be right, in which way you will be ready to receive the form of happiness.

On that account God said, "So when I form him and breathe some of my spirit into him" (Surah xv, 29; xxxviii, 72). Now the spirit of God is the key of the gates of happiness, but the breathing of it was only after the forming, and the meaning of forming has reference to adjusting. That contains a lengthy secret too long to be expounded, and we wish only to hint at its principle. If you do not possess the power to understand its true nature, experiment will benefit you. Consider him who accustoms himself to truthfulness, how his vision is generally true because truth has obtained a truthful form in his heart which receives the flashes of light (*lawā'iḥ*) from the unseen in sleep in a sound manner. And consider how the vision of the liar is false, much more the vision of the poet, due to his accustoming himself to false imaginations, on which account the form of his heart has become crooked. So if you wish to have a glimpse of the holy gardens, abandon both open and secret sin, and abandon shameless deeds both open and secret. Abandon falsehood also, even within your own thoughts.

The second secret is to know that the effect of some of the things which affect your body is recognised only by a kind of relationship to heat, cold, moisture and dryness, like your remark that honey injures those who are feverish and benefits him whose humour is cold. But some [effects] cannot be appreciated by measurement (*qiyās*) and are referred to by certain properties (*khawāṣṣ*) which cannot be known by measurement, the beginning of enquiring into which is rather revelation (*waḥī*) and inspiration (*ilhām*). The magnet attracts iron and scammony draws out the humour of bile from the depths of the veins, not by measurement but by a special property which is made known by inspiration or experiment.

Most of the properties are known by inspiration, and most of the affects in medicines and elsewhere are from the properties. On that account you must know that the effects of deeds on the heart are divided into what causes one to understand the nature of its relationship, like your knowledge that following worldly passion confirms

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mā tuqābiluhu. I have followed the text as given in the MS, but have read *tuqābiluhu* which is given in the printed text. The idea must be that normally one has the back of the hand in front of one. In this position the middle finger of the right hand is on the right of the forefinger.

its attachment to this world so that one goes out of the world with his head inverted, turning his face towards this world since what is beloved by him is in it; and like your knowledge that continuance in the remembrance of God confirms fellowship with God and produces love, so that the pleasure derived from it becomes great when one leaves the world and approaches towards God, since the pleasure is according to the extent of the love and the love is according to the extent of knowledge and remembrance of God.

Among deeds there are some which have an effect on preparation for happiness or misery in the next world by an immeasureable property which cannot be known apart from the light of prophecy. So when you see that the Prophet turned away from one of two things which were permissible to the other and preferred it to it in spite of his ability to choose either, know that by the light of prophecy he became acquainted with a property in it and received a revelation about it from the world above, as he said, "O men, God commanded me to inform you from what He informed me and teach you from what he has taught me, so let none of you talk much while having sexual intercourse, because dumbness comes to the child from it; and let none of you look at his wife's private parts when he has intercourse with her, for blindness comes from it; and let none of you kiss his wife when he has intercourse with her, for deafness comes to the child from it; and let none of you look long at water, for loss of intelligence comes from it." This is an example of what we have mentioned and desired to warn you to study concerning the properties of things in relationship to the affairs of the world, in order that you may estimate by it [the Prophet's] study of what affects happiness and misery by its peculiar property, so that you may not be pleased to believe Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī [13] the physician in what he mentions about the properties of things with reference to cupping, stones and medicines, and not believe the lord of men, Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Hāshimī al-Makkī al-Madanī [14] in what he tells about them. You know that he received revelations from the world above about all secrets, and this warns you to follow [him] in matters regarding which one does not possess understanding, according to what we have mentioned concerning the first secret.

The third secret is that man's happiness consists in his resembling the angels in abstaining from passions and subduing the soul which leads to indulgence in evil, while removing far from resemblance to the beast wandering vainly at large which roams freely in pursuit of desire according to the requirement of its nature without any restriction. As long as a man accustoms himself in all matters to do as he

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[13] The famous physician, alchemist and philosopher, known in mediaeval Europe as Rhazes. See Encyc. of Islām, iii, 1134 ff.

[14] Although this is a normal way of giving a man's name with appropriate *nisbas*, one does not normally find the Prophet named in this manner.

wishes without any restriction, he becomes used to following his will and his desire, and the characteristic of the beast gets predominance over his heart. His wellbeing depends on his being bridled in all his movements with a bridle which turns him from one road to another, in order that his soul may not forget devotion and adherence to the straight path. Then the effect of devotion is apparent in him in every movement since he does nothing according to nature but according to command, and in all his circumstances he remains subject to the clashes of fate *(muṣādamāt al-zamān)* [15] by preferring some matters to others.

Now if one entrusts his guidance to a dog, for example, his management and his going backwards and forwards are not under the rule of his nature but under the rule of something else, so his soul is more adapted to receive the true discipline and is readier and stronger than the one who entrusts his guidance to his passion, wandering at large with it like a beast. Underlying this is a great secret concerning the purification of the soul, and this is a benefit which arises by whatever manner the lawgiver appointed it. The benefit pertaining to what is laid down by law and the property do not change by what is appointed, while this man changes by what is appointed, for the purpose is that he should not be left alone with his choice, and that purpose is achieved by prohibiting one of the two sides, whichever side it is. In such a way it is realised that the laws differ, because it is the fruit of what is appointed. Now these three warnings are enough for you concerning the excellence of continually following [the Prophet] in all times of movement and quiescence.

CHAPTER

All this exhortation which I have mentioned relates only to matters of custom. As for what concerns acts of worship, I know of no object in abandoning the *sunna* without excuse other than latent infidelity or clear folly. It may be explained as follows: When the Prophet says, "Corporate worship is twenty-seven degrees better than the worship of a solitary person," [16] how can the soul of the believer abandon it without excuse? Yes, the cause of that is either folly or neglect in that one does not consider this great irregularity. If one considers another foolish when he prefers one to two, how does he not consider himself foolish when he prefers one to twenty-seven, especially in a matter which is the prop of religion and the key of everlasting happiness?

As for infidelity, it means that it occurs to his mind that this is

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[15] The John Rylands MS reads *riyāḍa* (discipline) for *zamān*.

[16] cf. *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Ṣalāt al-jamāʿa*, 1; Bukh., *Adhān*, 30; *Buyūʿ*, 48, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, gives different numbers. For 27 cf. ii, 65, 112; for 20, 20 and over, and 25 cf. i, 376; ii, 252; i, 382.

not of that nature and that he mentioned it only to inspire liking for company; otherwise what relationship is there between the company and this number which is specified from among all the numbers? Now this is latent infidelity which is sometimes concealed in the breast while he who holds it is unaware of it. How great is the folly of one who believes an astrologer [17] and a physician in matters more impossible than that and does not believe the Prophet to whom the secrets of the world above were revealed! If an astrologer were to say to you, "At the end of twenty-seven days from the first change of position (*taḥwīl*) of your star a calamity will befall you, so be on your guard that day and stay in your house," and during that period you are in continual apprehension and abandon all your occupations; (and if you were to ask the astrologer for his reason he would say to you, "I said that only because there are twenty-seven degrees between the degree of the star and the position of Saturn, so the calamity will be delayed a day or a month for every degree;") then when someone says to you, "This is nonsense since there is no relationship, so do not believe him," your heart is still not free from apprehension, and you say about God's acts that they are marvels whose relationship cannot be known and perhaps they are properties which cannot be apprehended when it is known by experience that that is one of the things which produce an effect even if its relationship is unknown; yet when the matter comes round to the information about the unseen given by prophecy you deny such properties and demand a clear relationship, has this any other cause than latent polytheism, or rather clear infidelity, since there is no other interpretation of it? The reason for all this negligence is that the concern of your next life does not engross you, for the concern of your worldly affairs is what engrosses you; so regarding this you pay attention to what the astrologer and the physician say, to anxious thought, to omens, and to matters which are as far as possible from any relationship, and you submit yourself to quite impossible ideas, because the cautious one [18] is addicted to evil opinion. But if you were to think, you would know that paying such heed is more likely to produce eternal risk.

If you ask, "In what class of actions is it necessary to follow the *sunna*?" I reply that it is in everything about which the *sunna* has been handed down, for the traditions (*akhbār*) about that are many. An example is [Muḥammad's] saying, "If anyone seeks to be cupped on Saturday and Wednesday and is smitten by leprosy, let him blame no one but himself." [19] A traditionist who wished to be cupped on a

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[17] cf. W. M. Watt, *The Faith and Practice of Al-Ghazālī* (London, 1953), pp. 80 f.

[18] Arabic *shafīq*. See Lane, Lexicon, 1573, where the phrase in the text is translated. Lane translates as "affectionate", but that meaning does not suit the present context.

[19] Ibn Māja, *Ṭibb*, 22, says Wednesday, Friday and Saturday should be avoided, adding that Job was smitten with his trouble on a Wednesday.

Saturday said that this tradition was weak. Then he contracted leprosy and was greatly distressed till he saw God's apostle in a dream and complained of that to him. He asked, "Why did you wish to be cupped on a Saturday?" He replied, "Because the transmitter was weak." He asked, "Had he not transmitted from me?" So [the traditionist] replied, "I repent, O apostle of God." Then God's apostle prayed that he might be cured, and in the morning his trouble had left him.

[Muḥammad] also said, "If one seeks to be cupped on Tuesday the 17th, it will serve as medicine for a year." [20] And again, "If one sleeps after the afternoon prayer and loses his mind, let him blame no one but himself." And again, "If the strap of the sandal of one of you is cut, he must not walk with one sandal till he repairs his strap." [21] And again, "When a woman gives birth to a child, let the first thing she eats be fresh ripe dates (*ruṭab*), but if there are none, then dried dates (*tamr*), for if there had been anything more excellent, God would have given it to Mary to eat when she bore Jesus." [22] And again, "When any of you is brought sweets let him take some of them, and when any of you is brought perfume let him touch some of it." And there are many such sayings about matters of custom, none of which is devoid of a secret.

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20 cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭibb*, 5, where cupping on the 17th, 19th and 21st is said to provide healing for every disease. Ibn Māja, loc. cit., recommends Monday and Tuesday, and says Job was cured on a Tuesday.

21) Abū Dāwūd, *Libās*, 41.

22 cf. Surah, xix, 25.

JOHN THE BAPTIST IN MUSLIM WRITINGS

"This fascinating sideline of Muslim research" is how, in an article in this journal, [1] E. T. Jenkinson described the quest for the traditional Jesus of Islam. [2] It is interesting to find, in certain Muslim writings, John, son of Zechariah, linked with Jesus as a type of ascetic saint. This article, a sideline, as it were, of a sideline, attempts to assess the picture of John which these writings portray. [3]

Most of the legends of Jesus and John would come into Islam by way of the popular preachers (*s. qāṣṣ*), who sprang from the ranks of the ascetics in the second century A.H. The *qāṣṣ* was often rebuked by the orthodox theologians for his mendacity, but doubtless also because he was not averse to using, as illustrations in his sermons, material from non-Muslim sources such as Jewish haggada, Zoroastrianism and, of course, Christianity. Typical of his work is Al-Thaʿlabī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* or "Tales of the Prophets." This contains a section on John son of Zechariah.

Many such traditions survive, too, in the writings of the Ṣūfīs, who were the spiritual successors of the early ascetics and also incurred the mistrust of the orthodox because again it was early recognized that their prime inspiration was not Muslim. The sayings and stories collected by Professors Margoliouth [4] and Asin [5] are of this type. Asin includes in his work a number of passages referring to John.

From one point of view the so called Muḥammadan Agrapha have proved disappointing, for none of them can with any confidence be added to the existing non-canonical sayings of Jesus. [6] Margoliouth [7] himself places little trust in the genuineness of any of them and G. H. Gwilliam [8] dismisses them in a few words as being for the most part

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[1] Article, "Jesus in Moslem Tradition", *The Moslem World,* July, 1928.

[2] See E. Sell and D. S. Margoliouth: article, "Christ in Mohammedan Literature", *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels,* vol. II, p. 882, and bibliography cited there; J. Robson: *Christ in Islam,* London, 1929; R. Bell: *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* London, 1926.

[3] Acts xviii.24-xix.5 provides evidence that John the Baptist exercised an influence as a prophet in his own right independently of the nascent Christian Church. It is significant, too, that the New Testament tends to minimise his importance; cf. Jn. i. 8. Whether or not a separate Baptist sect survived later than this, it is at least likely that many traditions should gather around such a striking figure and be current especially where the ascetic life was followed.

[4] D. S. Margoliouth: a series of articles, "Christ in Islam", *Expository Times,* vol. v, 1893-94. The passages are mainly from Al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn.*

[5] Michaël Asin y Palacios: *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, Asceticos praesertim, Usitata,* in two parts contained respectively in *Patrologia Orientalis,* Tomes xiii and xix. The first part of Asin's work also deals with Al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ,* the second with other, mainly mystic, writers.

[6] Jenkinson: art. cit.

[7] Note, "A saying attributed to Christ", *Expository Times,* vol. xviii, 1906.

[8] Article: "Sayings (Unwritten)", *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels,* vol. II, p. 575.

of no value. Asin, on the other hand, is convinced that some are genuine, though his favourite phrase "agraphum mihi videtur" seems to be an indication not so much of their genuineness as Agrapha as of their pre-Islamic provenance, which is another matter. The Rev. R. Dunkerley [9] argues well in support of Asin and Professor Guillaume [10] also refers appreciatively to his conclusions. Professor Robson [11] agrees that Dunkerley's principles of judgement are sound, but adds that there must always be a doubt. Some of the passages may take their origin in pre-Islamic Christian oral tradition without being original Agrapha; some show acquaintance, not necessarily firsthand, with the Gospels; many are fanciful tales such as can be paralleled in the apocryphal Gospels and in the Lives of the Fathers; some again can be dismissed as manifest Muslim fabrications of this type; and some are attributed by other writers to Muḥammad. Those then that can at all lay claim to being genuine Agrapha are very few. [12] Christ on the whole is pictured as a benevolent ascetic of the Sūfī type; he is never regarded as more than a prophet and teacher. The great majority of the legends and sayings have an ascetic ring and the one result of real value from the Christian standpoint that accrues from the research is that it perhaps points to the existence of a greater ascetic element in the teaching of Jesus than such passages as Mt. xi. 19 [13] might seem to indicate. There was an eastern movement of Christianity as well as a western and the survival of traditions with this emphasis in the eastern Churches is not surprising in view of the important place given in them to asceticism. [14] It is, therefore, probably in the settled oral tradition of these Churches that one source at least of those ascetic stories and sayings which are not obvious fictions should be sought. [15] Robson, however, thinks that most of them are "the growth of a later age when asceticism was regarded by many as necessary for salvation". [16]

Yet from another point of view the publishing of these traditions has proved valuable, for they have greatly enhanced our knowledge of the medieval Muslim conception of Jesus. The vital bearing of such knowledge on Christian-Muslim understanding at the present day

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[9] Articles: "The Muhammadan Agrapha", *Expository Times,* Jan. and Feb., 1928.

[10] A. Guillaume: *The Traditions of Islam,* Oxford, 1924.

[11] Op. cit., p. 12.

[12] A tradition dealing with John which shows trace of independent origin is Asin 78, where he is rebuked for wearing a robe of wool, the badge of the Muslim ascetics.

[13] It is interesting to note that this verse occurs in a passage comparing Jesus with John the Baptist. Perhaps polemic against John has sharpened the contrast.

[14] Even Muḥammad, who was certainly not an ascetic, gives a qualified approval to the Christian desert monks. Cf. Surah lxii. 26 ff.

[15] See Asin's remarks, translated from the Latin by Guillaume, op. cit., pp. 146 ff.

[16] Op. cit., p. 13.

is apparent, as it is still a main task of Christian missions to Muslims to exhibit the falsity of this very conception.

In this respect a number of the traditions about John in Asin's collection are important, since they involve Jesus and usually praise John at his expense, e.g., 30, 177 and 202. There are also a few traces of acquaintance with the Gospels, e.g. 114, which is a fairly exact rendering of Matt. iii. 7-10. One, 195, seems to presuppose, according to Asin, a knowledge of Josephus. For the rest, there is evidence, especially in the long passage 69, of a legend of John, perhaps circulating originally among Christian ascetics. And some traditions are of the general ascetic kind that could have been attached to any Ṣūfī saint.

Some further light is shed on the sources of Muslim knowledge about John (and Jesus) by a discussion of certain problems arising from the references to him in the Qur'ān. In two [17] of the four passages he is merely included in a list of prophets, but the other two [18] afford some little information about his birth and comments on his character. For the source of these latter we need hardly go beyond the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, though we cannot, of course, infer that Muḥammad had direct access to this. Surah xix. 8, however, seems to involve a misunderstanding of Lk. i. 61. John is commended for his filial piety in Surah xix. 14; this virtue is also noted in Asin 69. The language used to describe him in Surah xix. 13-15 is almost identical with that used in verses 31-34 with reference to Jesus. This indicates a lack of real information on Muḥammad's part.

The form of name used by Muḥammad, and, of course, by all later writers, is interesting, for John is not known as the Baptist in Islam, but as Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā. The only reference in Asin's traditions to his baptizing Jesus is in 195, in the passage which Asin thinks is based on Josephus. Al-Baiḍāwī on Surah iii. 34 admits that the name is foreign, but Al-Thaʿlabī, in his chapter in the birth of John, which is mainly an expansion of this same verse, fancifully derives the name from the Arabic root *aḥyā*, "to quicken" or "to make alive". John was called Yaḥyā because by him God quickened the barrenness of his mother, or because God quickened his heart with faith and prophetic insight, or because God quickened him in obedience, [19] or because he was a martyr, and martyrs are alive (*aḥyāʾ*) in the presence of their Lord, provided for. A fifth derivation is added, due to a confusion with the birth of Isaac, to the effect that Yasāra, John's mother, was commanded to transfer a particle from her name to that of her son, who had previously been called Ḥī, so that his name became Yaḥyā and her own Sāra. Such ingenious attempts to find

[17] vi. 85, xxi. 89, 90. [18] iii. 33-36, xix. 1-15.

