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لا إكراه في الدين

“THERE IS NO COMPELLING IN RELIGION”

One of the shortest-lived of Arab, Muslim journals in an age when literary efforts were very liable to be ephemeral was *Al ʿUrwat-al-Wuthqab*, with which, through eighteen issues, in eight months of the year 1884, Jamāl al-Dīn and Muḥammad ʿAbduh sought to rouse the mind of Islam. But their publication, for all its brevity, was one of the most effective. Its name was borrowed from Surah ii. 256—the verse which begins with one of the profoundest of all Quranic phrases. “There is no compelling in religion. The right way has been plainly distinguished from the false. He who refuses vain idols (*Tāghūt*) and believes in God, he has laid hold of the firm hand-grip (*al-ʿurwat-al-wuthqab*) that will never give way.” Truth—if we may paraphrase—is its own sufficiency and needs neither the protection nor the sanction of force. Nor can violence sunder the truth-lover from his assurance or his pledge. In their mutual strength the truth and he who serves it are finally impregnable.

This majestic negation of the competence of compulsion against the truth, this firm conviction as to the inviolability of authentic faith, deserve to be pondered at this Christian season of the Cross. Grammatically the negative *Lā Ikrāha* is as absolute as that in the *Shabādah* itself—*Lā ilāha*—“There is no god...” But clearly it cannot be understood as a statement of empirical fact. For there has been, across the world and through the centuries, a dismal catalogue of acts of religious oppression and persecution, attempts at a compulsion of adherence. No religion has been exempt from these, including Islam. The phrase: “There is no compulsion . . .”

cannot, then, be read as meaning: "There has never been in fact any compulsion in religion." This, sadly, would be manifestly untrue. It can only mean that such compelling and *valid* religion cannot co-exist, that "there ought to be no compulsion in religion." It is, in other words, a denial that is definitive of the proper situation, not descriptive of the actual.

To make this distinction is only honest to other passages in the Qur^{ān} itself, which enjoin warfare against the unbelievers until they submit. Surah ix. 29, for example, prescribes a seemingly compulsive course against those who do not believe, "until they pay tribute, being reduced to low status." In view of such passages, some commentators, though often reproached now for doing so, interpret this passage, as either abrogating or being abrogated by the other. Thus Al-Baiḍāwī, commenting on Surah ii. 256, remarks: "As for the meaning of the negative: 'Do not compel in religion' there is a report that it is either a general (directive) abrogated by the saying: 'Fight against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be harsh against them,' or it is special (directive) relating to the people of the Book." He then records a story of how the Prophet refused to approve one of the *Anṣār* who sought to compel his two Christian sons to Islamize. But surely, whatever may be true in the niceties of exegesis, the sublime assertion: "There is no compelling in religion" demands to be regarded as beyond abrogation and debate, as, indeed, essentially incontrovertible, because it states a supreme principle of religious life, the clear and forthright articulation of which in the Qur^{ān} must awaken a profound thankfulness in the hearts of all who care. No comparison of the dates of this and seemingly contrary passages deserves to disqualify what is so plainly authentic.

"There is, then, validly, no compelling in religion." The faith that merits the name is neither induced nor cowed by force. Belief can properly only be free. This is a charter of liberty in the allegiance and the utterance of faith. But it has to be remembered that the forms of compulsion that are all here implicitly repudiated are many and devious. A recent

issue of a Pakistani Muslim journal calls for a "peaceful Islam that condemns all kinds of violence in matters of religion, either to secure its acceptance or for the continuity of adherence to it." The second realm is an important, and sometimes, neglected aspect. A faith that there is no genuine and feasible option to leave, if one's attachment to it has inwardly ended, is virtually a prison and itself suffers a tragic loss of quality by its indirectly compulsive retention of unpersuaded allegiance.

No self-respecting faith can afford to be held only because those who belong to it have had the opportunity to know nothing else. Freedom of conscience, to be entire, must include freedom of movement of conscience and freedom of worship, freedom of change of worship. Whether these freedoms are ever widely claimed, or for what they are claimed, does not matter. It is imperative that they should exist. Here are involved far-reaching corollaries for the concept of toleration. It is not enough that we permit men to remain what they were born, simply. A true freedom is a freedom of becoming, not merely of remaining. The principle proclaimed in the Quranic verse we are pondering is surely one that should embrace the heirs of the Qur^ʿān themselves. For hitherto, in traditional Islamic patterns of toleration, the non-Muslim within Islam has had a larger freedom than his Muslim brother. While the latter could only remain, the former could either remain, or become (a Muslim). Whatever might conceivably happen under such a freedom as that here declared, its secure existence would be only for the health, depth and integrity of the faith that lived in it. Does exegesis go too far if we say that it is an Islamic principle that one should be able to leave Islam? Perhaps it does, for the possibility is usually regarded as unthinkable. But should the possibility arise, should there be any form of compulsion to prevent it?

Though these reflections are in a sense also a plea, they are far from the sum of significance in this uniquely crucial verse. Have we not here also, perhaps all unsuspected, a clue to the

Cross itself? Jesus certainly suffered crucifixion as a consequence of His rejection of forcible concepts of Messiahship. Would not the throngs have perpetuated their Palm Sunday acclaim, if this miracle-worker, this man of eloquence, had set the mob about the ears of Pilate? Would not the Jews have fallen in line with His upstartness, if He had agreed to deliver the goods of political emancipation? Was not Judas scheming urgently to compel Jesus into just such action by confronting Him with an arrest, if He did not take it? Did not the mockers mean what they said when they offered discipleship if He would come down from the Cross? Yet, had He done so, would they not have been 'compelled' into faith, or, better, credulity, by a worthless compulsion of magic?