[19] The tradition that John was sinless, traced back to the Prophet, is cited in support of this interpretation, cf. *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, I, p. 291 et passim; Matt. xi. 11.

Arabic roots for non-Arabic names in the Qurʾān are not uncommon among Muslim exegetes. A plausible explanation is that the form Yaḥyā is a misreading for Yuḥannā arising from the fact that the primitive Arabic script had no vowel points.[20] Professor Jeffery,[21] however, says that the name is more likely to have come into Arabic from some Christian source. He notes that a similar form has been found on at least one North Arabic inscription, from which we may conclude that the name was current in this form among pre-Islamic Christians in this area and passed from them to Muḥammad. The form of the name, also similar, used by the Mesopotamian gnostic sect known as the Mandaeans has probably been influenced by the Arabic.

In Surah xix. 13, John is stated to have received the Book. There is no need to infer Mandaean influence here, for to Muḥammad the fact that John was a prophet would in itself naturally imply that he also had been given a written revelation.[22] The influence indeed is more likely to have been the other way round, for this verse may have led the Mandaeans after the conquest to adopt John as their patron saint, that they might be eligible for the privileges granted to a "people of the Book." It may be relevant in this connection to raise the question of the identity of the sect called the Ṣābiʾūn,[23] who are mentioned in the Qurʾān three times alongside Jews and Christians as among "those who believe;" for Professor Torrey[24] assumes these to be the Mandaeans. This identification is extremely doubtful, for Muḥammad himself, tradition tells us, was called a Ṣābiʾ by his contemporaries. The exegetes obviously do not know who are meant and the safest conclusion is probably that reached by Pedersen,[25] who holds that Ṣābiʾ is a general term to cover all gnostic sects in the Near East and does not apply to any one sect in particular. Muḥammad knows nothing of them apart from the name. Bell's theory[26] that they are the Sabaean Christians of South Arabia as distinct from the Naṣāra, who were the Christians of North Arabia, a theory which he holds in spite of its involving a confusion of two s-sounds quite distinct in Arabic, has not found general acceptance. In any case, as Muḥammad and the Ṣūfī writers either know nothing of John's baptizing activities or show no interest in them, it is unlikely that they received their information about him through such sects, for baptism[27] had a high place in their rituals.

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[20] R. Bell: *The Qurʾān, Translated,* Edinburgh, 1937, vol. i, p. 48, note.
[21] A. Jeffery: *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān,* Baroda, 1938, p. 290.
[22] R. Bell: *Introduction to the Qurʾān,* Edinburgh, 1953, p. 148. For a short account of Mandaism see C. H. Dodd: *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel,* Cambridge, 1953, part I, ch. 6.
[23] Jeffery: op. cit., p. 191.
[24] C. C. Torrey: *The Jewish Foundation of Islam,* New York 1933, p. 3.
[25] Browne: *Festschrift, article,* "The Ṣābians", Johs Pedersen. p. 383 ff.
[26] Bell: *Origin,* p. 60, 148.
[27] The name Ṣābiʾūn is probably to be derived from an Aramaic word meaning "to baptize." Cf. Jeffery: op. cit., p. 191.

Torrey [28] uses the seeming dependence of Surah xix. 8 on Lk. i. 61 in support of his theory that Muḥammad was taught by a Jewish scholar who gave him certain information about the great figures of the Old Testament but nothing from the New Testament except the story of the birth of John, taken as it is from the distinctively Jewish first chapter of St. Luke, and two other small excerpts. But in Surah iii. 36 and Surah xix. 11 it is recorded that Zechariah was forbidden to speak for three days only, whereas in St. Luke [29] he is struck dumb until after his son's birth. Muḥammad could scarcely have made such a mistake, if he had been dependent on a tutor with first-hand knowledge of the Bible. It is more probable that the sources of any New Testament allusions in the Qur'ān (and also, perhaps, of much Old Testament material there), as well as the origin of the forms of many of the Biblical names, are to be found in the floating ascetic traditions of the North Arabian Christians, with whom Muḥammed must have come into contact. [30]

There are twenty traditions in Asin's collection referring to John, of which 69 is the longest and most detailed: "John son of Zechariah [31] entered the Temple when eight years old and noticed that the worshippers were clothed in garments of hair and wool and that the scholars had pierced their collarbones and inserted chains in them and had bound themselves to the corners of the Temple; that filled him with awe and he returned to his parents. He passed some children playing and they said to him, 'O John, come with us and play.' He said, 'I was not created for play.' So he came to his parents and asked them to clothe him in hair garments, and they did so and he returned to the Temple and served it by day and stayed in it by night until he reached the age of fifteen. Then he went out and remained in the mountains of the land and the caves in the ravines. His parents came out in search of him and overtook him at the river (lit. lake) Jordan. He had dangled his feet in the water, so that thirst almost killed him and he was saying, 'By Thy power and majesty, I will not taste cold water until I know where my place is with Thee.' His father asked him to break his fast with a barley loaf they had with them and to drink from the water at his side. He did so and was released from his vow and praised for his filial piety. Then his parents took him back to the Temple. It used to happen that whenever he stood up to pray, he wept until the trees and clods of earth wept with him; and Zechariah wept because he did, so that he fainted. He did not cease weeping until his tears pierced the flesh on his cheeks and his molar teeth became visible to the onlookers. Then his mother said to him, 'O my

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[28] Op. cit., p. 79 ff.

[29] i. 64.

[30] The allusion to the "eye of a needle" in Surah vii. 38 is of an ascetic type. Cf. Matt. xix. 24.

[31] All honorific titles have been missed out in translation.

son, if you would only allow me to get you something with which you could conceal your molars from the onlookers.' He gave her permission and she procured two pieces of felt and attached these to his cheeks. Thus it happened that whenever he stood up to pray, he wept and when his tears had collected in the two pads, his mother came to him and squeezed them. When he saw his tears pouring along his mother's arms, he said, 'O God, these are my tears and that is my mother and I am Thy slave and Thou art the most merciful of them that show mercy.' One day Zechariah said to him, 'My son, I only asked my Lord to grant you to me that my eyes might be refreshed in you.' John said, 'O my father, Gabriel told me that between the Garden and the Fire is a wilderness, which none can cross but he who is constantly weeping'. Zechariah said, 'O my son, then weep.' "

In this tradition John is praised for obeying his father's request to break his fast; with it might be contrasted Asin 78, where John's mother persuades him to exchange a robe of wool for the sackcloth [32] which was piercing his skin. On this occasion God rebukes him for giving way, "O John, you have chosen the world in preference to Me."

The tradition that, when a child, John refused to play with other children, occurs again in 212 and in Al-Baiḍāwī on Surah iii. 34.

Asin 182 [33] also speaks of John's much weeping, the motive being dread of God; even if there had been pitch over his eyes, it could not have stemmed the flow of tears. In complete contrast, however, is 121: "It is also (recorded) in some of the books that Jesus son of Mary met John son of Zechariah, and John smiled at him. Jesus said to him, 'Verily you smile with the smile of one who feels secure.' John said to him, 'Verily you frown with the frown of one in despair.' Then God gave a revelation to Jesus, 'That which John does is preferable to Me.' " There is a reminiscence here of Matt. xi. 18, 19; the names may have been inverted in an earlier non-Muslim form of the tradition.

The Asin traditions 30, 12 and 95 are of a general ascetic type. 30 reads: "John was asked, 'What is the beginning of adultery?' He said, 'Looking and lusting.' " 12 reads: "ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib said: John son of Zechariah was filled with barley bread and so slept past his prayer time until morning. Then God Most High gave a revelation. to him, 'O John, have you found a dwelling better for you than My dwelling, or have you found a neighbourhood better for you than My neighbourhood? By My power and majesty, O John, if you were to have one glimpse of Paradise, then your flesh would melt and your soul would depart in longing, and if you were to have one glimpse of

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[32] Ibn Hishām, vol. ii, p. 130, uses the same word for describing the clothing of a hermit.

[33] This tradition also states that John's food was grass.

Jihannam, then your flesh would melt and you would weep pus after tears and wear hide after sackcloth.' "

Murtaḍā's commentary on the *Iḥyā'*, from which this tradition comes, has the variant 'iron' (i.e. a breastplate) for 'hide', which gives an exact linguistic parallelism with 'pus' such as the one between 'tears' and 'sackcloth'. Such a parallelism suggests a genuine oral tradition, at least in the Arabic. With 12 we may compare 202, where Jesus wishes to waken John for falling asleep while he (Jesus) was praying and is rebuked by God in these words, "O Jesus, the spirit of John is with Me in My holy presence [34] and his body is before Me on My earth and I have judged him more splendid than the noblest of My angels."

95 reads: "It is related about John son of Zechariah that he passed a woman and pushed her so that she fell on her face. He was asked, 'Why did you do this?' He said, 'I thought she was only a wall' " This incident seems to be mentioned again in 171: "It comes in the chronicles that John and Jesus were walking in the bazaar and a woman knocked against them. John said, 'By God, I did not feel that'. Jesus said, 'Praise be to God! Your body is with me, but your heart, where?' He said, 'O cousin, if my heart were to rest in anything other than my Lord for the twinkling of an eye, [35] I would suppose that I had not known God.' "

There are three traditions of a more fanciful kind where John is accosted by the Devil, Asin 52, 149 and 174. The first of these reads: "John son of Zechariah met the devil in his own guise and said to him, 'O devil, tell me whom of men you like best and whom you hate most.' He said, 'The one I like best is the miserly believer and the one I hate most is the generous unbeliever'. He said to him, 'Why?' He said, 'Because the miser's miserliness has saved me trouble, but I fear that God will light upon the generous unbeliever in his generosity and will accept him.' Then he turned his back, saying, 'If you were not John, I would not have told you.' "

149 reads: "It is recorded as coming from Wahb ibn Munabbih that the devil met John son of Zechariah and John said to him, 'Tell me about the qualities of the son of man in your opinion.' The devil said, 'A type of them are, like you, impregnable, and against them you can make no progress in anything; the second type are in our hands like a ball in the hands of your children and they themselves have saved us any trouble; and the third type is the type most troublesome to us, for we approach one of them until we get what we want from him and then he takes refuge in asking God's forgiveness and thereby ruins for us what it was we got from him; thus we are neither in despair of him nor do we get out of him what we want.' "

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[34] Lit., "the presence of My holiness", a Hebraism, perhaps indicating an original Jewish provenance; cf. for the rest of the quotation, Ps. viii. 5.

[35] Cf. I Cor. xv. 52.

174 reads: "It is recorded about John that the devil appeared to him and upon him were certain pendants. John said to him, 'What are these?' He said, 'These are the lusts wherewith I hunt the sons of man.' He said to him, 'Do you find anything for me among them?' He said, 'No, except that one night you were filled and we made you too heavy to perform the ritual prayer.' He said, 'Without doubt I shall not get filled after this,' The devil said, 'Without doubt I shall never warn anyone again after this.'

This last story seems to be based on the incident recorded in Asin 12 and translated above; both traditions are taken from different works of Al-Ghazālī. Murtaḍā in his commentary to this passage tells this story of Jesus and states that the source is Israelite tradition. Such tales, although found in abundance in Rabbinical literature, are not, of course, uncommon in the apocryphal Gospels and Acts [36] and in the Lives of the Fathers.

195 is interesting in that Asin traces its source to Josephus, *Antiquities* xviii. 5. 1-3: "John son of Zechariah was born in the reign of king Sābūr and that was three hundred and three years after the rise of Alexander. John baptized Jesus in the river Jordan. It is recorded that one of the kings of the Children of Israel asked advice of John in the matter of marrying a certain woman. He said that she was a harlot, and so the woman intrigued against him until the king killed him. His blood remained boiling until Jesus was raised. The king of Babylon, who was called Kharūsh, invaded them and conquered them. He saw the blood of John boiling and because of it executed a large number of people; and he laid waste the Temple."

There is, of course, considerable confusion over the names. This is the only one of Asin's traditions which speaks of John as baptizing. The word used is وضّع, obviously a mistake for وضّأ, from the same root as the Islamic term, "to perform the ritual ablutions", a strange one to use in this connection; the Arabic New Testament normally has عمّد. The "boiling blood" tradition is mentioned by Al-Thaʿlabī, p. 237 ff. [37]

The most important of the traditions in Asin's collection are those which include Jesus along with John, for in some of these there is

[36] Cf. e.g. M. R. James: *The Apocryphal New Testament,* Oxford, 1924, index under 'Devil'.

[37] Cf. the tradition of Palestinian Muslims that John was beheaded and buried in Sebaṣtiah, the ancient Samaria, and that his head rolled from there to Damascus, where it was deposited in a casket in the Church of St. John. For the well-known story of the Church of St. John, which gives insight into the amicable relations between the Arabs and their Christian subjects at the beginning of the conquest, see Bell, *Origin,* p. 169 ff. To this day Damascenes swear by the head of Yaḥyā; see K. Baedeker: *Palestine and Syria,* Leipzig, 1912, p. 317. The tradition that John was beheaded in Samaria is late, for according to Josephus, *Antiqu.,* xviii. 5. 2. this took place at Maecherus. Another interesting Muslim-Palestinian tradition of John is that he was imprisoned in Qasr bint al-Malik, the "castle of the king's daughter", overlooking Tiberias.

evident a desire to disparage Jesus and commend John at his expense. 121, 171 and 202 are examples of this tendency which have already been noted; the two last of these seem to use a traditional incident involving John as a basis for a veiled hint at Jesus' inferiority and in the first, as has been suggested, perhaps the names have been made to change places. The other traditions in this group discrediting Jesus are 30, 177 and 199. The first reads: "John said to Jesus, 'You should not be angry.' He said, 'I am unable not to be angry; I am only human.'" [38] He said, 'You should not acquire wealth.' He said, 'This perhaps.' 177 reads: "Jesus said to John, 'If a man makes some mention of you and says something true about you, then give thanks to God; but if it is a lie, then give the more thanks, for that will be added to the record of your deeds and you will have been saved any trouble (lit. be at peace).'" [39]

199 reads: "John said to Jesus, 'Do not be sharp to look at what does not belong to you; for me [40] — you will never commit adultery as long as you guard your eyes. For if you are able not to look at the dress of a woman who is not legally yours, then do so; but you cannot do that except by permission of God Most High.'"

Like some of these in being a general moralistic saying, such as may have circulated in any ascetic community and been attached to any pious name, but with no trace of Muslim polemic, is 31:
"John said to Jesus, 'Which thing is the most severe?' He said, 'The anger of God.' He said, 'What comes next to the anger of God?' He said, 'That you should be angry.' He said, 'Then what makes anger begin and what makes it grow?' Jesus said, 'Pride and boastfulness and self-esteem and passion.'"

There is a long extract about John, in form at least an obvious Muslim fabrication, in 143:
"Wahb ibn Munabbih quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying: When God sent John son of Zechariah to the Children of Israel, He commanded him to command them (to cultivate) five virtues and to coin for them a parable for each virtue. He commanded them to worship God and not to associate anything with Him and he coined a parable for them and said, 'Polytheism is like a man who bought a slave with his own money, then set him to live in a house and married him to a slave girl of his and made over money to him and commanded him to trade with it and eat from it what sufficed him and to return to him the excess profit. The slave began to have designs on his excess profit and to give it to his master's enemy and return very little of it to his master. Now which of you would be pleased with a slave like this?' And he commanded them to pray the ritual prayer and he coined a parable for them and said, 'Prayer is like a man who asked an

[38] Obviously based on Surah iii. 52.
[39] The whole passage is difficult, but this seems to be the sense.
[40] The Arabic at this point is obscure; for the passage cf. Matt. v. 28.

audience of a certain king and was granted it and came into his presence. The king turned his face towards him to listen to his plea and satisfy his need, but he began to look to the right and to the left and took no pains to achieve his need. So the king turned from him and did not supply his need.' And he commanded them to fast and he coined a parable for them and said, 'He who fasts is like a man who put on armour to fight and took up his weapons; thus his enemy did not reach him and the weapons of his enemy did not harm him.' And he commanded them to give alms and he coined a parable for them and said, 'Giving alms is like a man who was taken prisoner by his enemy and who purchased his life from them for a stated price and so began to work their land and to pay to them whatever he earned, whether it were little or much, until he had paid his life's ransom to them. Then he was released and so freed his neck from them.' And he commanded them to make mention of God Most High and he coined a parable for them and said, 'To make mention (sc. of God) is like a people who had a fortress and near whom was an enemy. He came against them and they entered their fortress and shut its gate against him and so made themselves secure from the enemy.' "[41]

This tradition has been included here because Asin preserves a variant, in which John hesitates to carry out God's command and Jesus warns him that if he will not do as he was commanded, he himself will in his stead. The parables used may have been suggested in part by parables or sayings of Jesus, which have been turned to suit certain Islamic institutions and in our version given to John to draw attention away from the borrowing. Thus, for instance, the parable for polytheism reminds us of the Unjust Steward, Lk. xvi. 1ff, and of the "two masters" saying in Lk. xvi. 13, and that for fasting of the Beelzebub saying in Lk. xi. 21, 22.

The section on John in Al-Thaʿlabī, pp. 235-238, does not supply much additional information. His chapter on John's birth is mainly a commentary on Surah iii, 34. The fanciful derivations he proposes for the name Yaḥyā have already been noted. In commenting on the phrase, "confirming a word from God", he quotes a form of the Lukan story[42] that John greeted Jesus when they were in their mothers' wombs. In his remarks on the word "abstinent" he again makes use of the tradition, which is traced back to the Prophet, that every son of man encounters God having committed sin except John son of Zechariah. According to Muḥammad in this tradition, "He who is abstinent is he who does not involve himself in play or in vain things," which is a reminiscence of the inrident related in Asin 69 and 212. The chapter concludes as follows: "So John son of

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[41] This tradition also occurs in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iv, p. 202.
[42] i. 39-45.