Had not Jesus seen and rejected that very temptation in the wilderness and maintained His constancy against it whenever Peter, or others, renewed it in His hearing? The Cross, manifestly, is the redemptive way, the way that believes the victories of love are the only valid ones. Christ compelled no soul into discipleship. He recognised that the hopes which lay bewilderedly behind the Messianic dream could only be interpreted and satisfied in an answer that went beyond the Romans and politics, beyond the Jews and Zion. His Kingdom was not, then, in the terms of this world and for that very reason related all the more profoundly to the needs of this world. Forgiveness, reconciliation, fellowship — these were His watchwords. For love is the crux of the Kingdom of Heaven. If sinful men are to be transformed it cannot finally be by solutions that express their sinfulness. "Can Satan cast out Satan?" Only good, only love, wins, and restores, unselfishly. And in this world, such love and suffering are inseparable. So Jesus died, the uncompulsive architect of the uncompulsive Kingdom.

Yet by virtue of these His sorrows, Christ has become, for all who understand Him, the irresistible Master, One Whose love is all-compelling.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS STUDY TODAY

It is my firm conviction that religion is more needful for humanity today than ever. Just as physically more healing is required where there is more infection and disease, so in our present world crisis with its moral disintegration more spiritual healing is demanded. Our world is shaken by general insecurity, and desperately needs fresh moral leadership.

As Arnold Toynbee would say, we human beings with all our intellectual progress and technical aptitudes seem to have inherited in us, almost unchanged, the same animal and divine elements which our primitive ancestors also possessed. The mechanical power of science and technique with all their wonders have not been able to bridle our animal passion. Through electricity and radioactivity we are able to penetrate the darkest corners of the nature around us, but internally we are living in darkness. We are in command of the forces of nature, yet we seem to be commanded by our own animal nature.

We call our age the age of freedom and democracy but individually and collectively we are slaves of our selfish desires. No international meetings, agreements, programs or rules and regulations alone are going to ameliorate our situation. Without faith, all those written and spoken rules are but sounding brass. To be sure, we need our science and mathematics for our physical well-being. But we also need more desperately to develop our moral conscience by letting God speak to our hearts, so that we may have real peace and blessing.

Civilized humanity has not been able to procure lasting peace and happiness for mankind. Within the span of our own lives this civilized world has destroyed more human beings and property than perhaps all previous ages put together. In my younger days I was enthusiastic about the modern school, and admired the Renaissance and the French Revolution, but the terrible wars caused me bitter disillusionment and the materialistic uprising of our age has disappointed me profoundly. I realized that I have been thinking as a child and now I must put away childish things. I, therefore, feel no hesitation in believing that the tragedy of humanity can be averted only by creating a balance between physical and spiritual values. There can be no real physical progress without corresponding moral progress. It is true that Krupp, General Motors and Ford have changed the face of the earth through their astounding technical products. But unfortunately the spiritual potentiality of mankind has been neglected, though the latter is the most vital for our survival. With all the miraculous scientific achievements, we do not seem to have cast off the heritage of Adam's original sin. Materially we are so immensely rich, but morally we are so miserably poor.

It is not without justification that our Kultur-pessimists—men such as Spengler, Wells, Fabre-Luce, Dean Inge and Trotsky—have predicted the doom of our civilization. Numerous thinkers today display serious anxiety about the future of mankind. The eager quest for remedy, for moral rejuvenation, of the peoples of all nations, in circles high and low, reveals a real concern, indeed, about our destiny and becomes a dynamic force in the affairs of all mankind.

But fortunately the startling predictions and the bloody wars, even the threat of another still more devastating war, have not been able to uproot all our hopes; on the contrary, they have been incentives for a revival of the spiritual trend in man, with a swelling appeal to religion. We are therefore justified to look to the future with a serene hope of real spiritual awakening in both the Christian and Islamic worlds. We may feel fortified in our faith by great minds like Sombart, Sprenger, Bergson, Niebuhr, Toynbee, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and others who awaken hope in us and still more hope. The late Werner Sombart, the famous German economist and social philosopher and my own professor, after having wandered for half a century traversing the realms of science and philosophy, came at last to the conclusion that the salvation of mankind depends upon faith. We can avert the bloody death of our civilization by calling humanity to prayer.

We may not be able to enlighten our faith thoroughly by the light of reason, even as Herbert Muller maintains in his book *The Uses of the West*, but we know that at least we are surely not going against reason when we follow the spiritual calling inherent in our inner selves. As human beings we possess within us a sort of intuition or moral conscience which Socrates called his "daimon" and Matthew Arnold described as "something not ourselves that makes for righteousness." As Reinhold Niebuhr says, although we are finite, the most significant thing about us is that we seek the infinite. Even Muller, who seems not to be sure of the future of religion, agrees that "whatever their faith, men of good will may agree upon the essentials of human idealism, the value of the spirit that seeks truth, goodness and beauty."

Through faith, then, that is hidden in the depths of our souls, we can open up a way before us and set moving toward our goal, for the salvation of mankind. In this spiritual ascent, no despair and negativity, so current in our days, should dishearten us. For negativity involves in itself implicit affirmation. "Negation lives from the positive it negates," writes Tillich in his book *The Courage To Be*. This kind of faith which transcends ordinary experience is the fundamental teaching of our religions.

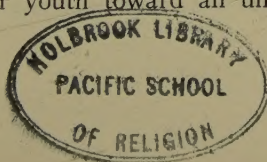
Faith in the Eternal God Who is the Eternal Truth, Supreme Being, Creator and Sustainer of the universe, the source of light and life and all goodness, is the basic teaching of Islam. This doctrine

requires, at the same time, that faith be not only a formal confession but rather a real spiritual experience or state. Such a state can be attained only through meditation and contemplation of all that is true, good and beautiful. But immediately connected with the teaching of faith in Islam is the fact of good works. There are more than fifty passages in the Qur^ʿān, in about forty Surahs, in which this truth is reiterated, qualifying the believers by describing them as "those who have faith and do good works."

Indeed, faith without good works is like a soul without any expression. Concerning good works, many Western writers on Islam, as well as some Islamic theologians, have failed by trying to formulate a sort of catechism and enumerating a few principles and rituals—for example, faith in God, faith in the Prophet, alms-giving, pilgrimage, fasting—as if these were the only tenets of the Islamic religion. The good works which it is the duty of every Muslim to perform are surely more numerous than those catechistically recited. One single passage from the opening verses of Surah xxiii will serve as an illustration of this fact: "saved are those believers who pray in devotion, who avoid vanity, who are active in deeds of charity, who safeguard their sexual life, who observe their trusts and their covenants."

In order to assure a real revival of religion in the Islamic world, plans should be made to establish new religious institutions in which the teaching of Islam should take a fresh turn and should be carried on in a new way. Let me say right away that by the new way I do not mean the way some Islamic modernists seem to have adopted, namely, trying to appease the revolting youth by a sort of apologetic or makeshift attempt to show, for example, that electricity, railroads and astronomy have been predicted in the Qur^ʿān. Our main objective should remain a genuine religious one, which is the Truth of God, and the meaning of the spiritual life. We need no conciliatory excuse for trying to teach the highest value in human life, the spiritual value. With all respect to all the relative values of life, we as human beings should also have the absolute, the perfect, value in view. We should not think of ourselves as the center of the universe; rather, we should humbly concede that there is a Supreme Being or absolute Truth that makes for righteousness. Faith and devotion to that absolute and living Truth should constitute the basis of our life; if we would enjoy all the blessings of this world. This sublime idea should be our goal and guidance, our daily prayers and devotions serving to keep us in spiritual communication with Him.

This new way of teaching requires a new attitude of mind, and understanding of the new world resulting from taking an affirmative position on the principles of modern culture. We should painstakingly nurture the mind of our youth toward an unbiassed understanding



of the stream of modern civilization. A true interpretation of human civilization can only fortify us in our faith. For God is perfection and any modern technique which helps us to draw nearer to perfection can only be considered a blessing. We should not forget the absolute Truth nor leave our youth without spiritual ideals.

Another fundamental condition for successfully realizing this new way of teaching is that religious teachers should not only know and understand the spirit of religion and the sense of the Divine mission, but also have real faith and, what is more, exemplify religion in their lives. Religion is a life and not only a verbal confession. Religion is "confession with the tongue, affirmation by the heart, and realization in action."

Those who only know and teach but who do not believe or live up to what they teach belong to the group admonished in the Holy Book in the following words: "They say things with their mouths which are not in their hearts." Al-Ghazālī, the great Muslim theologian, who sincerely attempted to live his faith, called such teachers and theologians "the formalists," *al-mutarassimūn*. Real service, *ʿIbādah*, and not lip service, is required from the "faithful servants of God."

A professor of chemistry or mathematics may possibly fulfill his duty as a teacher if he only teaches his subject well, but a teacher and preacher of religion can only serve the purpose of training men, men of character, men who would serve the Truth, if he himself lives according to what he teaches. The teachers of science teach us knowledge, but the teachers of religion teach us the way of life. We do not need to go to William James in order to know that youth are actually influenced by the examples rather than by the precepts of their teachers. Religious teachers and leaders, whether men or women, should not only know their subjects well, and understand the meaning of our modern culture, but should positively be of noble disposition, pure in heart, and real servants of God. If we can find, encourage, and help develop more such teachers from among our people, we shall be serving our sacred calling.

Let it be clear that religion should be taught in its historical setting. For a full understanding of religion we must see it in a historical perspective. The deep involvement of religion in the course of human society is a fact to be studied. In no comprehensive anthropological and psychological survey of human history can we overlook the part that religion has played and is likely to play. From the economic point of view, for instance, religion aims at a type of society in which selfish competition gives way to benevolent cooperation. The brain of the capitalist and the muscles of the worker may work together peacefully through the intermediary of a faithful heart.

This needed new way of religious education in Islam must stress the ideas of service and readiness to make sacrifices for our fellow

men. For love and sacrifice are indeed the characteristics of individuals and groups of pious disposition. Our youth should be trained to serve mankind wholeheartedly with a keen sense of noble and humane duty.