Zechariah was born and some of the tales have it that when he was born he was raised to heaven and there feasted beside the rivers of Paradise until he was weaned, when he descended again to his father; and the house (or, the Temple) shone because of his radiance and the comeliness and beauty of his face."

The small chapter on John's appearance and dress gives this description: "John son of Zechariah was a prophet, comely of face and form, with smooth arms, little hair, short fingers, a long nose, meeting eyebrows, a soft voice; he was great in zeal, strong in obedience to God and he led men to serve and obey God." For the source of this we need not go beyond Al-Thaʿlabī's imagination.

There follows a chapter entitled, "Section on his prophesying and his life and a mention of his asceticism and zeal," which is compounded of material mainly found in Asin 69 and 143.

Al-Thaʿlabī closes with a chapter on John's murder, prefaced with the remark, "The scholars differ over the cause of his death." He gives five accounts, the first three of which are probably bizarre expansions of the Gospel narrative such as the Muslim preachers might have been expected to circulate: a shortened version of them is given here.

Par 1. It is said that John lived at the time of an Israelite king, whose wife was the daughter of the king of Sīdā.[43] She was a profligate and he upbraided her for appearing unveiled before the people, quoting the Torah that adulterers would be raised up on the day of resurrection and their stench be worse than a corpse.[44] She had him imprisoned and in the prison was a man of royal blood, who used to have nocturnal meetings with her. John found this out and upbraided him. The queen took her daughter to the king and made him promise to grant her whatever she asked. She asked that she be allowed to interview the prisoners. The king agreed, thinking she was sorry for them and wished to help them. The prisoners were paraded before the queen and when John passed she commanded that he be slain. His head was placed in a dish and her daughter presented it to the king. He was exceedingly wrathful and called down curses on her and her parents.

Par 2. From Ibn ʿAbbās: Among the teachings of John and Jesus was that marriage was forbidden with a niece. The king wished to marry his niece and used to grant her a request every day. Her mother heard of John's teaching and told her to request his death the next time he asked her what she wanted. When she did this, she asked her to name anything else, but she refused and he had John slain over a dish. Some of his blood fell into the dish and did not cease boiling until God sent Bukhtanaṣṣar against the land. An old woman showed

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[43] Perhaps Sidon; is there a confusion here with Elijah and Jezebel?
[44] Cf. Gen xxxiv. 30.

him the blood and God put it into his heart that he would not have peace until he slew seventy thousand Israelites on its account.[45] He did so and there was peace.

Par 3. Al-Sadā said: John was a favourite of an Israelite king. The king wished to marry a daughter of a wife of his, but John forbade him. The mother heard of this and harboured a grudge against John. She dressed her daughter in flimsy clothing and decked her in ornaments and told her to serve the king with wine; when his desire for her was aroused, she was to ask the head of John on a dish. The king hesitated, but finally agreed. But when the head was brought before him it spoke and said, "She is not lawful for you." The blood began to boil and the king threw earth over it, but the blood came up over the earth. The king kept trying to smother the blood, but unsuccessfully. The blood kept boiling until it reached the city wall, but even this did not stop it.

The fourth account is from "the Christian scholars", and is a summary of the Biblical story without the Salome incident. The last purports to come from the Rabbis. John is described as being very handsome. The king's wife fell in love with him and when he repudiated her advances, she determined to be rid of him and did not leave the king's side until he agreed to his murder. John was murdered when praying in David's niche[46] in the Temple. But when his head was removed, God caused the earth to swallow up the queen and her people as a punishment.

The material collected in this article shows then, that John, son of Zechariah, like any Biblical character about whom he could obtain information, did catch the imagination, first of Muḥammad himself, and then certainly of the early Muslim ascetic preachers and their successors, the Ṣūfī writers. The source of many of the legends and sayings was, naturally enough, the oral tradition of the eastern Churches with their ascetic emphasis. Muḥammad's contact with this traditional corpus was, of course, restricted, but after the conquest much intercourse was possible; indeed, the whole pietistic and mystical movement of medieval Islam, in origin at least, was mainly a grafting from Christianity.

There is, too, perhaps sufficient evidence to indicate that John was remembered in these eastern Churches not only as the baptizer and forerunner of Jesus, but as a teacher and saint of some independent standing, a Biblical prototype of their own ascetic ways and outlook, like, it would seem, Jesus Himself.

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[45] Cf. above Asin 195.
[46] Beneath the Dome of the Rock.

SHĀH WALĪ ULLĀH AND IJTIHĀD

A TRANSLATION OF SELECTED PASSAGES FROM HIS ʿIQD AL-JĪD FĪ AḤKĀM AL-IJTIHĀD WA-L-TAQLĪD

"The task before the modern Muslim is immense", wrote Muḥammad Iqbāl in his well-known work: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* He went on: "He has to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. Perhaps the first Muslim who felt the urge of a new spirit in him was Shāh Walī Ullāh of Delhi." [1]

The following translation from the first thirty pages of this leading India Ṣūfī's work *ʿIqd al-Jīd* is offered as a source of his ideas on the fundamental problem of Ijtihād, or enterprise in re-interpretation of the holy code of Islam. Shāh Walī Ullāh (1703-1762) lived in the days of unsettlement which followed the death of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzīb ʿĀlamgīr (d. 1707). The Emperor, who was a staunch Ḥanafī, spent years supervising the compilation of *Fatāwā-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* (his collection of canonical decisions.) Walī Ullāh's grandfather, Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, refused to participate in this work. Aurangzīb's efforts to enforce the Sharīʿah, whatever success they may have had during his reign, collapsed after his death, in the absence of any external sanctions of Qāḍī or Muḥtasib. Aurangzīb's successors were notorious for their weakness. The pious, sensitive author of *ʿIqd al-Jīd* saw eleven successors to the Emperor follow each other in futility. He saw that morality could not be secured by dint of theocratic governments utilising force.

He produced almost fifty works, marked by a rationalist temper and seeking the reconciliation of opposing extremes. His influence in the realm of actual law was negligible. His ideas of jurisprudence had no occasion: the British shortly took control of administration. Revision of Muslim law remained only a theoretical issue. Even in Iqbāl's time when the question of Ijtihād again appeared prospects of an emerging Islamic state were still apparently very distant.

Shāh Walī Ullāh's position on Ijtihād, like all his opinions, was one of sane moderation, balancing *ʿAql* and *Naql* (reason and tradition). He held aloof from ultra-rationalism, refusing to allow any selfish, evasive pleading of reason to undo the obligations of the law. He sought to temper authority with reason, devoting the whole of volume 2 of his masterpiece, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Balīghah,* to a presentation of the rational bases of holy ordinances. In his view moral injunctions should not be peremptory: they should address and enlist a rational consent. The element of authority is present but it is combined with the arguable expediency and utility.

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[1] Lahore edition, 1944, p. 97.

In this spirit Shāh Walī Ullāh voices his disapproval of blind *taqlīd* (adherence to this or that Imām). But he does not go beyond such disapproval. He recommends adoption of the best opinion within the four schools. This indicates his good sense and his awareness of the necessity of conserving what is best in the Muslim heritage. In these times his position may not seem very revolutionary, but it represented considerable boldness in the time when it was first commended in *ʿIqd al-Jīd*.

TRANSLATION

What urged me to write this work was the enquiries on the important issues of this subject put to me by some friends.

THE REAL NATURE OF IJTIHĀD, ITS CONDITIONS AND ITS VARIETIES

The true nature of Ijtihād, as understood from the discourse of scholars, is exhaustive endeavor in understanding the derivative principles of the Holy Canon Law by means of detailed arguments, their "genera" being based on four departments:

(1) The Holy Book
(2) The Example and Precept of the Prophet
(3) The Consensus of Opinion of the Muslim Community
(4) The Application of Analogy.

Let it be understood from this that Ijtihād is wider than (i.e., confined not to) the exhaustive endeavor to perceive the principle worked out by earlier scholars, no matter whether such an endeavor leads to disagreement or agreement with these earlier scholars. It is not limited by the consideration whether this endeavor is made *with* or *without* aid received from some (of the earlier scholars) in their notification of the aspects of questions involved in a given issue and their notification over the sources of the principles through detailed arguments.

But if there is a man who is in agreement with his shaikh in most matters and at the same time knows the argument supporting every judgment and is satisfied with that argument, and you say that he is not a Mujtahid, you are holding a corrupt view.

And in this way, the belief that a Mujtahid is not to be found in our times, founded on the former belief, is basing a corrupt belief upon another corrupt belief.

And the condition for a Mujtahid is that he must know that much of the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth which is relevant to the principles involved, and must know the occasions of Consensus of Opinion of the Community, the conditions of Analogy, the method of arranging the premises properly in a case of Analogy (كيفية النظر), the Arabic language, the abrogating ordinances and the abrogated ones, the account of (the integrity of) the Rāwis (i.e., narrators of Prophetic

Traditions). The knowledge of scholastic discourse and jurisprudence are not (necessarily) needed in Ijtihād.

Al-Ghazālī said: "Ijtihād is not accomplished in our times without proficiency in Fiqh and this is the way to acquisition of jurisprudence in these times. But this was not the method in the times of the Holy Companions."

I say that the passage above (means to) point out that the Ijtihād of an affiliated Mujtahid (Mujtahid-i-Muntasib) is not accomplished unless he knows the unequivocal judgments (Nuṣūṣ) of the independent (i.e., unaffiliated) Mujtahid (Mujtahid-i-Mustaqill). And likewise the Independent Mujtahid must know the (relevant) discourse of the Companions, the Successors of the Companions and the Successors of the Successors of the Companions in matters of jurisprudence. And this qualification of Ijtihād which we have mentioned is dilated in the books on the fundamentals (of Fiqh), and there will not be any harm in quoting in this place what Al-Baghawī has said:

"A Mujtahid is one who combines in himself five types of knowledge: (1) the knowledge of the Book of God the Glorious; (2) the knowledge of the Example and Precept of the Prophet (Peace be on him and his descendants); (3) the knowledge of the speeches of the scholars of yore recording their consensus of opinion and their difference of opinion; (4) the knowledge of language; and (5) the knowledge of Analogy, which is the method of eliciting the principle from the Qur'ān or the Ḥadīth when the principle is not found unequivocally in the Statutes of the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth and the Consensus of Opinion.

It is incumbent that of the knowledge of the Holy Book he should possess the knowledge of the abrogating and the abrogated passages, the summary-expressions and the full expressions, the general ordinances and the particular ones, the sound verses and the ambiguous verses, the disapprovals, prohibitions, permissions and approvals and obligations.

And of the Ḥadīth he must recognize the perfectly sound traditions, the weak ones, the ones supported by complete chains of narrators going back to the Prophet (Musnad), the ones in which the chains of narrators omit the names of the Companions who transmitted the Traditions (Mursal). And he must know the application of the Ḥadīth upon the Qur'ān and of the Qur'ān upon the Ḥadīth, so that if he finds a tradition, the outward meanings of which do not conform to (the meanings of) the Book, he should get guided rightly to bring out its bearing, for the Ḥadīth is an exposition of the Book, and does not contradict it. Of the Traditions it is obligatory upon him to know only those which relate to the principles of the Holy Law, and not the rest which contain stories, accounts of events and admonitions.

And likewise, it is incumbent that he should possess the lexical knowledge necessary to understand the passages in the Qur'ān and the

Ḥadīth.[2] But it is not required that he should encompass the entire vocabulary of Arabic. He should so polish up his linguistic knowledge that he may be in a position to understand the real import of Arabic phrases to an extent which may guide him to the intended meanings in different contexts and circumstances. (This requirement is there) because the Holy Canon Law is addressed in Arabic. He who does not know Arabic will not recognize the meaning intended by the law-giver (i.e., the Prophet), nor will he understand what the Companions and the Successors of the Companions said of principles, nor will he understand the most important judgments given by the jurisconsults of the Community. (He should know Arabic well) so that his judgment does not stand opposed to theirs, in which case his judgment will involve violation of Consensus of Opinion (Ijmāᶜ). And when he knows the major portion of each of these (departments of knowledge), he is a Mujtahid, and the exhaustive knowledge of all these is not a condition. And if he is ignorant of one of these five departments then his path is to follow (i.e., not to indulge in Ijtihād), even if he is profoundly learned in the school of one of the bygone Imāms. For such a man it is not allowable to be invested with the status of a judge, or to be a candidate for the position in which he might give judgments. And if these sciences are combined in him, and he shuns evil passions and innovations, clothes himself with robes of piety and abstains from major sins, not persisting in minor sins, then it is allowable that he may take up the responsibility of the office of a judge and may exercise his personal discretion in the Holy Law using Ijtihād and may pronounce his judgment. And he who does not combine in himself these conditions must, in matters that might concern him, follow him who does combine them." (The quotation from Al-Baghawī ends here.)

Al-Rāfiᶜī and Al-Nawawī and innumerable other writers have made it clear that the absolute Mujtahid (Al-Mujtahid al-Muṭlaq) is of two types, (i) Mustaqill (i.e., independent or unaffiliated), and (ii) Muntasib (i.e., affiliated to an independent Mujtahid). And it appears from the discourse of these scholars that the Mustaqill is distinguished from others by three qualities: (a) Re-interpretation (taṣarruf) of the fundamentals (uṣūl) on which his mujtahadāt (i.e., judgments by Ijtihād) are based, (b) Pursuit of Qurᵓānic verses and Prophetic Traditions for the sake of recognition of the decisions which have already been declared, and for preference of some of the conflicting arguments over others, and explanation of the more weighty of (its?) possible bearings, and awareness of the source of principles by means of these arguments. And so far as we can see, (God knows better!), this is two-thirds of the knowledge possessed by Al-Shāfiᶜī (God's

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[2] Which relate to ordinances.

mercy be on him); (c) argumentative discourse in matters not already decided, drawing upon these(?) arguments.

And the Muntasib (affiliated) is he who adopts the principles of his shaikh and seeks aid abundantly from his argumentative discourse, in pursuit of arguments and getting information on the source. All the same he has conviction in the validity of the judgments through (understanding of) the arguments supporting them and he is capable of eliciting issues from these arguments. Whether he exercises much eliciting or less, does not matter.

(The qualifications mentioned above belong to the absolute Mujtahid (al-Mujtahid al-Muṭlaq).

And he who is next in status to the last is "the *Mujtahid within the School*" (Mujtahid fī al-Madhhab). He follows his Imām in matters wherein unequivocal judgments (Nāṣṣ) of the Imām are evidently there. But he also knows the methods of his Imām, and when an affair comes up regarding which he does not find an unequivocal judgment (Naṣṣ) by the Imām, he exercises Ijtihād in it in accordance with the School of the Imām, and elicits the judgments by proceeding parallel with the speeches of the Imām and in the same manner.

And lower still in rank is "the Mujtahid of decisions" (Mujtahid al-futyā). Such a man has profound knowledge of the School of his Imām and is able to prefer one verdict to another, and one approach of the pupils of the Imām to another of their approaches. And God knows best.

EXPLAINING THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MUJTAHIDS

Scholars have differed in the matter of ratification of Mujtahids pronouncing differently on the derivative issues where no conclusive judgment is to be found. Is each of these Mujtahids correct, or is only one of them correct?

The former opinion is held by Al-Shaikh ᶜAbdul-Ḥasan al-Ashᶜarī, Al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr, Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and Ibn Sharīḥ and is also quoted from the multitude of Ashᶜarites and Muᶜtazilites. And in the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* of Abū Yūsuf there are hints at this which are almost clear statements.

The second opinion is held by the multitude of jurisconsults and is quoted also from the four Imāms. And Al-Samᶜānī has said in *Kitāb al-Qawāṭiᶜ* that this apparently is the belief of Al-Shāfiᶜī.

Al-Baiḍāwī said in *Al-Minhāj:* "The rightness of each of those who exercise Ijtihād in one matter is disputed upon grounds of the opposition between this position and the rule that for every given case there is a specific verdict supported by a conclusive or preponderant (ẓannī) argument. And the most preferable view is that which comes soundly from Al-Shāfiᶜī: 'In every occurrence there is a fixed verdict upon which there is an indication.' Whichever Mujtahid finds out that indication, hits the target, and whichever fails to find it out, misses the

target, although he is not sinful on that account, for Ijtihād, which is (the sum-total of) the search of arguments, is preceded by arguments; and the indication (upon the error made) comes after the verdict. If two (different) Ijtihāds were to be regarded true, this would be a concurrence of two contradictions. And (the Mujtahid missing the target of truth is not sinful either) because the Prophet (peace be on him!) said: "Whoso hits the target, shall have two rewards, and whoso misses it, shall have only one reward."

It is said that if the verdict is fixed, then he whose position is contrary to it does not judge according to what Allāh had revealed, and so is a transgressor, for Allāh the Exalted says: "Whoso judges not in accordance with what Allāh has revealed, they are the transgressors." We say (answering this objection) that he (i.e., the error-maker) pronounced judgments in accordance with what he thought (was right), even though his judgment mistook (the meaning of) what God has revealed.

Again it is said that if all the Mujtahids making different pronouncements in one matter were not to be ratified, then the appointment of an opposite Mujtahid (to an office qualified by Ijtihād) would not be allowable. And (we know that) Abū Bakr appointed Zaid (in spite of their disagreement in certain Ijtihāds). We say as a retort that the appointment of governorship is not permissible for a man devising falsities (Mubṭil), and a man who slips (Mukhṭi') is not a Mubṭil." (The quotation from Al-Baiḍāwī ends here).