Beyond this, there exists also an urgent need for teaching comparative religion. In spite of the fact that we possessed in the past detailed studies about the religions and confessions by great authors like Ibn-Ḥazm and Al-Shahrastānī, we seen today unfortunately to neglect this subject. I propose that the Islamic world should take up the teaching of comparative religions under modern light and with modern methods. As followers of the Qurʾān, we are called upon to revere the great religions with a divine message, and therefore we must study them. Christianity, particularly, with which Muslims have much in common and consider one of the revealed religions, should be taught in our theological seminaries. I believe the underlying idea in this study of comparative religions should be to point out our common ties rather than our differences, especially in this time when religion is so seriously challenged by the philosophy of atheistic materialism. Our common goals and working together to promote the Divine purpose may be our guide not only to fruitful cooperation with each other but also to a deepening of our own and of each other's religious experiences.

At Alexandria, 1955

S. R. SHAFaq

SIR SAYYID AḤMAD KHĀN'S PRINCIPLES OF
EXEGESIS
TRANSLATED FROM HIS TAḤRĪR FĪ 'UṢŪL AL-TAFSĪR

INTRODUCTION

That a Commentary on the Qur^{ān} which gave rise to a great controversy among Indian Muslims in the last quarter of the nineteenth century should now be out of print is a scandal. Having caused the spread of science among Indian Muslims, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān felt that it was his responsibility to guard the off-springs of the 'Alīgarh College against any derisive attitude they might develop towards "The Supernatural" and "the miraculous" described in the Qur^{ān}. His critics blame him for posing questions and fears that were baseless. This is not altogether true.

When claiming herein that the operational Covenant of God (i.e. the Law of Nature) "is before us," and that the veracity of Scriptures can be maintained only by making scriptural verses agree with our knowledge of this operational Covenant, Sir Sayyid reflects the over-confidence of the pre-relativity mechanical science of the late nineteenth century.

Perhaps the student of the Bible can point out prototypes of Sir Sayyid's Commentary among Biblical Commentaries written towards the end of the last century. It represents a mentality which has not yet fully conceptualized the nature and significance of scriptural "myth" and which is apt to explain the allegories and symbols of these "myths" not in terms of their objective and universal value, but as yielding the concepts of the science of the day.

The present statement by Sir Sayyid contains, beside linguistic principles of exegesis, many "dogmatic" assumptions, such as that God is Existent, that He is One, that Muḥammad is His Apostle, etc., which are indeed integral to the doctrine taught by the Qur^{ān}, so that they have a valid place among criteria of exegesis of passages of the Qur^{ān} that may seem to mean anything opposed to the above. But there are other credal assumptions beside these in the pages of this pamphlet which are theological pre-conceptions, rather than principles whereby one might interpret the Qur^{ān} in its own terms, e.g. that "the existence of the attributes in the Necessarily Existing Essence is necessary," or that "all the attributes of God are *absolute*" and the like.

The first part of the work is a correspondence between Sir Sayyid and his close associate, Muḥsin al-Mulk Mahdī 'Alī Khān who was a notable contributor to Sir Sayyid's journal *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*. This part voices utter disappointment with principles of exegesis formulated by classical Islam and so does injustice to them. No one can

dispense with a great deal of the sound ideas formulated in classical exegesis. Sir Sayyid himself draws freely on those resources.

Sir Sayyid's Commentary is in fact a collection of essays and not a word by word *Tafsīr*. He comments only on his limited selection of verses relating to the questions which he considered most important for his times. The bulk of the *Tafsīr* deals with interpretation of everything which according to him appears to involve supernatural phenomena (*Khāriq al-ʿĀdah*). He tries to explain these in terms of natural causation and that is why he was called a Necharī by his opponents. The questions of Muslim-non Muslim relations and of religious warfare also occupy considerable space in this Commentary. The influence of this *Tafsīr* has been great. It forms a major basis for Amīr ʿAlī's polemical work *The Spirit of Islam*. Some have conjectured that the Aḥmadiyyah denial of *Jihād* as one of the pillars of Islam is Sir Sayyid's 'defensive wars' interpretation of Quranic *Jihād* carried to its very extreme.

Sir Sayyid's Quranic quotations follow Fleugel's numbering. The present translator has supplied some references that were wanting. Where the translation might be open to question the original has been supplied in transliteration.

THE TRANSLATION

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE

It is accepted that the One God, the creator of beings is existent. "And He is One, the Lord Resort of the needy (Al-Ṣamad). He has neither begotten, nor is He begotten: He is the necessarily existing, the living One Who does not die, eternal in the past and eternal in the future. He is the primal cause of all causes of the entire creation as they are and as they will be."

THE SECOND PRINCIPLE

It is also accepted that He sent Apostles for the guidance of man and that Muḥammad the elect (Al-Muṣṭafā) is a true Prophet and the seal, or the last, of the Prophets.

THE THIRD PRINCIPLE

It is also accepted that the glorious Qurʾān is Divine Speech which was sent down to the heart of Muḥammad or was inspired into him and that he, upon whom be peace and blessings, "speaks not out of lust. It is but an inspiration inspired." (Surah liii. 3 and 4.)

THE FOURTH PRINCIPLE

It is also accepted that the glorious Qurʾān alighted on the heart of the Prophet or was inspired into it, whether it is believed that the

Angel Gabriel transmitted it to the Prophet or that the faculty of prophecy which has been given the appellation of the faithful Spirit—*Al-Rūh al-Amīn*—has poured (or infused) it on the heart of the Prophet. This last is the belief I personally follow. The result of both the alternative positions is the same and therefore discussion about it is unnecessary.

But I do not accept the view that only the subject matter (*maḍmūn*) was poured on the heart and that the (actual) words of the Qurʾān are the Prophet's own, whereby he has expressed that subject matter in his tongue which was Arabic.