Al-Baiḍāwī says that for each given case there is a specific verdict. We say that this is imposing something upon the affairs of the Unseen without argument. And he says that the (most preferable view is that) which comes soundly from Al-Shāfiᶜī, etc., etc. We say that what is meant by Al-Shāfiᶜī is that in any given case there is a verdict which is the most conformable to the fundamentals (uṣūl), and the most fitting of the modes of Ijtihād; and upon it there is an evident indication from among the arguments of Ijtihād. Whoso finds it, is correct, and whoso fails to find it, misses the target, but is not sinful. And (we adopt) this view because Al-Shāfiᶜī has declared unequivocally in the opening portions of his *Kitāb al-Umm*: "When a scholar tells another scholar, 'Thou hast erred', he means, 'Thou hast erred from the right path, which the scholars must follow'." And he (i.e., Al-Shāfiᶜī) has expanded this subject and has illustrated it with many illustrations. Or perhaps Al-Shāfiᶜī means that in a given issue there is one particular piece of information which matters, and whoso finds it is correct, and whoso fails to find it errs. And this (idea) too is expanded in his *Kitāb al-Umm*.

Al-Baiḍāwī says above: "Ijtihād is preceded ...", (i.e., the erring Mujtahid is not sinful because arguments the search for which constitutes Ijtihad, precede the verdict, while the indication upon error comes afterwards). We (offer a simpler argument) and say: "Allāh

has called upon us to obey Him by acting upon that to which our Ijtihād may guide us, and so we make search into that which we know summarily so as to comprehend it minutely." [3]

And he (i.e., Al-Baiḍāwī) says: "If two (different) Ijtihāds were to be regarded true, this would be a concurrence of two contradictions". We say: These different Ijtihāds are like the (alternative) prescriptions for atonement (kaffāra), all of which are binding and (yet) not binding. [4]

And Al-Baiḍāwī quotes the Tradition: "The Mujtahid who hits the target gets two rewards and he who errs gets only one." We say that this quotation goes against the point he wants to make and not in favour of it, for an error that is the cause of reward cannot be regarded as transgression. So it follows that both the Ijtihāds should be for Allāh the Exalted, in which case one of them is more meritorious than the other, just as a deliberate act of virtue (ᶜazīmat) is superior to (availing oneself of) a permission (rukhṣat).

And this (i.e., the verdict that one Ijtihād is correct and the other not) happens in the law-court, for outwardly only one of the two positions can be ratified, either that which the plaintiff says or that which the defendant says.

An when he (i.e., Al-Baiḍāwī) says that the Mujtahid missing the target is absolved from sin because of pronouncing the verdict he believes to be correct, we shall say that this is a profession of what we also aim at.

And when he says that the Mujtahid missing the target is not mubṭil (falsifying the truth), we say also that such a one is not an opponent of ḥaqq (truth), for every opponent of ḥaqq is a mubṭil. And what remains after ḥaqq but going astray?

And in reality the opinion attributed to the four Imāms, (the opinion that only one Mujtahid out of many, pronouncing on the same issue, is correct), is drawn out from some of their statements and there is no final unequivocal ruling (Naṣṣ) given by them on this matter.

And in fact the Community of Islām has not differed from the position that you can ratify Mujtahids pronouncing judgment in a matter wherein the Community is given choice by an unequivocal holy text or by consensus of opinion (Ijmāᶜ), e.g., the Seven Variant Readings of the Qurᵓān, the formulae of invocations, and the number of prostrations in Witr [5] Prayers, which may be seven, nine or eleven. And likewise the ᶜUlamāᵓ (i.e., scholars) should not differ (from the

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[3] i.e., Ijtihād in itself is an act of pious obedience, and an error made unwittingly in such an act cannot be called a sin.

[4] They are binding alternatively, and not binding collectively. The idea is that just as there can be two alternative prescriptions for atonement, there can be alternative verdicts of Ijtihād to settle a matter.

[5] A portion of the late evening prayer, which has an odd, and not even, number of prostrations.

position that both the Mujtahids could be ratified) in matters wherein choice is given by some indication (if not by an unequivocal text or by consensus of opinion).

And the truth is that there are four types of difference:

(1) That in which the truth is decisively determined, and it is necessary in such a case that its opposite be contradicted for it is false.
(2) That in which the truth is determined by the dominating opinion. The opposite of it is false by (dominant) opinion.
(3) That in which definite choice has been given to adopt any of the two alternative sides of difference.
(4) That in which the above choice is given by the dominating opinion.

And the detailed explanation of the above is that if the issue at hand is such that the verdict of the verdict-giver is violated by both the alternative ways of settling it, [6] i.e., if there is found an unequivocal, sound and well-known Tradition of the Prophet, and both the Ijtihāds stand opposed to it, then both will be false. But yes. The Mujtahid in such a matter will sometimes be excused upon grounds of his ignorance of the unequivocal Tradition of the Prophet (peace be upon him) until that Ḥadīth reaches him, and the argument gets established. And if the Ijtihād is exercised in the ascertainment of an event which happened but the state whereof became dubious, like in the question whether Mr A is dead or alive, unquestionably the truth in such a case will be one of the two alternatives. But the Mujtahid (making a mistake in such a case) will sometimes be excused in his Ijtihād.

And if the Ijtihād is in a matter which is entrusted to the good sense (taḥarrī) of the Mujtahid, and the sources of arguments of both the Mujtahids (engaged on it) are within the reach of, and not so far from, intellects as to make them look remiss, and departed from the natural modes of thought, then both the Mujtahids are correct. An example of this is: Supposing two men are told, "Give a dirham from my wealth to a destitute person you might find." Now each of them says, "How shall I know that this is a genuine destitute?" And they are told, "When you exercise Ijtihād in the pursuit of circumstances, and you become sure that here is a destitute, then you may give him the dirham." Now supposing the two men differed and one of them said that here was a destitute man and the other said no. Now if the sources of their reasoning are within reach of intellects, the acceptance of which could easily be accommodated, then they are both correct. This is because he who puts them on this task left the decision to nothing but what would occur to the good-sense of the executors as to who is the destitute. And this occurred to their good sense without any apparent remissment. This is quite opposed to the case in which

[6] An example of this is two Mujtahids trying to decide whether it is permissible to drink five pegs of sherry or ten.

one of the two gives the dirham to a big merchant possessing servants and retinue, for the attributor of destitution to him will be reckoned remiss, and the acceptance of the doubt which he entertained is not a persuasive proposition.

In short, the difference between the positions of the Mujtahids here has two aspects: (1) Whether the man is actually destitute or not. And undoubtedly the truth in the matter will be one of the two and the two contradictions will not occur together. (2) Is he who gave the dirham to another than the destitute obedient or not? And there is no doubt that he *is* obedient. But yes! He whose conjecture agreed with reality would get profuse share of reward.

And if Ijtihād is in a matter wherein choice is already given, like the (Seven) Variant Readings of the Qurʾān, and the formulae of invocations, then both the Mujtahids are correct. This is just like the Prophet (peace be upon him) did by pronouncing alternative decisions in order to facilitate things for men, and yet each of the decisions covers the basic good (involved). All this we have said is clear and none should hesitate in accepting this view.

The important occasions of differences are of many types:

1) One Mujtahid receives a Tradition (ḥadīth) and the other one does not. Now in this case the right Mujtahid is (already) determined (i.e., known for certain).
2) Every Mujtahid (engaged in the same issue) has some conflicting Traditions and he exercises Ijtihād in bringing about congruence between some of them and preference of some over others, and his Ijtihād leads to a certain judgment (of his own) and so difference of this nature appears.
3) They may differ in the explanation of the words used and their logical definitions, or regarding the supply of what might be considered omitted in speech (and left to be understood), or in eliciting the manāṭ (i.e., the common factor which justifies the application of a primary principle from the Qurʾān or the Ḥadīth to a derivative situation, or in application of general to particulars, etc.)
4) They may differ in primary principles leading to difference in derivative principles.

In all these cases each of any two Mujtahids will be right provided the sources from which they get support are easily acceptable to intellects.

In reality the problems mentioned in the books on the fundamentals of Fiqh are of two types. There are those which belong to the pursuit of the Arabic language, like the questions of what is Khāṣṣ (i.e., general) and what is ʿĀmm (i.e., particular), what is Naṣṣ[7] and what is Ẓāhir (i.e., the outward meaning), like the grammarians' ob-

[7] A word having only one definite meaning and no other possible meaning.

servations such as "This is an indeterminate noun (al-ism al-nakira), and this is a proper noun (maᶜrifa or ᶜalam), and this is a collective generic noun (ismu jinsin), or that the nominative has *u* and the accusative has *a*. In this kind of question the difference is not much.

The second type is of problems that present to the mind that which an intellectual being handles guided by his nature (salīqa). The detail of this is: Supposing you give an intelligent man an old book of which some letters have been altered (or obliterated) and tell him to read it. Now in the case of a doubtful passage he is bound to pursue the context and exercise choice of what is correct. Sometimes in a matter of this kind two intellectuals will differ, and when two alternatives present themselves to an intellectual, (you know) how he pursues arguments and scrutinizes the good points, and in the end adopts the preponderant one and that which is least in evil. Similarly when varying Traditions presented themselves to the earliest scholars, they made a thorough search into the matter and their Ijtihād led them to the rejection of some Traditions, and to bringing some into congruence with others and preference of some over others. And likewise, when they faced problems regarding which the learned men of earlier times had said nothing, they looked for the judgments in similar cases (in the absence of identical cases), and drew reasons. In short, they had methods to which they were driven by their natural dispositions just as an intelligent person is driven to methods in a matter which engages (or disquiets) him. Then a group of people resolved to arrange these methods fully in order and made reference to them, in the course of their religious literature. Or these devices are derived from (i.e., are implicit in) their problems, (i.e., the problems they dealt with), even if they have not enunciated these devices. The intellects of later generations met their methods with acceptance for they were disposed by their essential nature to the same methods. Then these matters became established things among them. And likewise, when they exhausted their endeavours in the transmission of Ḥadīth and in acquiring knowledge discriminating the sound Traditions from the defective and the well-known Traditions from the rare ones, and in the knowledge of the affairs of transmitters of Ḥadīth, disparaging their integrity or establishing it, and in the writing of Ḥadīth books and their correction, they relied in these fields on the natural disposition that was created into their intellects. And then came other people who codified these general principles.

And here you have one very important matter. There is one condition laid down on application of these general principles, namely, that the particular case at issue should not be of the category of cases in which the intellectuals of earlier times have declared judgments disagreeing with these generalities, since in every disputed case there are some factors or aspects which support a judgment other than the general principle.

And the real source of contention is the persistent clinging to generalities and the assertion of the (general) principle which (in a given case) has been ruled out by genuine reason on grounds of the individualities of the case.

Supposing you see a stone and are sure that it is a stone, and then a contentious man comes and announces the general principle that a thing is recognized by its colour and its shape and appearance, etc., and that the object before you has an appearance which is shared by many things, and so (tries to) destroy your conviction by means of this general principle. The poor man does not know that the conviction attained in this particular case is greater (in value) than the pursuit of generalities.

Beware! Do not let such people beguile you by their speech, for the difference in such matters is to be resolved by recourse to the seeking of the fittest and quietness of heart by looking into contexts (of matters). And the Prophet has pointed out on different occasions that religious impositions (laws) are determined by the choice of good-sense. On one occasion he said, "The ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (i.e., the Day of Celebrations at the end of the Fasting Month) is on the day when you cease to fast and the ʿĪd of Sacrifice is on the day when you perform sacrifice".[8] ..... In this is nothing but an alleviation and leniency from God the Glorious. And there is another ḥadīth of such import saying; "When the Judge exercises Ijtihād and hits the target, he gets two rewards and if he misses it, he gets only one."

Whoever makes a thorough study of the Nuṣūṣ (specifications or dictates) of the law-giver (the Prophet) and his decisions in doubtful matters, will derive a general principle, which is that the law-giver has drawn up quite a comprehensive code of all virtuous practices like ablutions, bath, prayer, almsgiving and fasting and pilgrimage, etc., upon which various sects of Islam are agreed. And he has laid down for these practices their supports (arkān), and conditions and manners to be observed, and has fixed the disapproved and corrupting things that can happen in these matters and the devices of atonement and has amplified discourse in these matters as much as should be. But then he did not discuss their bases much by offering logical definitions of these. Whenever he was interrogated about the verdicts relating to particular aspects of these bases and conditions, etc., he would refer them to what the people understood in their minds by the words used (in the injunction) and would guide them to resolve the particularities by referring them to the general principles and

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[8] These two ʿIds are decided by the appearance of the new moon, which makes the exact dates unpredictable. This Tradition means that there is no "fuss" in religion over such immaterial things.

The original contains more examples of such flexibilities which I have omitted. — Translator.

would not add anything to it, except in very few cases under persistent interrogation by people ..... [9] And we understand after following up his judgments, that in avoiding over-meticulousness and by not multiplying to excess the ways of registering limits, the Prophet has observed a great expediency. And this (expediency) is that these matters go back to truths (or facts or realities) which are used in common convention summarily (without much discrimination of details) and their logical definition cannot be known without difficulties. And sometimes the definition requires distinction between two (involved) difficult (realities) by means of principles and rules the establishment of which grieves them. And even if these (definitions) are drawn up and explained, their explanation is not possible except by means of realities similar to them (i.e., similarly involved and brief) and so on. The matter in certain cases will be concluded by leaving it to the opinion of the person concerned (maʾmūr). It could have thus been left to the personal opinion of the person concerned in the very first instance. It is for this very expediency that the Prophet left the real position in controversial matters to the opinion of the maʾmūrs and was not rigid in these matters. ..... [10]

In short, whoever looks carefully into the aspects of the pure speech of the Prophet, will know that in the matter of realities which are commonly practised without the pursuit of detailing, the Prophet has referred men to their own good sense whereby they may bring about congruity among things. And analogous is the jurisconsults' delegation of many decisions to the good sense of the person involved, and there can be no blame on people differing in such a matter. And an illustration of this issue is that which is agreed upon by the whole Community — that is, Ijtihād in deciding the Qibla (i.e., direction into which one must face when praying) when it is cloudy. And an example of such expediency is the technical conception mentioned by debators, that when arguing, scrutinizing of premises of arguments should be avoided, lest there should be confusion in argumentation.

Now whoever recognizes the true nature of this problem will realize:

1) that in the majority of cases of Ijtihād the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes of difference.
2) that in the matter of religion there is breadth (and not narrowness).
3) that being unreasonably stubborn and determined to deny what the opponent says, is ridiculous.

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[9] On pp. 24-26 are given examples of cases in which the Prophet avoided definitions and specifications in consequential and secondary matters. I have not translated them. ... Translator.

[10] On pp. 25-26 there are other examples in which the Prophet avoided specifications, which I have also omitted. ... Translator.

4) that the construing of Definitions if it aims at bringing concepts closer to the understanding of every literate person, assists knowledge. But if these (definitions) are far-fetched and try to discriminate between involved matters by means of innovated premises, it will soon lead to an unworthy and innovated system of Sharīᶜah.
5) The true opinion is that pronounced by ᶜIzz al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Salām who says: "He attains the goal who stands firm on what is agreed upon by scholars and abstains from what they have unanimously disallowed, and regards allowable that which is unanimously thus regarded by scholars, and does that which is unanimously approved by scholars, and keeps away from that which they have unanimously regarded as hateful."

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CONTEMPORARY EGYPTIAN AUTHORS. II

ṬAHA ḤUSAYN

Ṭaha Ḥusayn [1] is a recognized doyen of Egyptian *littérateurs*. Blind from childhood, he has risen to a place of brilliance in the literary world of the Middle East. Judging from the opinion of Arabic readers, Ṭaha Ḥusayn is the best writer of Arabic in the twentieth century and his autobiography, *Al-Ayyām*, is the most esteemed book. One cannot but admire this village boy who, having never seen a printed page, is now the unsurpassed master of the Arabic language. There is, indeed, a touch of genius in him.

Ṭaha Ḥusayn is highly cultured, having received an excellent education in both the East and the West. He is widely read and his memory is filled with the literature of these two cultures. To understand him we must recognize that his literary career is the combination of eastern and western ideas. We should remember that he is a product of Al-Azhar and the Sorbonne; that he memorized the Qurʾān, the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik and many other Arabic classics, as well as gaining a first-rate knowledge of Greek and Latin: that his mind was nurtured on Quranic commentaries, Mubarrad's *Kāmil* and the prose of Al-Jāḥiẓ as well as French literature which he came to know so well; that his memory was filled with the songs and "scenes" and sadness of an Egyptian village as well as those of the avenues of Paris: that he was influenced by Abū al-ʿAlāʾal-Maʿarī (blind sceptic poet of the 11th century) and challenged the validity of some sacred literary standards and yet wrote such books as *ʿAlā Hāmish al-Sīrah* and *Al-Waʿd al-Ḥaqq* (books romanticizing early Islamic times). It is from this rich background that the literary genius of Ṭaha Ḥusayn has flowered. Seeking neither to cut himself off from his literary past nor to eschew the West, he has drunk deeply from both sources. His writing has the directness and simplicity of western literature. His mind reveals attitudes of critical analysis and forth-rightness characteristic of the West. Yet he has not been led into the mistake of many modern writers, that of attempting to write Arabic as if it were French. Rather, he has taken much from his Islamic past. The depth of connotation and richness of the tone characteristic of his writing comes from the fact that his amazingly tenacious memory is filled with the classics of Arabic literature. Out of this richness he writes with a clarity and charm unequaled in the Arab world.

In Ṭaha Ḥusayn we find the master of Arabic prose style, a leader of intellectual movements in the Middle East and a pioneer in the application of scientific methods to the study of Arabic literature:

[1] This spelling is used at the author's wish, instead of Ḥusain, which conforms to this journal's normal transliteration.

in short, Egypt's leading savant and *littérateur*.[2] All of this has brought from his compatriots generous acclaim and respect. It has also brought opposition, especially from the conservative elements of Egyptian society who found in his ideas dangers to the status quo, religious and social.

Ṭaha Ḥusayn possesses a personality which is not easy to analyze. It is the personality of genius; the soul of the artist. He is endowed with a sensitivity resulting on the one hand from his blindness and on the other from the very nature of his artistic and literary genius. With this sensitivity is coupled a touch of pride, albeit the pride befitting a man of brilliance. He is gentle and soft-spoken, yet possessing a wit and a power of retort which can turn to satire and sarcasm of the sharpest kind.

BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION

Ṭaha Ḥusayn was born in 1889 in a village of Upper Egypt. His boyhood is charmingly portrayed in the first volume of his autobiographical work, *Al-Ayyām*.[3] This little book, in its Arabic form, is a masterpiece. With a delicacy and sense for mood the author has effectively portrayed his boyhood experiences and thoughts. The handling of this blindness is deftly executed. There is little mention of the fact and certainly no dwelling upon the misfortune. Yet we are given insights into the feelings and responses of this blind lad; growing up in a large family, attending the village school and dreaming of the day when he can accompany his older brother to Cairo to attend Al-Azhar. The book also presents some excellent scenes of Egyptian village life. The boy possesses a brilliant mind and a proud spirit. His blindness enhances his faculty of retention and, without his directly stating the fact, we observe that even at an early age he had filled his memory with songs and tales and poetical romances which came to his ear. At a very early age he had memorized the Qurʾān. The problem of recalling this massive amount of material, the meaning of which he did not yet understand, furnishes some tragic episodes in his classic account of "an Egyptian boyhood."

At the age of thirteen Ṭaha Ḥusayn went to Cairo to study in the famed Al-Azhar university. The second volume of *Al-Ayyām*[4] is devoted to his "days" in this institution. From the book we gain a clear impression of Al-Azhar training as well as insight into the developing mind of Ṭaha Ḥusayn. Eager for learning and looking to

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[2] Robinson's article, *The Blind Man Who Brought Light to Egypt, Readers Digest,* January 1954, leaves much to be desired. It pictures Ṭaha Ḥusayn as poor-blind-boy-become-famous in politics and fails to indicate his status as a literary figure.

[3] English translation, *An Egyptian Boyhood,* by E. H. Paxton (1932).

[4] English translation, *The Stream of Days,* by Hilary Wayment (1943).

Al-Azhar as the most honored citadel of scholarship, he plunged with enthusiasm into the traditional Islamic studies. As the years advanced we see a growing disappointment with the limited methods and attitudes of the shaikhs at Al-Azhar and a rebellion against the narrowness and traditionalism of the school. Continuing his studies in Al-Azhar, he enrolled in the newly established Egyptian University (founded in 1908). Here he found greater academic freedom and turned enthusiastically to the more secular subjects, historical and literary. In 1914 he became the recipient of the first doctor's degree given by the university, with a dissertation on Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ al-Maᶜarī.[5] It is obvious that this brilliant, blind student of the 20th century was attracted by the spirit of the brilliant, blind scholar-poet of the 11th century. Ṭaha Ḥusayn's revolt against traditionalism and his tendency toward free thinking caused him to be drawn to this literary figure, an interest which expressed itself in the writing of several books about him.[6]

Selected by the Egyptian government to study in Europe, he sailed for France in 1914. He went first to Montpellier and then to Paris where he worked in the Sorbonne and the Collège de France. He became a serious student of Greek and Latin and of Greek and Roman History. He also studied philosophy and sociology with such men as Durkheim and Levy Buhl; and, of course, there was French literature. In 1918, he received his doctorate from the Sorbonne with a dissertation entitled *La Philosophie Sociale d'Ibn Khaldun.*[7]

There was another factor in this education in Paris which we have not mentioned; indeed, a significant factor in Ṭaha Ḥusayn's entire life. This was a French girl by the name of Suzanne who became, for him, (to use the words of dedication in his books) " light after darkness, a joy after loneliness and a blessing after despair." The friendship which developed between this blind scholar from Egypt and Suzanne is a touching romance. They first became acquainted as she came to read to him; literature, philosophy and history. There gradually unfolded between the two "a mutual understanding based on the love of this literature which we read together, as she explained it to me and indicated to me its points of beauty."[8] In Paris he lived with Suzanne's family and the two students studied together. Through her eyes blind Ṭaha Ḥusayn "read" French literature in a great variety. Together they learned Latin and Greek. "Before long love found its way through my soul. I do not presume that you would want me to describe to you what emotion this love stirred in my heart... I used to listen to her voice when she read, becoming so ab-

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[5] *Dhikrā Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ.*

[6] *Maᶜ Abī al-ᶜAlāᵓ fī Sijnihi* (*With Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ in his Prison*), 1930, and *Ṣawt Abī al-ᶜAlā* (*The Voice of Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ*), 1944.

[7] Translated into Arabic by Inān, Cairo, 1925.

[8] Sāmī al-Kiyālī, *Maᶜ Ṭaha Ḥusayn,* 1952, p. 32.

sorbed in the voice that I could not pay attention to the words... If I were asked what I heard at such time I would not be able to reply except to say that I heard the sweetest of music; if I were asked what I could remember of that music, I could not reply except to say that I liked its source." [9] Thus, in the loneliness of his blindness Ṭaha Ḥusayn found light and companionship. They were married in August, 1917, and, when his studies in Paris were completed, Madam Ḥusayn accompanied him to Egypt where she has since been his loyal helpmeet.

LITERARY CAREER [10]

Upon his return to Cairo, Ṭaha Ḥusayn became professor of Greek and Roman history in the Egyptian University and has had an active career in educational and literary circles. He later turned to the teaching of Arabic literature and for a time was Dean of the Faculty of Arts both in Cairo and in Alexandria. He has held posts in the government, serving as Minister of Education in 1932 in the Sidky cabinet and again in 1950-52 in the Nahhas cabinet. His independence of thought and his ability to write sharp satire have caused him to face opposition at various times and in various political régimes. Ṭaha Ḥusayn's literary career began in the form of journalism. In addition to his professorship, he wrote for Cairo journals and became editor of *Al-Siyāsa* in 1922. [11] He made it a custom to write an article in this journal each Wednesday on some literary topic. These *Wednesday Talks* (*Ḥadīth al-Arbaᶜā*) were later published in book form. At another time he was editor of *Kawkab al-Sharq,* a Wafd Party organ. His celebrated book on *Pre-Islamic Poetry* (*Fī al-Shiᶜr al-Jāhilī*) appeared in 1926. Employing scientific standards of literary criticism he arrived at the conclusion that much of the so-called pre-Islamic poetry was in reality from the post-Islamic period. This whole subject was dangerously close to the Qurᵓān and there followed a bitter religious controversy over the book. [12] The shaikhs of Al-Azhar and other conservative elements developed a heresy trial against him. They seized especially upon the following statement: "From a scientific point of view it is not sufficient to prove the historical existence of Abraham or his son by saying that their names are mentioned in the Bible and in the Qurᵓān." Ṭaha Ḥusayn was accused of being a heretic and of publishing views contrary to Islam and harmful to the Islamic state. Demands were made for his dismissal from his post in the university. The controversy spread into high places. A ministerial crises arose and the situation was eased only after the copies of the

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[9] Ibid., p. 34.

[10] See Gibb, BSOS, V, p. 454-8; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur,* Sup. III, p. 284-302.

[11] A newspaper important in the modern literary movement founded by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal.

[12] Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt,* p. 253-9.

book were destroyed and Ṭaha Ḥusayn was persuaded to take a vacation in Paris. The book reappeared the following year, with suitable revisions and the more objectionable parts removed, under the title of *Fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī*.

In 1932 Ṭaha Ḥusayn published a small book entitled *Fi al-Ṣayf* (*In the Summer*). This is a collection of letters written in Europe containing literary and personal reminiscences. Another book of similar nature, *Min Baʿīd* (*From Afar*) was written in 1935. It contains an interesting chapter on the relation of science to religion.

From his earlier books one greatly admired in the Muslim world is *ʿAlā Hāmish al-Sīra* (*On the Margin of the Biography of the Prophet*), the first volume of which appeared in 1933. With Greek mythology in mind Ṭaha Ḥusayn sought to present the legends and semi-historical events which he gleaned from the era just preceding the Prophet and of the rise of Islam. This he does in a charming manner and the result is a book highly acceptable to Eastern readers. Admittedly, it tends more to romanticism over the Islamic past than to literary or historical research. However, he has combined his vast knowledge of Islamic literature with his genius for style to present a unique and pleasant book. This publication did much to heal the wound caused by his *Pre-Islamic Poetry*. Two later volumes have appeared, one in 1937 and the other in 1943. We should, at this point, mention *Al-Waʿd al-Ḥaqq* (1950) which approaches stories from early Islam with the same appreciative and religious attitude.

After this Ṭaha Ḥusayn began to publish with regularity and almost every year has seen a book or two in the press. There were literary studies; *Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī* (1933), *Min Ḥadīth al-Shiʿr wa al-Nathr* (1936) and *Maʿ al-Mutanabbī* (1936), as well as those works dealing with *Abū al-ʿAlā'* which we have mentioned.

In 1938 there appeared a two volume work, *Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī Miṣr* (The Future of Culture in Egypt). It is addressed to a broader cultural and educational inquiry and some consider it one of his most significant books [13]. The main thesis of the work is that Egypt is culturally more closely related to Europe than to Africa or to Asia. Historically, Egypt has been associated with the peoples of the Mediterranean, especially the ancient Greeks. Therefore, in matters of cultural interests and general mentality the people of Egypt are closely akin to the people of Europe.

Ṭaha Ḥusayn has also written several stories and short novels. The first of these was *Duʿā al-Karawān* (*The Call of the Curlew*), 1934. Egyptians differ in their estimate of this book. We should state here that novel writing is a relatively new art in the Arab world and we have no assurance that Arab writers have learned to use this literary

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[13] Recently translated into English in the series prepared by the American Council of Learned Societies. See notice p. 378.

form. Haykal's *Zaynab* (1914) is often designated "the first novel in the Arabic language." In addition to this, we should mention the early historical novels of Jirjī Zaydān (ob. 1914) and the writings of Al-Māzinī (ob. 1949). Among living authors we have conventional writers like Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd and Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿIryān who have written commendable historical novels. There is coming into prominence in Egypt a group of younger men to whom we must look for the continued development of the novel. Najīb Maḥfūẓ has written several books of recognized merit [14] and there is considerable evidence that some first rate novels will be produced by this younger and more realistic school. [15] Yūsuf al-Sabāʿī is a prolific writer of novels of a very popular type. Many of these are love stories of little literary value but he has written two novels which deserve our attention, *Innī Rāḥila,* (*Indeed I am Departing*) and *Al-Saqqā Māt* (*The Water Carrier Has Died*), 1952. [16] In the latter the author has set the conversation in the colloquial idiom. Yūsuf al-Sabāʿī, now editor of *Al-Risāla al-Jadīda,* is a strong exponent of the use of the colloquial in literature. This movement has considerable popularity in Egypt in these "democratic" days. It will be interesting to observe its effect upon standards of Arabic writing.

In view of the limited number of novels from which we may choose, *Duʿā al-Karawān* is certainly worthy of our consideration. It is not a great novel, but it holds considerable interest by virtue of the atmosphere which is created, the social problem which is presented and the general artistry of the story telling.

The author opens the novel by introducing to us Āmina, the heroine, at the moment when an incident has cast her into a state of reverie. Standing at her window in the late hours of the night she hears the plaintive song of the karawān (a desert bird). To this voice she responds with a series of invocations which sets the tone of the book and intimates to the reader the events which are to follow. These scattered phrases hint to a mysterious night in the past, events which she did not then understand, her sister killed upon the desert in the presence of herself and her mother. The author uses this device to get the reader into the mood of the story which is then related as a "flash back" into earlier events.

We are told how she and her mother and her sister, Hanādi, came from a village on the edge of the western desert to this town "through which the railroad passed;" how they found work as maid-servants in middle-class families and how, some two years later, the mother announced, without giving the reason, that they must leave the town

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[14] Khān al-Khalīlī (1945) Bidāya wa Nihāya (n.d.) and Zuqāq al-Midaqq (1947).

[15] Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ʿAbdallāh, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Saḥḥār, et. al.

[16] For a review of *Al-Saqqā Māt* see *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* (Cairo), Vol. I, 1954, pp. 143-149.

and return to their native village. Spending the night at a village, Āmina noticed that a strange sadness had come upon her older sister. During the sleepless night Āmina tried to comfort her sister and to discover the cause of her silence and sorrow. In reply she received the words: "Be careful not to do what I have done, nor to make the mistake which I have made." Little did Āmina understand that, as a servant girl in the house of a young engineer, she had been seduced and was with child. Little did she know of the disgrace in store for such girls in Egypt. Even on the next day when their uncle arrived to escort them on the journey she continued the attempt to console her sister and to cheer her with the prospect of the trip on camel back, yet unaware of the fate awaiting Hanādi. Mere child that she was, she shared the horror of the following night though not its meaning. The uncle stopped the caravan on the desert and fulfilled his duty as the uncle of an immoral girl. This death by the hand of a relative Āmina knew was not the fault of her uncle. She had learned enough of her sister's secret to know that the crime was with the young engineer.

Some time later Āmina ran away from the village and returned to the town "through which the railroad passed." She returned to her former position but the young engineer became an obsession in her mind. She was curious to know more about him and his activities; to learn how she could seek revenge for what he had done to Hanādi. By patience and intrigue she finally succeeded in becoming a servant-girl in his house. The remainder of the story is that of the passion of revenge turning into love and, after confessing that she is Hanādi's sister, their marriage.

In 1935 Ṭaha Ḥusayn wrote another short novel, *Al-Adīb* (*The Man of Letters*). This is the story of a young student going to France to study. It relates his impressions of travel, his life in Paris during the years of the First World War and his love for Aline. Much of this story is autobiographical and reflects the author's own student years in France.[17] *Al-Ḥubb al-Ḍāᶜi* (*Lost Love*), 1942, is a psychological novel with its setting in France.

Aḥlām Shahrazād (*The Dreams of Shahrazād*)[18] 1943, is a fantasy with social and moral implications. Intrigued, as other modern authors have been,[19] with the personalities of Shahrazād and Shahrayār, Ṭaha Ḥusayn spins a highly imaginative tale, beginning on "the thousand and ninth night." In a strange wakefulness the king slips into the chamber of sleeping Shahrazād and thus hears the beginning of her dream, the tale of the struggle for power among the many rulers of the *jinn* in Ḥaḍramaut "where time is not reckoned

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[17] Raymond Francis, *Taha Hussein romancier* 1945, p. 61 ff.

[18] No. 1 in the *Iqrā'* series, the first and best of the now very popular pocket books.

[19] Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, *Shahrazād* (1934).

in days, nor months, nor years but in centuries." On successive nights the story unfolds and we see its effect upon Shahrayār, the author using this device to delve by fancy into the mind of this *Arabian Nights* king, as he is beset by visions of his past cruelties and neglect of his kingdom as over against the responsible duties of a true sovereign. [20].

Shajarat al-Bu's (*Tree of Misery*), 1944, is a novel with both social and psychological implications. The title refers metaphorically to the misery which was planted by Khālid's father when he forced his son to marry, for family gain, an ugly woman by the name of Nafīsa. The author uses the story to depict the problems of village life in Egypt. We see the domination of parental authority, the effects of forced marriage and the evils of other social customs. [21]

In 1952 there appeared in Egypt a very important little book and one of the best attempts at significant story-telling in the Arabic language. This was Ṭaha Ḥusayn's *Al-Mu'adhdhabūn fī al-Arḍ*. Appearing first in Lebanon (1951) it was not permitted to circulate in Egypt until after the expulsion of King Fārūq and the coming of the new régime. An examination of these stories will readily indicate the reason for this prohibition. Even in the dedication we are given to anticipate the social implications of these relatively innocent though charming tales.

"To those who burn from the desire of justice;
To those who are sleepless from the fear of justice;
To these and to those I direct this discussion.

To those who obtain what they do not need (i.e. too much);
To those who do not obtain what meets their need;
I direct this discussion."

Here we have, indeed, the two classes of the Egyptian society, the immensely wealthy and the wretchedly poor. The author proceeds to give a pointed social message in story form. In an artistically executed series of vignettes Ṭaha Ḥusayn lends his fine literary skill to present the plight of typical individuals who are caught up in the evils of an unjust social system. First, we have the story of Ṣāliḥ, a poor village boy, once poor always poor. He is, as the author skillfully says, not one Ṣāliḥ but a thousand call them by what name you wish, who are caught in the mesh of perpetual poverty. The narrator is a boy of somewhat better station in the village (probably representing the author himself). He is Ṣāliḥ's companion and defender in time of trouble; and of trouble there is much for Ṣāliḥ. Having no

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[20] See Raymond Francis, *Taha Hussein romancier*, pp. 93-116, for a good analysis of the book.

[21] Anawati, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes imprimés en 1942, 1943 et 1944* pp. 1-6.

sweets or melon seeds with which to bribe the blind school master's assistant, Ṣāliḥ receives punishment on all occasions. In order to prevent the pupils from the dangerous habit of swimming in the canals a red stamp was placed upon their legs so that the school master could detect any who went into the water, thus washing the "brand" from his leg. Of course, the school master was a blind shaikh and his assistant readily accepted bribes. Hence the boys swam in the canals and a small gift would seal the lips of this assistant. But Ṣāliḥ was poor and could not bribe even with a few melon seeds, so for him there was only beating. These episodes and the response of the boy from the better family are touchingly pictured, including the final scene where Ṣāliḥ met his death at the railway crossing.

There is the story of *Khadīja,* a pretty servant girl. Her pride prevents her from accepting food from her employers, her beauty makes her sought for by the young men of the village, her sense of obedience to her father causes her to marry the man whom she does not love. In this forced marriage there is at first sadness and then tragedy. On a certain day she fails to return from her daily errand to bring water from the river. Her water jar is found but her fate is suicide in the Nile. The author has given a forceful picture of the evil of forced marriage, yet so common in Egypt. *Al-Muᶜadhdhabūn fī al-Arḍ* is indeed one of the best examples in Arabic of the use of fiction as a medium for reform writing.