It is surprising, immensely surprising, that the dominating argument of God among men (*Ḥijjat Allāh al-Balighah*)¹ Imām Shāh Walī Ullāh of Delhi says in his book, *Al-Tafhīmāt-i-Ilāhīyyah*: "And in this category (of *Tadalliyyat*) (means of God's nearness to men) is the great Qurʾān in the sense that the words of the Qurʾān are only in the form of the Arabic language which was familiar to Muḥammad and in which he could think, while the ideas flowed from the unseen to teach him as a means of God's nearness to men. And these (the words or the ideas?) became Divine speech. They became so only because the intention of the welfare of men became fixed in his thought: and this is what collected the words and composed them and then it became unfolded in this composition and wore a dress of words suitable for the mighty greatness of God. And by virtue of this it became a means of God's nearness to men and was called the Speech of God."

But what Shāh Walī Ullāh has said here is opposed to reason and the actuality of the matter. The Qurʾān itself says: "And verily it is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds: the faithful Spirit came down with it upon thy heart that thou shouldest be of those who warn: in plain Arabic language." (*Surah ii. 192-195*). In another place it says: "Verily We have revealed it an Arabic Qurʾān; haply ye may understand." (*xii, 2*). This clearly shows that the Qurʾān alighted upon the heart of the Prophet in the Arabic language, and it cannot be said that it was merely a pouring down of ideas (*maʿnā*) and that the words which were the medium of expression of these ideas were the Prophet's.

It is opposed to the fact of the matter because no idea divested of words can come to mind, nor can its pouring (into the heart) take place. The imagining and conceiving of any subject demand as a concomitant the imagination and conception of the words which are indicative of that subject. The occurrence of a content divested of words is a rational impossibility. Therefore the glorious Qurʾān was

¹ A title given to Shāh Walī Ullāh in respect of his masterpiece, a two volumed work with this name. On his thought and influence see *The Muslim World*, Vol. xlv. 4, October, 1955, pp. 346-358, by the present writer.

poured upon the Prophet's heart in actual words as they are and the Prophet recited these same words in the same (original) order to the people.

THE FIFTH PRINCIPLE

The glorious Qur^ʿān is absolutely true. Nothing wrong or contrary to reality is registered in it. The Qur^ʿān itself says: "And verily it is a glorious book. Falsehood shall not come to it, from before it nor from behind it... a revelation from the wise, the praiseworthy one." (Surah xli. 42.) And if the Qur^ʿān cites someone's (objectionable) speech by way of narration or by way of contradicting it, or argues from, or uses as compelling rhetoric, such beliefs of men as are not opposed to its intent, admitting them without scrutinizing their reality and true nature, or if it states apparent happenings in terms of their outward appearance without examining their true validity, or if it includes in its discourse words which are not *maqṣūd* (the thing ultimately meant?), all this is not contrary to the verity of the Qur^ʿān.

THE SIXTH PRINCIPLE

The positive and negative attributes of God, the creating essence (Dhāt bārī) which are stated in the Qur^ʿān are all true and right, but to know the exact state of these attributes is beyond human intellect. Therefore, these attributes, as they present themselves to our minds and which we have understood from the world of temporal possibles, cannot be predicated of God, Who is the necessarily existing. And, therefore, we say only that these attributes exist in (God) the creating essence in their infinitival sense, (ma^cnā maṣḍarī)²: *ʿIlm* (knowing), *Ijād* (creating). *Qudrah* (power), *Ḥayāt* (life). Moreover, we regard the existence of these attributes in the necessarily existing essence as necessary.

THE SEVENTH PRINCIPLE

The attributes of the Creator are the essence itself and, like the essence, are of an infinite past and of an infinite future and the manifestation of the attributes is necessarily demanded by the essence by whatever reason (the demand) be and whatever be the manner

(بَيِّ وَجْهِ كَانِ وَبَيِّ شَأْنِ يَكُونِ) It is the belief of the scholastic dogmatists (Al-Mutakallimūn) that the attributes of the Creator are neither the essence itself nor other than the essence. But the theosophists regard them as the essence itself and declare their manifestation to be necessarily demanded by the essence. But this is all merely a

² The word 'infinitival' is used here in a philosophical, not a grammatical, sense.

dispute over words and the result is the same. No doubt, there is no clear evidence or conclusive argument supporting the view adopted by the scholastics. The revered Shāh Walī Ullāh in his *Al-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyyah* says: "The dispute between the theosophist philosophers and the scholastics, as to whether God the exalted is Creator by choice or by necessity, is no important matter in the realm of meanings, when, according to the philosophers, will is identical with essence and origination (by will) is necessary causation.

THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE

All the attributes of God are infinite and absolute. "He does what He wills and decides what He wills." Hence He had the choice of making the promises He has made and the choice of instituting the law of nature under which He might have created (another) universe, made the present universe, or may yet make a universe of another form in the future. But the violation of that law of nature, so long as that law exists is impossible. If it does occur then it implies defect of the perfect attributes of God, the creating essence. Making these promises and setting up a universe under a law of nature cannot be contrary to the absoluteness and infinitude of His power. (Here Sir Sayyid quotes Surahs v. 12-13: ix. 69: ix. 73: xix. 62: ii. 74: vii. 42: xli. 45: iii. 7: lxxiii. 18 and xl. 57. 77.) It is proved by these verses that God the exalted has made promises, and infringement of promises will never be. In spite of these promises and the impossibility of their infringement, He describes Himself as the omnipotent and the efficient Doer of what He will (Surahs xi. 109 and lxxxv. 16.), which proves that promise and the impossibility of breach of promise are not inconsistent with the omnipotence and the absoluteness of His attributes.