STYLE

"Great poetry, like comparable painting and music, architecture and drama, cannot be described; in a certain sense it cannot be remembered. It comes into being only when we are confronting it — and confronting it in a state of concentration." [22] We feel the force of such a statement in attempting to discuss the works of Ṭaha Ḥusayn. Ṭaha Ḥusayn does not write poetry. In fact, he tends to deprecate the value of modern Arabic poetry. However, his prose partakes of the melody and rhythm, the sense of balance and the perfection of diction, the consciousness of sound and the emotional tone which are among the qualities of poetry. Certainly, it is a style with evident artistry. Much of it stands, as does all art, in its own right to be appreciated and admired in and by itself. Great art is inimitable. This is what is meant when his style is called *sahil mumtaniᶜ* (simple but unattainable).

Ṭaha Ḥusayn's style is that of simplicity yet without the loss of linguistic beauty and classical references. In a sense he is neither modern nor classical but a remarkable combination of both. He answers, perhaps better than any other contemporary author, the question of the importance of Western ideas as over against Eastern ideas in

[22] Words of Thornton Wilder, *Atlantic Monthly,* November, 1952, p. 43.

modern Arabic writing. His answer to this question is an ingenuous inclusion of both rather than avoiding one or the other. While he was so thoroughly schooled in French writing he also realizes that Arabic writing cannot be divorced from its literary heritage. There is, hanging over every writer of Arabic, a tremendous influence of the classical norms of good language; more so, it seems, than in any other language. The Qur²ān and the great prose classics of the past, whose style may be considered to be too archaic for direct imitation in the 20th century, still stand as literary ideals and cast their influence upon the modern writer. This explains an essential characteristic of Arabic style. Ancient Arabic literature, beginning with pre-Islamic poetry and the Qur²ān, was designed to be heard in the first instance and not written. Hence, in Arabic literature interest is in the sound of the language — the oral beauty of the composition.[23] This interest often supersedes, or strongly competes with, care for the thought content. Ṭaha Ḥusayn has an especially keen sense for the sound of words and the music of language, enhanced no doubt by his blindness. He is careful in the choice of words and the balance of phrases. He maintains a perfection of classical grammar. There is in his style a touch of dignity and formality without loss of directness and simplicity.

There is no doubt that his memory, filled as it is with so much of great Arabic literature, gives him a readiness of vocabulary and of classical allusion which makes for much of the charm of the style. He is in no way pedantic or seeking to present strange words. The vocabulary and phraseology are neither archaic nor ornate, yet having a slightly elevated tone and a richness of connotation which gives beauty and grace to the writing.

The most easily detected characteristic of Ṭaha Ḥusayn's writing is his abundant use of repetition. At the beginning of a series of sentences or phrases we often have the same word or group of words repeated. He is constantly balancing phrase against phrase with key words repeated. Again and again this stylistic idiosyncrasy occurs and with it is produced the characteristic literary effect. This element of Ṭaha Ḥusayn's writing is evident to all who read his books and is commonly employed by those who seek to parody his style.

Much more could be said about the intricacies of this "inimitable style" but sufficient has been said to indicate the difficulty, at least, which we face in attempting to describe it. "After we have indicated all the peculiarities of vocabulary and phrase there is yet to be revealed the inexpressible and limpid harmony of style. It is impossible to speak of it without altering its mystery. For the thing which is important here is not only the genius of a language whose infinite resources are handled by a true artist, nor the marvellous adaptation

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[23] Taha Husayn, *Destins de la littérature Arabe,* article in *Cinquante Ans de la littérature Egyptienne,* pp. 11-21.

of the rhythm of phrase to all the necessities of thought, but that 'interior music' which protects the reader from all that would distract him and which unconsciously 'transports' him to the very heart of poetry." [24]

Ṭaha Ḥusayn has had his critics. The very fact that a writer is highly rated inevitably draws statements from the critics to the contrary. The primary criticism made against him is that "he is a stylist." The explanation of that phrase varies with the severity of his critics. Generally, it implies that the unique style which Ṭaha Ḥusayn has developed now dominates Ṭaha; that he is in danger of filling the printed page with lovely word arrangements merely because he can do so with ease; that he is an artist, a professional artist painting with words. Whether this is justified or not raises the wider question, which we cannot answer here, what is literature? That Ṭaha Ḥusayn may sacrifice content for stylistic beauty, is one thing, that this fails to be literature, and good literature, is another thing. It is true, as his critics say, that translation of his work is difficult and often results in material of relatively little value. The translation test, however, is not a valid one. As we have said, works of art cannot be transcribed. They can only be recreated. FitzGerald, as is well-known, did not translate. ᶜUmar al-Khayyām's *Rubāᶜīyāt*; he recreated them. It may indeed be one of the highest compliments to the literary ability of Ṭaha Ḥusayn that his writing cannot be transcribed into English by the translator. This accusation that Ṭaha Ḥusayn is a stylist raises again a question of the classical school versus the modern school in contemporary Arabic literature. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, himself, is one of the group who led the revolt against the "stylistic writing" of the neo-classical school. We must not think of Ṭaha Ḥusayn as having reverted to the "old school." The more pertinent question is: "Has there not now grown up a still more advanced *new school*?" This is evidently true and we must recognize that there is in existence an ultra-modern school which looks with severe criticism upon the literary norms of the established writers such as Ṭaha Ḥusayn, ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAqqād, Ṭawfīq al-Ḥakīm and Maḥmūd Ṭaymūr.

ṬAHA ḤUSAYN's WORKS.

Dhikrā Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ	1915
La Philosophie Sociale d'Ibn Khaldūn.	1917
Qāda al-Fikr	1925
Ḥadīth al-Arbaᶜāᵓ	1925
Fī al-Shiᶜr al-Jāhilī	1926
Fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī	1927
Al-Ayyām. Vol. I (Vol II = 1939)	1929
Maᶜ Abī al-ᶜAlāᵓ fī Sijnihi	1930
Fī al-Ṣayf	1932
Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī	1933

[24] Raymond Francis, *Taha Hussein romancier*, p. 183.

ᶜAlā Hamīsh al-Sīra	1933 & 43
Duᶜā al-Karawān	1934
Al-Adīb	1935
Min Baᶜīd	1935
Min Ḥadīth al-Shiᶜr wa al-Nathr	1936
Maᶜ al-Mutanabbī	1936
Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī Miṣr (2 Vols.)	1938
Al-Ḥubb al-Ḍāᶜi	1942
Aḥlām Shahrazād	1943
Ṣawt Abī al-ᶜAlāᵓ	1944
Ṡhajarat al-Buᵓs	1944
Jannat al-Shawk	1945
Fuṣūl fī al-Adab wa al-Naqd	1945
Al-Fitna al-Kubrā	1947
Al-Waᶜd al-Ḥaqq	1950
Al-Muᶜadhdhabūn fī al-Arḍ	1952
Alwān	1952
Baina wa baina	1954

This is not meant to be a complete list. Certain collections of Arabic literature have been deliberately omitted. As far as it has been possible to ascertain, the dates indicate first editions but it must be admitted that complete accuracy in such bibliographical material is extremely difficult in the Arab world.

School of Oriental Studies, Cairo. KERMIT SCHOONOVER

Raymond Lulle, Docteur des Missions, with annotated translation of selected texts. By Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, preface by Jean P. de Menasce O.P., Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire, Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland, 1954, pp. 151 and table of contents.

The author, whose mother tongue is Catalan, begins with a portrait of Raymond Lull and a sketch of his life. Of particular value are the numerous and lengthy extracts, translated by the author into French, of the *Vita Beati Raimundi Lulli*, a work which contains authoritative information on Lull's life as provided by Lull himself and recorded by one of his disciples. The author does not pretend to write another biography, however useful such a study from his pen would undoubtedly be. Rather, he desires to reveal Lull, the "logician-apostle," whose philosophy was intended to serve the cause of Christ his Beloved.

It is generally known that Lull's dream and life ambition was to convert non-Christians, especially Muslims, to Christianity. How he was to accomplish this, with what sure arguments, by what system of logic, following what line of strategy, and with what missionary personnel, our author has attempted to explain.

Lull was above all a missionary to the intellectuals. That his use of self-evident reasons was successful may be questioned, although he did have converts. Of inestimable significance is the fact that this 14th-century pioneer developed a missionary plan, supposedly intelligible to his contemporaries who were familiar with the ideas of Augustine and Bonaventura, though possibly vague and confused to the uninitiated today. It is noteworthy that he wrote in colloquial Catalan, for his appeal was to the masses as well as to university circles. The student of mediaeval philosophy should find this work on "Lullism" a rich field of investigation. But it is from the point of view of missiology that Lull's system and theories must be judged, for he wrote not to defend a philosophical position but to turn men to Christ.

The author treats the threefold objective of Lull's life: (1) to become a martyr for Christ as a missionary to Muslims; (2) to compose a book of missionary methodology; (3) to found missionary training schools. Lull attained the first objective at a ripe old age. Regarding the second, he succeeded, with the assistance of divine revelation, in producing not one but many books. Respecting the third, in spite of pleadings and reasonings with princes and ecclesiastical leaders, his success was but partial. It is especially significant for missions today that Lull insisted upon thorough training for those who would be apostles, not only in language, as he himself mastered Arabic, but in Arab thought. They should know Islam in order the more effectively to present Christian beliefs, to meet argument with argument. His own system is tinged with Arab thought patterns.

This book will help students of missiology to appraise Lull's strategy for bringing the whole world under obedience to the Church. His plan is fully discussed by the author in Ch. III under the headings: the missionary ideal, the theological principles, methods of evangelization, Lull's optimism, proposals for a Crusade. His definite scheme

included, first, the conversion of the Byzantine schismatics and then, with the prestige of a united christendom, of pagans, Jews and Muslims. His advocacy of a military expedition may cause surprise as coming from one acting under the impulse of the love of Christ.

The rest of the book is given over to translated texts of extracts of various works by Lull: *Doctrina Pueril,* a pedagogical work; *Blanquerna,* a didactical story in which Lull exposes his ideas on social reform and missions; the *Book of Contemplation,* originally written in Arabic and later translated by himself into Catalan, one of his earliest works on mystical philosophy; *tract on how to convert the infidels*; a memorial addressed to Pope Nicholas IV suggesting practical plans to convert the world; *Song of Ramon,* a short poem in which he pours out his soul to God as in retrospect he considers his life of labor for his Lord.

Thereupon follow six pages of Lullian bibliography.

Constantine, Algeria ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Islam. By Alfred Guillaume, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1954. A Pelican Book, pp. 207, 50 cents.

Professor Guillaume, Head of the Department of the Near and Middle East in the School of Oriental and African Studies, and Professor of Arabic, in the University of London, here attempts an exposition of Islam, "in terms which Western readers can understand." In less than 200 pages of text, the work is truly significant. If only because it fits into the pattern of publications by Christian scholars whose watchword is appreciation, not reproach, in the treatment of a non-Christian faith, the work, which also happens to be an expression of solid learning and mature reflection, deserves more than passing notice.

The author comes to his subject admirably equipped. He took up Arabic after studying theology at Oxford. He knows the sources at first hand and as his contributions to the field fully attest, he is thoroughly acquainted with the Islamic peoples of the modern world. In the summing-up, under the "The Relation of Islam to Christianity" he says:

"In conclusion, one cannot refrain from saying that the Muslim doctrine of God in philosophical theology is not so far removed from the Christian system, until the crucial question of the Trinity comes into question. But even here the Ashʿarites taught that God's attributes were additional to his essence and subsisted eternally in him, thus recognizing distinctions within the one Godhead. The day may come when Muslims and Christians will realize that they have so much in common that they need no longer regard one another with suspicion and dislike... There are writers in Islam such as Al-Ghazālī [*sic.*] whose deep spiritual insight commands respect of Christian readers and there are mystics whose writings shine with the light of illuminative life."

The words we have omitted in the above quotation tell precisely how followers of the two religions will ultimately come together: "Such

a rapprochement could only come by an eclectic process," writes the author.

Anticipating that final verdict are nine generally brief chapters culminating in the last and longest: "Islam Today." Next in length is Chapter 2, "Muḥammad," which opens with these well chosen words: "In writing of a man who is loved and venerated by millions of the world's citizens today, one would wish to be purely objective."

Chapters 1 — "The Historical Background": 5 — "Apostolic Tradition": 6 — "Sects" and 7 — "Philosophy and the Genesis of the Creeds" — reflecting the author's professional experience in the kindred fields of Old Testament, Comparative Religion and Semitics — represent a harvest of indefatigable investigation. Being the shortest in the book, Chapter 4 — "The Islamic Empire," leaves no doubt as to where the author attaches the greatest weight in thinking of Islam's three components: religion, culture and state. It is further obvious, that Chapter 3, "The Qurʾān" — by sheer intellectual honesty and profound wisdom — sets a standard for all such discussions in developing the essential aspects of the subject.

Now for a few critical items. Owing to the rather circumscribed and compact character of the approach, one at times wonders whether Professor Guillaume did not undertake what is essentially an impossible assignment. Since he permits but a rare footnote, and the bibliography at the end is prefaced thus: "Only books in English are mentioned apart from a few standard works in other European languages," the author at a large number of points seems conscious of an excessive selectivity. The frequency in the text of cross references (see, for example, pp. 20, 72, 101, 103) and the off-hand dismissal of otherwise weighty themes (see pp. 125, 127, 142, 145, 149, and 179) add up to a degree of embarrassing recurrence which might perhaps lead to the suspicion that the report is too scanty after all.

Considerably surprising, moreover, is the fact that Chapter 8, "Mysticism," is one of the shortest, since on p. 152, the author affirms that "to Islam belongs the honor of having the richest and most variegated literature on this sublime subject." Thereafter we confront the last and longest chapter, 9 — by all odds the most useful in the book — where Islam today as it is professed in countries such as Pakistan, Egypt and Turkey is given an illuminating analysis.

At the risk of seeming over meticulous, the following errors might be listed. As defined on p. 1, Arabia — contrary to common understanding — is made to cover all Arabic-speaking countries of Western Asia. Change Homs (p. 19) to Ḥimṣ. That primitive monotheism might have been known to pre-Islamic Arabia is slurred over (cf. p. 28). As a historian of religion, the author might have spoken of the significance of myth, particularly in Chapter 5. On p. 111 the heading "Khārijites" is out of place and belongs rather on the next page. These matters of detail notwithstanding, the work — especially the parts dealing with Islamic modernism and reform — makes fascinating and profitable reading.

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.

Edward J. Jurji

The Middle East 1955. Fourth Edition, Europa Publication Ltd., (London), pp. 425, $ 11.50.

There is scarcely anyone today who will dispute the importance of the Middle East, be he a government official, business man, missionary, writer, teacher, or traveller. To these and scores of others who look with a newly awakened interest on the affairs of the Middle East countries this fourth edition of *The Middle East* will be welcome. It has been two years since the appearance of the third edition and the editors have performed a conspicuous service in bringing the material up to date.

From the note on the transcription of Arabic names and the careful appendix on abbreviations to the concluding "Who's Who" providing information about leading personalities there seems no limit to the range of topics covered. There is a concise, detailed survey of twelve countries. Here is a handy and well-indexed reference for the student seeking the main developments that led to Egyptian independence, the business man interested in the extent of U. S. trade with the Lebanon, the traveller desiring information on the airlines operating through Turkey. The practical values of the volume are further enhanced by the inclusion of the names of members of the Government and Diplomatic Corps of each country, leaders of political parties and religious bodies, lists of newspapers, universities, and trade and industrial organizations.

Middle East 1955, being primarily a reference book, is long on charts, graphs, and listings. The average researcher is not likely to be in a position to question such figures as the number of goats in the Sudan or the amount of edible nuts exported from Turkey. There are, however, some questionable generalizations in the long introductory section that presents an outline of the physical and social geography, and in the introductory sections to each country describing religious and political history. On page 4 there s an unfortunate reference to the Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Coptic, Moranite, and Nestorian churches as "cults," and later as "sects." In speaking of the religious diversity, surely the statement that "for many persons religious and sectarian fidelity replaces nationality" should be balanced by a reminder of the changes wrought in the rise of the recent nationalisms with their strong uniting influences. More and more one finds the young Arab speaking of himself as primarily a Syrian or an Egyptian, and only secondly as a Muslim or a Christian. There is a discerning paragraph (page 10) on the cultural crisis within modern Islam. However, in suggesting possible answers there is an unhappy linking of "Christian" and "western" as though the two were synonymous.

Apart from these occasional lapses, one cannot but marvel at the balanced and thorough historical review included for each of the twelve countries. In general, the editors have been content to state the facts with a minimum of interpretative or qualifying comment. Those familiar with the vexing problems that have plagued the area in Egypt, Iran, Israel, the Sudan, and elsewhere will have to judge for themselves the success of this attempted impartiality.

New York RUSSELL STEVENSON

Danger in Kashmir By Josef Korbel. With a foreword by C. W. Nimitz, Fleet Admiral, U. S. Navy. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, pp. xvi 351. $ 5.00.

Recently the claim of a Canadian Professor of Industrial Relations to be impartial was contested by a trade union official with the cryptic remark "impartial against whom?" Professor Josef Korbel has tried very hard not to fall into the pit of partiality. He has analysed the claims of India and Pakistan for Kashmir in their historical perspective, without passing judgement as to how just or dubious they are. But in the end the facts are so overwhelming that he becomes "impartial" against India. The author finds India at fault on two major counts. India's behaviour and readiness to come to a settlement are open to serious doubts. He deluges us with an array of facts to show that India has never been sincerely prepared to agree to an impartial plebiscite. No one could have tried harder than Sir Owen Dixon to persuade the two nations to come to some sort of an agreement. But even he had to report to the Security Council: "In the end, I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization in any such form, or to provisions governing the period of the plebiscite being conducted in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation, and other forms of influence and abuse by which the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled."