The same is true of the law of nature, upon which this universe is made. The former is the verbal promise, while the law of nature is procedural (operational) promise. Much of this law of nature God has told us and some of it man has discovered, even if man has not discovered much. It will not be surprising if man has not discovered much. But whatever is discovered is undoubtedly the operational promise of God, the infringement of which is equal to the infringement of verbal promise and cannot happen. God has said: "Verily everything have we created by measure." (Surah liv. 49). Hence the meaning by which God created things cannot be infringed. It is not possible that the time which is appointed for a thing be put off (Surah vii. 32). It is not possible that the nature with which God has created man be altered (Surah xxx. 29). In another place He says: "There is no changing the words of God." (Surah x. 65). In our opinion "the words of God" and "the creation of God" are two synonyms which mean that no changes can occur in nature. Again He has said: "...and

thou shalt never find in God's course any alteration." (Surah xxxiii 62). Hence no alteration is possible in the course of things established by God.

Such was the general guidance concerning the law of nature. But God has also told us specific laws of nature. (Surahs xxiii. 12-14: xxii. 5: xxx. 20). Besides these there are numerous other verses on the same subject in which God has declared to us the law of nature that man is born from mates i.e. male and female... so the violation of this law of nature cannot be, just as the violation of a verbal promise cannot be. It is not possible, furthermore (Surah xxxvi. 37-40), for the sun to break the law of nature by ceasing to seem moving, as it does seem: nor is it possible for the moon not to become a crescent after covering its stages, as it always became: nor is it possible for the sun and moon to collide: nor for day and night to be confused. And when it is proved that the sun seems to move because of the movement of the earth, it necessarily follows from this very verse that the earth cannot cease to move at any time for anyone. This is contrary to the law of nature and is as impossible as a breach of the verbal promise (of God). [Sir Sayyid then goes on to cite Surahs xxix. 23 and ii. 268 to show that fire has the property of burning things and Surahs ii. 47 :vii. 132 and xxv. 39 to show the innate property of water by which heavy things sink in it and Surah xxv. 50-51 to confirm that it is not possible for rain to fall without clouds.] The violation of these laws is as impossible as the infringement of the verbal promise of God. We have cited these verses as examples. There is much (of that import) in the Qur²ān besides these and God has declared the law of nature to us.

Apart from these man has made known to himself the law of nature within the creation of God, from experience of the things God has created. Undoubtedly he cannot claim that he has discovered all the laws of nature. Some of them are well ascertained to an extent of infallibility. It is not known how many of these laws of nature are still undiscovered. Commenting on the law of nature which we have pointed out from the verses of the glorious Qur²ān someone may say that this law of nature is not universal and that there are exceptions to it. But such a person must prove these exceptions from the Qur²ān. Our claim is that the occurrence of exceptions to this law of nature is not proved from the Qur²ān. We shall explain this later.³ It may be said about a law of nature upheld by men from experience that our knowledge of the laws of nature being limited only to a few, there may be a law of nature proving exceptions. But *saying* this is not enough, since a possibility conceived by the intellect is no ontological reality: it is only an idea, the realization of which is un-

³ The translator is not aware whether Sir Sayyid fulfilled this promise, or where the explanation is, if he did so.

ascertained. Supposition does not make us dispense with the least bit of the truth. Besides, (the word) possibility is applicable to a thing which sometimes occurs and sometimes does not. But a thing whose occurrence is never established cannot be called possibility, and the application of this word to it is mere sophistry. So if a man claims that there are exceptions to laws of nature, it is upon him to prove that these exceptions do occur sometimes.

THE NINTH PRINCIPLE

There is no matter in the Qur^ʿān disagreeing with the law of nature. As for the miracles, it is proved from the Qur^ʿān that the Prophet did not bring forth any claim to the miracles. He said. "Say, I am only a mortal like yourselves." (Surah xviii. 110). Therefore the most illustrious authority, Shāh Walī Ullāh, said in *Al Tafhīmāt al-llāhiyyah* "God the glorious has not mentioned anything of miracles in His Book and never referred to them." But it is difficult to understand from these words of the Shāh what he means by this negation: whether he means that in the glorious Qur^ʿān there is no mention of any miracle of any Prophet, or that it has no mention of any miracle of Muḥammad. But we take it by inference that he does not mean to negate the miracles only of the Prophet. But we should see what his view about miracles in general is. He writes: "...of the things ascertained with us is that causes have never been abandoned and will never be. *Muʿjizāt* (miracles of the Prophets) and *Karāmāt* (miracles of saints) are things causal which are dominantly characterized by fullness of causal relation" (p. 53). So the Shāh believes that miracles are caused by natural causes and according to this view the occurrence of miracles conforms to the law of nature. We do not question this view. What we question is whether miracles be regarded as *mā fauq al-fiṭrah*, i.e. 'supernatural' in English. We negate this and consider its concurrence as impossible as the infringement of the verbal promise of God. We declare openly that there is no proof of the occurrence of anything supernatural, which, it is asserted, is the miracle. And if—although the hypothesis is impossible—we did accept miracle in this sense, referring to the omnipotence of God (as an argument), it would be a useless matter, which would neither prove anything nor silence the adversary.

No doubt some of our brethren will feel indignation at this and they will come forward declaring some matters in the Qur^ʿān to be miracles, understanding them to be supernatural. They will say there are supernatural miracles in the Qur^ʿān. We will listen to this opinion of theirs and ask politely whether, according to the language, idioms, usages and metaphors of the Arabs, there are no other meanings of the words of the Qur^ʿān which they bring forth as an argument for supernatural miracles. If it is shown (conclusively) that no other

meanings are possible, we will admit that our principle is wrong. If it is found that other meanings are possible, we shall say with great respect that they have not been able to prove the presence of supernatural miracles in the Qurʾān. If, as proof of their claim, they come forth with the assertion that during the thirteen centuries of Islam neither the Companions, nor their immediate successors, nor their successors, nor the learned interpreters, nor the exegetes, nor God Himself, set forth these meanings which we do, we shall say with respect: "Spare us this argument and tell us if the meanings we have explained are proved true by the words, idioms and metaphors of the Qurʾān or not." In short, unless they can prove to us that no meanings of a verse quoted are possible than the ones they have set forth and that the verse is an unequivocal evidence of the occurrence of the supernatural, we shall not accept that it is the supernatural (which is intended). To offer a meaning of a verse and to refer to God's omnipotence in proof, will not be right. For in our view God does all that He does, as He has promised, according to the law of nature which He has established.

As for the nature of man's soul and the faculties belonging to it, and what happens to it after death by way of resurrection and how the day of the hereafter will be and what the reality of paradise and hell and what the nature of the reward and punishment of the hereafter, all these things are beyond the comprehension of man. For all of them are what no eye has seen, no ear has heard and the conception of which has not occurred to any human mind. That is why He Whose state is great and glorious has unfolded them by allegories which suit human understanding and has disclosed the pleasures of the hereafter in terms of the highest men yearn after, and the pains thereof in terms of the utmost of what horrifies. So all this is not outside the law of nature. Rather, all these are allegories and metaphors of the states of the hereafter, its pleasures and punishments... This is the contexture of the glorious speech (of God) in striking allegories, in various matters, to make men understand and to make the discourse perspicuous for them, as far as possible. This fact is not obscure to anyone who reads the Qurʾān penetratingly and ponders.

This is my view of the nature which God, the glorious and exalted, has determined. We do not put any limits to the attributes of the Creator. Rather we say: "If He will, He will take away the heavens and the earth at a time of His appointment and bring about a new creation as He pleases." (Surah iv. 131-132.)

THE TENTH PRINCIPLE

Whatever of the glorious Qurʾān was sent down is extant in its entirety. Not one of its letters has been omitted or interpolated. Generation after generation and century after century have passed

on it consecutively till our time. God the exalted has said: "We have sent down the reminder, and verily We will guard it." (xv. 9.)

THE ELEVENTH PRINCIPLE

The arrangement of verses within every Surah is authentic (mañṣūṣ) in my opinion. Whenever some verses came down, the Apostle of God indicated that this belonged to such and such a Surah. The memorizer committed it to his memory in that arrangement in the lifetime of the Prophet, The Companions and their successors and those after them never ceased to recite the Qurʾān in this order. So the order of the verses became firmly established in this manner by consecutive testimony, generation after generation and century after century, till these times of ours. The same is the view of Shāh Walī Ullāh who says in his *Fauz al-Kabīr*: "In the times of the Prophet every Surah was preserved and recorded."

THE TWELFTH PRINCIPLE

There is no abrogating (nāsikh) and no abrogated (mansūkh) in the Qurʾān. No verse (in it) is abrogated by another of its verses. There is no indication (about abrogation) in the Qurʾān. As for Surah ii. 100 and its like, they refer to (abrogation of things in) pre-Islamic laws and not to (the abrogation) of verses of the Qurʾān. No doubt the people with books of revelation among the Jews, Christians and the polytheists, did not like such ordinances of Islam, as are contrary to their religious laws. So He, the glorious and exalted, has said first: "Those who disbelieve, whether of those who have the Book or of the idolators, would fain that no good were sent down to you from your Lord: but God specially favors with His mercy whom He will, for God is Lord of mighty grace." (Surah ii. 99). And then He said: "Whatever verse we may annul or cause thee to forget, We will bring a better one than it, or one like it." It is manifest that the abrogation in the said verse relates to the pre-Islamic religious laws and not to the verses of the Qurʾān. There is no argument to justify the view that in Surah xvi. 103 ("Whenever We change one verse for another...") the word *āyah* means a verse of the Qurʾān. Nor is there any argument that the words of God (Surah xiii. 39: "God blots out what He will, or He confirms...") relate to the abrogation of verses of the Qurʾān. Give thought (to this matter.)

[The three final Principles of Sir Sayyid's Commentary, dealing with the 'piecemeal' descent of the Qurʾān, the 'speech' of God and its Arabic meanings, will be presented in a later issue, together with a summary of the interesting correspondence on problems of exegesis between the learned commentator and his friend Nawwāb Muḥsin al-Mulk.]