On all this Dr. Korbel speaks with considerable authority for he was a member of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan. It was this Commission which succeeded in January 1949 in stopping the flighting and securing a cease-fire between the two contending countries.

The other count on which India is found guilty forms the central theme and thesis of Dr. Korbel's book. "While the lion and the tiger fight each other, the jackal may run off with the prize." The jackal in this case is the Communist. What are the facts? Firstly, there is the geographical position of Kashmir. Across its borders lie the territories of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and Communist China. These are the main sources of Communist infiltration, for which the rugged and hilly borders are ideal. Secondly, the Communists have already established themselves, according to the author, in positions of influence and authority. "Thus in the Kashmir government, three out of five ministers and heads of several important departments are now Communists or fellow-travellers." The complaint of Dr. Korbel against India is when this serious danger on her frontiers and in her territory threatens her very existence she insists on being strictly neutral.

"Here in the soil of uncertainty, in the darkness of intrigue, in an air heavy with hate and suspicion and fear, the fungi of Communism flourish." It may seem that Dr. Korbel may have over-stated his thesis. But the fact that such a danger exists cannot be easily denied. The strategical importance of Kashmir is heightened by the fact that in the recent dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan the Soviet Union has promised its support to the latter country. The author, who is originally from Czechoslovakia, is perhaps painfully aware of how a similar situation in that country, unchecked and unheeded, was to destroy one of the most stable democracies in Europe.

Institute of Islamic Studies, Montreal. J. N. Saʿīd

Judaism and Islam, Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and its Commentaries, by Abraham I. Katsh, New York, University Press, Bloch Publishing Co., New York, 1954. pp. xxv, 265.

At first consideration, the title of this book seems broader than the material treated, for it includes literature from several centuries and a geographical diaspora. Actually, a limited portion of the Qurʾān is used as the basis for a wide range of illustration. The Second and Third Surahs are presented, verse by verse, with commentary comparing and contrasting parallel Biblical and Aggadic materials with their counterparts in the Arabic. Excellent foot-notes not only give references but many of the Arabic, Aramaic or Hebrew texts for closer comparison. The usefulness of the book is augmented by a full bibliography and careful indexes. The bibliography alone gives the book an important place in future studies in this field.

In the Introduction (p. xxv) Dr. Katsh says: "Our findings negate the theories of many historians who claim that the Arabian Jews were uncultured and ignorant, and were severed from traditional Judaism that had been flourishing in Palestine and in Babylonia." Perhaps it should be said that his conclusions differ from previous scholars only in degree of emphasis; his evidence, cumulative, appears throughout the book. That Quranic materials "may even help us to restore some Aggadic concepts lost in the course of time," (Introduction, p. xxv) seems less likely.

Most readers of this work may bring to their studies the limitations, perhaps the prejudices, arising from the knowledge of the languages and history of only one of the three sister religions. Muslims, who up to this time have not fully accepted the western type of literary criticism, may nevertheless miss in this work their own critical studies, by no means unimportant, by which their traditions are estimated. Many of the Aggadic narratives are in the great Arabic commentaries traced back to a few early reporters, and some account of the *isnads* which bring the traditions to the classical writers of Islam is an essential part of the picture. Furthermore, critical chronological placing of the Jewish excerpts quoted is desirable, for the Aggadic works have a disconcerting way of slipping back and forth through the centuries and round about the degrees of probable authenticity.

Research in the form of commentary upon a text presents learning—in this case, much learning—in an atomized form, from which the reader may not always draw adequate conclusions. In the present state of studies in the relation of Judaism and Islam, this form is valuable, yet leaves one with the desire for an orderly essay on the insights into history which grow out of the study. Use of the excellent indexing brings such insights together to some satisfaction. "It is the hope of the author to publish other Suras by this method in the future." (Introduction p. xvi.)

Hartford Seminary Foundation,
Hartford, Conn. MOSES BAILEY

Change of Heart. By Harold A. Ehrensperger. Friendship Press, New York, 1954, pp.

The author resided in India between 1950-53 when he was in charge

of the Department of Journalism at Hislop College, Nagpur. Against the background of his observations he has written this novel around the lives and loves of a poor Christian villager (Nihar), a Buddhist girl (Nanda), a Communist of Hindu background (Vinod), and a Muslim (Talᶜat). The story begins in the early dawn of the first election day in free India. The Communist promise is of a true society and of stones turned into bread. Nihar, however, finds the choice of the Communist thesis and policy complicated by his recollection of a Passion play seen in his village north of Calcutta. Though befriended by the Communist sympathisers, he remains enthralled with the dim but powerful vision of the Cross. He yearns to be a beloved disciple of Jesus. His quest is satisfied when he meets a Hindu saint who proclaims the bloodless revolution that relies upon a transformation of the heart. It is then that Nihar realises that his inarticulate fear of the Communist solution arose from the heartlessness of its doctrine. He elects for the way that relies upon the change of the heart of man. The wanderer returns to his village with the lesson of the Passion Play corroborated by the call of the Hindu saint to sacrificial living.

The author's sentiments are admirable and *Change of Heart* succeeds in embodying rich truth in a gentle tale. But it should not ignore the vast obstacles, in religious division in India, to the kind of unity in goodness which it propounds.

Gordon College, Rawalpindi S. J. Imam ud-Din

The Sūfī Path of Love. By Margaret Smith, London, Luzac and Company, 1954, pp. 154, 21 shillings.

The author, wellknown in the field of Ṣūfī studies, has here brought together, with a list of sources and index, a selection of Islamic mystical writings, in translation. The arrangement is in six chapters, beginning with the nature and origins of Sufism (consisting of brief summaries by sixteen writers), and then presenting Ṣūfī thought itself, on the themes of God, the soul, the human-Divine relationship and the mystic path with its goal in *al-fanā'*. Readers will find in this anthology a useful and rewarding source book of Sufism, as given by such scholars as D. B. Macdonald, R. A. Nicholson, E. G. Browne, E. H. Whinfield, W. H. T. Gairdner and A. J. Arberry.

Egypt at Mid-Century: An Economic Survey. By Charles Issawi, New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 276, select bibliography and Index.

Egypt: An Economic and Social Analysis, published in 1947, is here presented in a revised edition, in which the author's interests have fallen much more heavily into the economic field, — though heaviness is not the word to be associated with his presentation. In this work only a single chapter is devoted to social and cultural life in Egypt. The author is no doubt justified in expanding one section and curtailing the rest, even though his decision takes the work somewhat out of the main line of concern in this Quarterly. What is certainly needed is a work of equal authority and competence dealing with the areas at which Dr. Issawi only hints in Chapter XIII "Social and Political Trends." On matters of national economy, population and human resources, finance, industry, agriculture and transport, the work is most effective. One point in the final chapter needs correction (p. 264). Sayyid Quṭb's book *Al-ᶜAdālah al-Ijtimāᶜiyyah fī-l-Islām* was not written in reply to Khālid Muḥammad Khālid's: *Min Hunā Nabdaᵓ*. Their respective dates are 1945 and 1950. The Index, too, might have been fuller.

The Future of Culture in Egypt. Translated from the Arabic of Ṭaha Ḥusain's *Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfah fī Miṣr,* by Sidney Glazer, No. 9 in the Arabic translation series of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C., 1954, pp. 155.

An English edition of Ṭaha Ḥusain's important analysis of Egyptian educational needs and hopes is highly welcome. The work, originally published in 1938, sought to face the educational corollaries of the 'independence' seen in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. What were the cultural desiderata of the new status then gained? This was the question with which the author began. He pursued it through a careful analysis of methods, mentalities and means in education, including a frank appraisal of Al-Azhar. He called for a courageous adoption of the motive forces of European civilization on the ground that the Islamic ideal was the European ideal. The book is a landmark in the modern cultural life of Egypt, sensitive, imaginative, honest and painstaking. It should be remembered that as Minister of Education

in the last Wafd Cabinet Ṭaha Ḥusain had the opportunity to preside over some of the measures which made the wide vision of this work a growing reality. To read this book is to have access to reforming leadership at its initial task of persuasion and advocacy.

Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution. By Premier Gamal Abdul Nasser, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. 1955, pp. 119.

Falsafat al-Thaurah, appeared in Cairo in the summer of 1954, with simultaneous French and English translations, the second of which has been here reproduced, with a new main title. It is a brief and remarkable document two aspects of which were noted in the Editorial of the July issue. Colonel ʿAbd al-Nāṣir opens up some of the larger dimensions of the movement he now heads and reflects upon the demands of social revolution. Military in his metaphors and militant in his purpose, he describes the book as "a reconnaissance patrol in the field on which we are fighting our greatest battle." But he 'recognises' issues that are deep in the soul of men and by which the success of their external struggles must be determined.

Historians may cavil at some points (e.g. p. 66: "The French expedition came and smashed the iron curtain which the Mongols had erected around us."): scholars who seek completeness will not find it: perspective is sometimes lost (e.g. the relation of oil to strength p. 108). Much here is fragmentary and allusive. But all is vital and fervent. Not least to be pondered is the threefold circle of the Egyptian context, in this order: Arab solidarity, Africa and Islam.

Bibliography on Southwestern Asia II, A Second Compilation. By Henry Field, University of Miami Press, 1955, pp. 126.

Containing 3,292 entries, this survey of works dealing with Anthropology, Geography, Natural History, Medicine, Literature etc. covers the area of the Middle East. It aims to include the year 1954 and draws on material in seventeen languages. Its comprehensiveness is a tribute to the compiler and to the prolixity of modern scholarship. There are none the less some surprising omissions in the field of literature which is listed within the classification "Anthropogeographical."

Annali Lateranensi. Vols. xvii and xviii, 1953, 1954. Pubblicazione del Pontifico Museo Missionario Etnologico, The Vatican.

Volume xvii contains an article (pp. 226-320) on the Badujs of western Java, a small group of tribal people whose amalgam of Muslim and pre-Muslim practise is exhaustively analysed. The author supplies a word list with Dutch equivalents. He studies the ritual of tribal festivals at harvest time and shows how the surrounding Muslims have been affected by Baduj culture in many respects. The number of the Badujs he assesses at not more than two thousand.

Le Rationalisme d'Averroès d'après une Étude sur la Création By M. Allard, Extrait du Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Francais de Damas, Tome xiv, 1952-54. pp. 59.

The writer of this monograph discusses the conflicting views held as

to the attitudes of Averroes, after first examining the meaning of 'rationalism' as it can properly be applied to Islam. He declares: "The deeply religious Muslim intellectual knows that if he gives free play to his intelligence it will come to discover by rational means the essentials of Quranic revelation: but he rejects this appeal to reason as a temptation, for he well knows at the same time that his faith is not reducible to a process of reason, however convincing." (p. 12) Turning to Averroes' *Faṣl al Maqāl,* Monsieur Allard concludes that its author, in affirming the religious doctrine of creation, held back at a vital point from the rationalism of Aristotle, his master, and that he did so as a Muslim unwilling to compromise a fundamental religious dogma. His 'rationalism' is, therefore, in the complete sense of the word, a partial one.

Alborz College of Teheran & Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan Founder and President. By Arthur C. Boyce. Privately published. Available only in certain libraries. 1954, pp. 54.

At once an intriguing monograph and a labor of love, this work traces the educational ministry of Samuel Martin Jordan and of Mrs Jordan, in Persia, land of their adoption. The author was closely associated with Alborz College from 1907 until its close in 1940. He sketches the story of Jordan's missionary call and the link which developed between Lafayette College and the American School for Boys in Teheran, which grew under the Jordans' leadership into Alborz College. A Chapter headed "Constructive Revolutions" expounds some of the main elements in Christian educational ministry as Samuel Jordan understood it, with his emphasis on spiritual nurture, games, comradeship and forthrightness. Such life-investment in the fullest welfare of Persian youth was recognised with official honors. Its immeasurable fruits abide, as well as the challenge of its single-mindedness.

Mary in Islam. By V. Courtois, S.J., the Oriental Institute, Calcutta 1954, pp 79.

This short work by the Editor of *Notes on Islam* (Calcutta) brings together Muslim Quranic and traditional references to the Virgin Mary. It also deals briefly with devotion to Mary in folklore and Sufism. The author's aim is to develop a sense of proximity, in understanding and devotion, between Islam and Christians on the basis of a common veneration for the Mother of Jesus. In this aim he is not alone. Bishop Fulton Sheen for example sought it also in his *The World's First Love.* Father Courtois' purpose here is reverent and noncontroversial. The underlying problem lies where and when we move from what is common in this ground to the deeper and more exacting issues in the historic attitudes of Islam to Mary's Son, in whom the meaning of her example and the sanctity of her role find their fulfilment and end.

Missionary Principles and Practice. By Harold Lindsell, New York, Fleming H. Revell 1955, pp. 384, $ 4.50.

The Dean of Administration and Professor of Missions at Fuller

Theological Seminary presents in fourteen chapters his meditations of many years on aspects of the missionary enterprise. The book is intended as a textbook. The treatment is general and ranges widely, fuller attention being given to sections dealing with practical problems, administration, finance and methods. One chapter deals with the missionary motive and imperative. The reader may be impressed with the absence of quotation, and so of footnotes. (There are seven in 367 pages.) There is no discussion of the Christian relation to non-Christian faiths or the place of the study of these in the missionary's preparation.

Islam in East Africa. By Lyndon P. Harries, U.M.C.A., London, 1954, pp. 92, 5 shillings.

The author's aim has been to present Islam as an area of Christian relationship in Zanzibar and adjoining Tanganyika, in the light of the inter-penetration of Islamic beliefs and pagan African society. He raises profound issues when he writes: "Within Islam the African retains his traditional psychological attitude of group dependence. He is able to do this without renouncing much in his tribal life which as a Christian individual he must renounce. The Christian community cannot exist within an unchanged tribal community. In most important respects the Muslim community can." (p. 42).

The relative lack of interest in the intellectual approach is one perplexing feature which this booklet discusses. Godfrey Dale in 1923 translated the Qurʾān into Swahili so that Muslims in the region might know their own faith more precisely and Christian clergy understand it in its basic Scriptures. But though the translation had a wide sale, it seemed that the roots of allegiance, and also the themes of Christian witness, had their real centers elsewhere. Perhaps this is less true than it used to be. But the factors by which men and tribes believe as they do must always hold an element of mystery. Christlikeness is the supreme need of the interpreter.

The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam. By Hazrat Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad, The American Fazl Mosque, Washington, D.C. 1953, pp. 199, $ 3.50.

The founder of the Aḥmadiyya Movement wrote this book as a presentation of Islam at the Great Religions' Conference held in 1896 at Lahore. It has been often re-issued: this 1953 edition is well produced, with the Quranic quotations, according to Aḥmadiyya usage, in both Arabic and English. Based on Quranic texts, the exposition deals with five questions: the physical, moral and spiritual states of man; the state of man in the after-life; the object of man's life and the means of its attainment; the operation of practical ordinances of law; and sources of Divine knowledge.

There is a fervor and a force in the presentation but there are features which bring disquiet. The writer speaks of "the mantle of Divinity... cast upon a person who is thus favored by God and he becomes a mirror of the image of the Divine Being. This is the meaning of the words of the Holy Prophet: Whoever has seen me, has seen God. ...I would be guilty of an injustice were I to conceal the fact that I have been raised to this spiritual eminence." (p. 184) How

is the Muslim to understand such a passage? Or this one: "Islam is in fact the only religion in which God draws His servant to Him and speaks to him and through him." (p. 183)?

This book is full of the assurance and — for those who are outside it, whether Muslims or Christians, — the puzzle of the Aḥmadiyya Movement. An important source book, hitherto hard to come by, has been made readily available.

Field Notes on Indonesia South Celebes 1949-1950. By Raymond Kennedy, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, 1953, pp. 269.

The Foreword brings the reader into this field journal with a sense of reverence which otherwise might not hallow the admiration with which in any event it would be regarded. It represents the final nine months of active field study on the part of a gifted and well-loved Yale anthropologist. The author was assassinated in Java the day following the last entry here. A plaque erected by the Indonesian Government in the Christian cemetery at Bandung describes him as a "martyr to the independence" of the Indonesian peoples.

Here is field research at its best, warm, patient, indefatigable. Its objective was "to discover and document the patterns of culture change in the first half of the 20th century" as evident in 18 village communities in six major areas. Whatever the reader's main concern — techniques of field procedure, how to be wisely and tirelessly curious, harmony of detail and perspective, the fascination of anthropology, or just the wonder of human variety, and sameness — he will find this *Behavior Science Monograph* a treasure.

Kitāb Ādāb aṣ-Ṣuḥba. By ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Salamī, edited by M. J. Kister, The Israel Oriental Society, Jerusalem 1954, Arabic text and English introduction, pp. 92 and 10.

The Editor of this sixth in the Israeli *Oriental Notes and Studies* series offers a comparative text, based on three sources, of this 10th century Ṣūfī manual on the morals of friendship. Al-Salamī of Naysabūr had a wide following and reputation. Here he teaches social behavior, the arts and obligations of companionship and self-control in human relationship. The work is marked by ripe wisdom and much erudition among ḥadīths and Ṣūfī *obiter dicta*. The editor remarks: "After a thorough analysis of this book the conclusion that emerges is that the book forms a link between the Ādāb and Ṣūfī literature." (p. 6) Books of behavior are a sure index to mind and faith for 'Manners makyth man'. When inculcation is enlivened as here with proverbs and poems the fascination is the greater.

The Arab League: Its Origins, Purposes, Structure and Activities. The Arab Information Center, New York, 1955. pp. 31.

This first of the Information Papers of the new Arab Information Office describes the structure of the Arab League, its Council and Special Committees and explains its activities in various spheres. Among its educational aims are the standardization of Arabic scientific terms and the encouragement of the translation of foreign works into

Arabic. It also reports that about 10,000 manuscripts have been reproduced by photograph and are on file at the League's Library. A plan has been drawn up for an Arab Encyclopedia. In 1953 an Institute of Advanced Arab Studies opened in Cairo for studies in language, literature, sociology, law and international affairs.

Basic Documents of the League of Arab States. The Arab Information Center, New York, 1955, pp. 40.

Here are the legal documents, the pacts and treaties on which the Arab League rests, covering the cultural, trade, transit, currency and economic agreements, as well as other matters, with the original Protocol of Alexandria, signed in October, 1944.

The Ever Nearer Near East. By Samuel Guy Imman. Worldover Press, Wilton, Connecticut, 1955, pp. 22.

"We were gone a month... probing rather intensively into social, economic and international relations," from Idlewild to Idlewild. The traveller here records his impressions in a few brief paragraphs, condensing his stopovers. Even the proof reading has been a little hurried and there are some errors of fact. The American University of Beirut is still a decade short of being "the century-old ... University." Will Istanbul ever be "just another city"? Its lovers think not.

The Coptic Church: Christianity in Egypt. By Dr Ibrahim Noshy, revised and edited by Patricia Natirbov, Ruth Sloan Associates, Washington, D.C. pp. 24.

A brief, illustrated brochure tracing the history, art and life of the Coptic Church in Egypt. In the final paragraphs there are notes on new developments among the Copts, notably the Institute of Higher Coptic Studies established in 1954 in Cairo to foster research and graduate study in Coptology, and the growing sense of co-operation between Coptic and Western Christianity.

Changing Picture in Pakistan. By C. S. Milford. London, The Highway Press, 1954, pp. 32.

The West Asia Secretary of the Church Missionary Society outlines the genesis of Pakistan and its constitutional debate, followed by a sketch of the Christian Church and the opportunities of Christian service. Resettlement ministry to refugees and landless peasants is described and the prospects for the future of religious freedom are examined. There are indications that Christian education is welcomed for its fruits in life, though there are elements of precariousness as well as promise in the situation.

The Pilgrimage, A.H. 1374. Among the preparations for the pilgrimage of this year was an official action on the part of the Sudan Government which sent a mission to Mecca to discuss with Saudi Arabia problems of currency exchange and other matters of pilgrim organization. The Sudan Government's mission examined air passage charges from the Sudan to the Ḥijāz and sought substantial reducations in rates.

It is reported that a delegation of Chinese Muslims will make the pilgrimage, visiting Egypt en route. The invitation to do so was given by Shaikh Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Baqūrī, Egyptian Minister of Waqfs, during his visit to Peking, following the Bandung Conference. The delegation will hold conversations with religious and political leaders and will be accompanied by the Director of the Department of Religion of the Peking Government. The aim of the discussions, in which the Rector of Al-Azhar will participate, will be the strengthening of ties between Chinese Muslims and their Arab fellow Muslims.

Meanwhile discussion of the pilgrim railroad in the Ḥijāz continues in a somewhat desultory manner. Tentative agreements have been reached with respect to its repair and Saudi Arabia has allocated a sum of money to the Ḥijāz Railroad Technical Committee for the financing of technical studies.

The Saudi Arabian Ministry of Finance and National Economy has published a guidebook for the use of pilgrims which is being distributed freely as a gift of the King. The handbook is printed in Arabic, Urdu and Javanese.

It is reported that this year Iraqi pilgrims will not use the tedious desert routes from Najaf and Zubair, which are closed. Pilgrims who might have used these overland routes were diverted to air or sea journeys.

Muslim Personal Status Law in India. A meeting of the working Committee of the Indian Union Muslim League at Madras took under surveillance the proposal of the Government to develop a uniform civil code, beginning with the marriage laws. It protested against the refusal of the Government to exempt Muslims from the marriage measure, as out of harmony with pledges made at the time of the Constitution-making that there would be no changes in Muslim personal law which Muslims themselves had not sought and approved. The committee added: "The Sharīᶜah Law of the Muslims is a vital part of their religion and the substitution for it of any other law is a direct negation of the religious freedom guaranteed to them..." It called for the observance of the first Friday of Ramaḍān as Sharīᶜah Preservation Day with special prayers for the law's perpetuity and appeals to the authorities against the projected changes. The same meeting registered complaints about the difficulty experienced by Muslim students in the matter of religious education and affirmed that "while children are denied religious instruction in public schools they are compelled to study text books containing lessons relating to other religions in the name of culture or literature."

New Mosque-Building in Saudi Arabia A thorough survey of Saudi Arabian mosques has recently been made, to determine the need of new communities for new mosques and of old mosques for repair and extension. The report of the survey indicates that a total sum of one to one and a half million Saudi riyāls will be needed for these purposes. The first area in which the program will begin includes Mecca, Jiddah, al-Ṭā'if and Medina.

Plural Marriage in Pakistan. *The Light,* Lahore, in its issue of April 24th, last, comments sympathetically but critically on the action of certain feminist groups in Pakistan in condemning the Prime Minister's taking a second wife. The editorial exhorts the advocates of equal rights for women to base their case not on western practice (which it calls 'Forced Monogamy') but on true Islamic principles. Turning the tables rather curiously on the women's campaign, which included unmarried as well as married elements both standing for the rights of their sex, the journal remarks: "The most disappointing feature of the agitation against the Premier's new marriage and polygyny in general is that it has no thought for womanhood as a whole. It is an agitation monopolistic in its outlook." Missing the point of the agitation, it rebukes what it calls the self interest of the women who have already secured husbands and advocates "the spirit of sharing." It urges that a true charity will refrain from monopolising husbands and be ready to let them go further round among the waiting, and otherwise permanent, spinsterhood. "To insist on every marrying woman extorting a pledge from her would-be husband to remain monogamous for life is not only to minimise the wisdom of the Qur'ān but also to set up a kind of monopoly in married life." Monopoly, it is true, is instinctive to love; but there is greater joy in sharing. Just as families are better than only-childhood, so is plurality better than singularity in marriage. The editorial also rejects as improper and mischievous the idea that the courts should have a right of review before second marriages are contracted. It also pleads that an emotionally disturbed husband (i.e. one pining for another wife) is a menace to home and nation: no less a menace than the desperately unmarried woman. So long as equal treatment on the Quranic pattern is ensured, plurality of wives is the answer to both menaces.

Communism in the Arab States. The defection from his post in May of a Communist agent in the Middle East and the subsequent discussion of the case in the Arabic press have evoked some Arab League statements relating to the numbers and effectiveness of Communist party membership in the area. According to these statistics there are some ten thousand effective Communists in Syria and the same number in the Lebanon. Estimates suggest one thousand only in Jordan and Iraq, with six thousand in Egypt. All Communist parties are illegal except in Israel. Rigorous repression is the rule in most cases, with the partial exception of Syria. Czechoslovak trade delegations were said to be the main avenue of infiltration, with a temporary concentration of effort on Syria and Egypt, and Afghanistan. In the

first, the Partisans of Peace and the League of Syrian Writers are cited as examples of organizations with Communist participants. They have been severely attacked by several Damascus daily newspapers. A Delegation of sixteen members of the Syrian Parliament, drawn from all parties, will visit Moscow at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet.

Meanwhile a spirited debate inside and outside the Syrian Parliament occurred when Khālid Bakdash, a Syrian Communist deputy, asserted the tolerance of Islam in the U.S.S.R. Writers in *Al-Binā'* and elsewhere insisted the contrary, referring *inter alia,* to the commemoration in Munich, in May last, of two hundred Muslims who had fled from religious persecution in Russia after the Second World War. The ceremony recalled the deportation of over five thousand Muslims from Eastern Europe to the East after 1945.

The Damascus Trade Fair, opened in September 1955, sees a very sizeable representation from the Chinese People's Government, as well as from Communist states in Eastern Europe.

Half a Century of Service. The Rev. Ernst J. Christoffel, founder and director of the Christian Mission to the Blind in the Orient, has celebrated the jubilee of his missionary service in Isfahan, Iran, where he now resides. He went in September, 1904, from Germany, to Sivas, Turkey, on behalf of the Swiss Relief Committee for Armenia. In 1908, the first home for the blind and for cripples on Turkish soil was established at Malatya on the Euphrates in Turkish Kurdistan. Despite immense difficulties and obstacles and massacres which took more than half the inmates of the first home, the task went forward. Expelled in 1919 from Turkey, Ernst Christoffel went to Iran and there developed homes for the blind first at Tabriz and then in Isfahan. He pioneered in Braille in Persian and in the Armenian Ararat dialect. Through two interments he persisted and when he was released from the second one in 1946 he was almost 70 years of age. Undeterred, he succeeded with Swedish support in returning to Iran in 1951 after being instrumental in launching at Nümbrecht, District of Cologne, Germany, a home for those who became blind during the Second World War. His sustained devotion to his vocation is gratefully recognised by those among whom he was labored.

Saudi Arabians and Foreign Education. A Royal decree in April prohibited attendance by Saudi Arabians at schools of elementary and secondary education outside the country. It also announced new restrictions on citizens seeking enrollment in foreign universities. It is aimed to develop Saudi schools at the primary and secondary levels to accommodate all the Saudis seeking such education.

Saudi Arabian Nomads and their Settlement. An illuminating article in the July, 1954, issue of *Al-Yamāmah,* a literary magazine published in Riyāḍ, discusses the problem of nomadism in the Kingdom, estimating that fifty-five per cent of its population is still nomadic. Excepting Africa, the largest proportion of nomads in any population are in Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

The nomad's environment and the severity of his life mean that he both consumes and produces very little. He is not, therefore, a factor of strength in the economic life of his nation. He is forced to live for the present and neglect the future, and to content himself with little as he drives his camels and sheep in search of water and pasture. Such constant seasonal migration, and detachment from any center of life and skilled work cause him to direct his loyalty to the tribe rather the nation or the state.

The article sees the problem as calling for wise but firm action. The nomadic life is a dangerous problem which calls for radical solution, but it needs to be handled with discernment. The government should strive to implant a sense of attachment to soil and also foster a will to work in a productive fashion. In noting that some nomads settled under King Ibn Saud returned later to nomadism, the writer points out that pensions and reliefs then instituted for nomads need to be integrated with a policy of education into productive living. He pleads for an Advisory Council within the Ministry of Social Affairs to study methods of fostering a gradual, sure, comprehensive program of settlement, preserving the good elements in the beduin outlook. He calls for the Advisory Council to include, not only medical, agricultural and educational experts, but "an enlightened theologian to teach elements of religion in an easy and acceptable fashion."

Reference is made to the success of settlement programs in Syria but there is a qualification of the general approval these deserve in the criticism that land was registered in the name of tribal chiefs, who thus became feudal leaders while the tribal members themselves found village settlement a form of dispossession. The author who is a legal advisor in the Ministry of Finance at Jiddah, concludes: "After the inter-tribal wars of aggression were outlawed and the sovereignty of the state spread over city and desert; after the importance of the camel diminished as a means of transport and was replaced by modern means then the problem of absorbing the nomadic element in the modern state became of paramount importance to the executive branch of the government."

Elsewhere another writer proposes military training as a step towards familiarising the beduin with settled conditions and the advantages to be enjoyed.

Miscellanea. A plot of land having an area of 800,000 square meters has been chosen by the Municipality of (Arab) Jerusalem as site for a new University in Jerusalem. The Ministry of Education in Jordan is studying plans and curricula for the proposed University.

The region of Al-Ṭā'if, Arabia where the Prophet encountered the bitterest opposition prior to the Hijra, is being developed as a summer resort area for Mecca. A daily plane service now runs between Jiddah and Al-Ṭā'if and a new mosque has been inaugurated in a suburb of the city. Radio Mecca said of it: "This new mosque is of very modern design and is large enough to hold all the inhabitants of Al-Hawiyah... with its completion Al-Hawiyah becomes one of the best summer resorts in Saudi Arabia."

Members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria are reported to be divided on the issue of participation or non-participation in Syrian politics. One group is said to be seeking recognition on a non-political basis. The issue is similar to that which emerged in the period prior to the suppression of the much stronger Brotherhood in Egypt.

In May last a deputation of Syrian women called on the President and the Prime Minister seeking a revision of the Constitution which would open the way for women to nomination for parliament.

A Royal decree of April authorises the Mufti of Saudi Arabia to issue certificates to graduates of the various religious institutions of the country by which they would become eligible for State employment.

It was reported in April last that the wellknown author and Arabist, Mr. H. St. John Philby had been deported from Saudi Arabia where he had been for many years a confidant of the late King Ibn Saud and where he earned fame as an explorer and geographer. The statement of deportation refers to "a course of action both inappropriate and tactless" he is charged with having recently pursued. Riyāḍ denies reports that the expulsion has anything to do with advice given by the explorer against extravagance and waste in the Kingdom.

An official census of the Kingdom of Libya, the first in its history, sets the population at 1,090,800.

Umm al-Qurā, the Meccan weekly newspaper in its account of the ᶜĪd al-Fitr celebrations speaks of King Saud reviving a custom of the Caliphs in that he personally visited at their homes all the ᶜUlamāᵓ of Riyāḍ, where he was resident at the time of the feast. It refers to the visits as in line with ancient Caliphal practice.

Four hundred thousand children have enrolled in Western Nigeria to take advantage of the Government's free educational program initiated in 1955. 6500 new teachers are being trained this year to teach these children. The Government under Obafemi Awlowo, Prime Minister of the Western Region of the Federation of Nigeria, is introducing a newspaper for new literates which will be circulated in schools, in the Yoruba language, the main language of the six million people of the region.

A Fine Arts Exhibition is to be held in Damascus this autumn sponsored by the Soviet Government. Syria has also received an invitation to participate in a Moscow Conference on atomic energy.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

Arab knowledge of the Niger's course. M. D. W. Jeffreys. *Africa,* London. January, 1955. pp. 84-90. Shows the familiarity of Arab geographers with the Niger centuries ago, but that later European explorers chose to ignore Arab evidence.

Un congrès Islamo-Chrétien au Levant. Pierre Rondot. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris, 1954, part 4. pp. 64-66. Describes the successes in the April, 1954, meeting despite local Arab attacks upon it.

Les données de la controverse autour du problème de l'imprimérie. A. Demeersman. *Ibla,* Tunis. 1954, part 2. pp. 113-140. Points out the various reasons — social, doctrinal, etc — causing the tardy introduction of printing to Islam.

Further explorations in the Negeb. Nelson Glueck. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* Baltimore. February, 1955. pp. 10-22. Covers July-September, 1953 and is illustrated.

Muslim Education in the Golden Age of the Caliphate. A. L. Tibawi. *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1954. pp. 418-438. A collection of literary references.

Le nationalisme d'Averroes d'après une étude sur la création. M. Allard. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales,* Damascus. 1952-1954. pp. 7-59. Shows Averroes's philosophical handling of the subject.

Point de vue arabe sur l'Afrique du Nord. N. Lejeune. *Études,* Paris. Avril, 1955. pp. 3344. Quotations, with comments, from "L'Afrique du Nord dans le passé, le present et l'avenir" by Amīn Chāker, Saʿīd al-Aryān and Muṣṭafā Amīn, published in Cairo in 1954 and containing a revealing preface by ʿAbd al Nāṣir.

The popular view of the Bakhtiari in South West Persia. D. L. R. Lorimer. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. 1854, part 3, pp. 542-558. Tells of the life and character of the people and describes their language and poetry.

La population Juive du Monde. *Cahiers Sioniens,* Paris. Mars, 1954. pp. 53-59. Gives statistics by countries with percentages of the total populations and map.

Syrian Arabic studies, Charles A. Ferguson. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1955. pp. 187-194. Appraises a selective list of works published before and after World War II, with bibliographical material.

Le Temple de Surkh Kotal. Daniel Schlumberger. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1954, part 2. pp. 161-205. Second detailed account of findings in Bactria, Afghan Turkestan, accompanied by photographs, plans and an article on the Inscriptions by Raoul Curiel.

Les thèmes sociaux dans la littérature persane moderne. B. Nigitine. *Oriente Moderno,* Rome. May, 1954. pp. 225-237. The author finds the eight modern authors, whose work he surveys, to be as pessimistic, sceptical and critical as their great literary forebears.

EVENTS IN ARABIA IN THE 6TH CENTURY A.D. Sidney Smith. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. 1954, part 3. pp. 425-468. Evaluates inscriptions recently found by Ryckmans.

CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP IN EGYPT. T. R. L. *The World Today,* London. February, 1955. pp. 51-60. A survey of Nāṣir's rise to power, his increasing skill in statesmanship, and the improvements he has begun for the good of his people.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Winter, 1955. pp. 53-66. Covers September 1-Nov. 30, 1954, with emphasis on the Arab elections in Iraq, Jordan and Syria; Spring, 1955. pp. 163-178. Covers Dec. 1, 1954-Feb. 28, 1955, discusses the Iraqi-Turkish pact, signed February, 24, and gives its text.

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION. Gamal Abdel Nasser. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. January, 1955. pp. 199-211. Outlines Egypt's position from the days of the British occupation in 1882 to to-day and describes Egypt's plans for the Sadd el ʿAlī (High Dam), for the reclamation of the Sinai Peninsula to aid the Palestinian refugees, and the Agrarian Reform Program.

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II. QURʾĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

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III. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

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Father's brother's daughter marriage in Kurdistan. Frederik Barth. *South-Western Journal of Anthropology,* Albuquerque. Summer, 1954. pp. 164-171. Indicates the resultant ability to maintain family property in the face of Quranic inheritance rules and to strengthen tribal organization.

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IV. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

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The bases of Arab unity. Charles Issawi. *International Affairs,* London. January, 1955. pp. 36-47. The author believes that political and economic considerations will eventually lead to unification.

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V. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

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The Middle East To-day. Alford Carleton. *World Dominion,* London. January-February, 1955. pp. 22-24. Although there is much surface uncertainty and frustration, the author finds apparent a slow but steady adaptation to new ideas and situations.

A survey of the year, 1954. *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1955. pp. 3-84. Discloses an encouraging picture of the influence of Christian schools and hospitals and of the distribution of Christian literature.