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MUḤAMMAD DAUD RAHBAR

JOSEPH IN THE QUR'ĀN AND MUSLIM COMMENTARY. I

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

That Joseph, the son of the patriarch Jacob, was highly esteemed, if not actually venerated, in antiquity is beyond question. In the Samaritan liturgy, which may well reflect traditions older than the Jewish, and much older than the Muslim, Joseph receives a position of highest honour, being rated with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses. The Samaritan writers of the Middle Ages, borrowing largely from the *Defter* (their book of common prayer, belonging to the 4th century A.D., but reflecting much older material), frequently referred to Joseph as "The King". Joseph was "the crown of his brothers, who wore a crown;" he is regarded as a "deliverer and savior of Israel" and he himself, "the freed," was delivered by the intervention of God's angel from the pit. The Samaritans claim descent from Joseph and live to this day in Joseph territory (cf. Gen. xlviii. 22) and their traditions, mostly in liturgical epithets, no doubt reflect highly exalted conceptions about Joseph.

On a close examination of the Quranic narratives of Joseph (Surah xii) it becomes clear that the Prophet was acquainted with traditions not contained in the Bible, but found in later Jewish legends about Joseph, some of them known to Muslim commentators. A number of these legends can be tied down to a particular literary compendium, itself the result of centuries of developing tradition. In like manner, Al-Baiḍāwī and other Muslim commentators had access to traditions of Joseph not contained in the Hebrew Bible, but existing at least orally (unless some legends once written have ceased to be extant) throughout the Jewish Diaspora and possibly in Christian quarters.

Al-Baiḍāwī tells us that certain Jewish learned men prompted the Quraish to test Muḥammad by asking him to tell how the family of the patriarch Jacob happened to leave their native Canaan to go to Egypt and what was the story of Joseph in detail. We are further told that the Joseph Surah was not acceptable to certain Muslim sectaries, namely, the two branches of the Khārijites, known as the Ajāridites and the Maimūnians respectively, on the ground that the story was apocryphal.

The Quranic stories begin, not at the beginning of the life of Joseph as in the Bible, but from Joseph's second dream (Gen. xxxvii. 9), wherein he beheld eleven stars and the sun and moon making obeisance to him. Jacob, to whom he told the story, warns him not to tell his brothers for fear of their anger. Jacob also tells Joseph, his favorite son, that the Lord has chosen him and he will teach him to interpret "dark sayings" and thence bless him and the family of

Jacob. In some way Joseph's brothers hear of this latest presumptuous claim and they determine to slay him, their father having erred in judgment by preferring him to them. One of the brothers counsels that they should put him in the bottom of a well, perchance wayfarers may find him and take him thence. Then the Quranic story continues directly with the brothers exhorting their father to allow them to take Joseph with them on the morrow, that they would take good care of him and that their young brother could sport and play. Jacob is unhappy about this, being afraid that a wolf might devour him, but the brothers scorn such fears and go off, planning to put Joseph in a well. We are told nothing of the circumstances attending the loss of Joseph and we are merely informed that the brothers return to Jacob weeping and tell him that they left Joseph to watch their clothes while they raced and that then a wolf devoured him. It is added that the brothers say to their father that he will not believe them even though they speak the truth. So, according to plan, they produce the shirt of Joseph covered with blood (not their brother's). Whatever the outcome of this may be, we are told that Jacob condemned his sons for the deed and left himself in God's hands.

Then comes the rescue of Joseph, when some wayfarers arrive at the well to draw water; one of them, the drawer of water, lets down his bucket and cries "Good news, a youth." This discovery they decide to keep to themselves in order to make merchandise out of their chance find. They sell him for a paltry sum, a few dirhams counted down, because they do not think much of the youth. We are next told that an Egyptian bought Joseph and instructed his wife that the lad should be treated hospitably, since he might prove useful to them; indeed, said the Egyptian, he might even be adopted as their son! The wife of this Egyptian conceives a passion for the Hebrew and tries to tempt him, but he resists her both morally and physically, and then makes for the door, while she grasps his shirt from behind and tears it. At the door the Egyptian meets them and she suggests that Joseph should be punished for what he did. But a witness of her family gives evidence that she was lying, because his shirt is not rent in front, but behind. This satisfies the Egyptian and he condemns his wife for her stratagem, while telling Joseph that he had nothing to worry about. The story reaches the city and becomes the subject of gossip, for certain women were talking about the affair. When the Egyptian's wife hears of this she sends to them, prepares a banquet for them and gives each a knife. When she makes Joseph present himself in their presence, the women are amazed and cut their hands (instead of their food) through astonishment at his handsome appearance. They acclaim him as an angel. The Egyptian's wife tells them that he is the subject of their gossip and maintains that he must go to prison if he refuses to obey her. Joseph prefers prison to that. Although they see that he is innocent, they imprison him.

In prison Joseph is accompanied by two youths, both of whom dream and ask Joseph to interpret their dreams because they see that he is a virtuous person. The first youth dreamed that he was pressing grapes, the second that he was carrying bread on his head and that the birds ate it from off his head. Joseph gives a speech in which he states his religious standpoint and ends with a brief statement of interpretation of the two dreams. He addresses the one he deems will be freed, exhorting him to speak on his behalf when he is free.

The King has a dream of seven fat cattle and seven thin cattle which devour the former. He cannot find any to interpret, so the youth who had been freed from prison, remembering Joseph's interpretation of his own dream, since proved right, seeks permission to go to Joseph and find the interpretation of the King's dream. This he does and Joseph 'prophesies' that the Egyptians would sow seven years, but in the reaping they were to leave some in the ear of the corn. Then seven lean years were to follow, when they must consume the corn they had stored, except a little which should be kept. There would follow a year in which rain would come and the earth would produce the grape again. The King must have been favourably impressed, for he ordered that Joseph be brought to him. When the messenger of the King comes to Joseph, the latter asks him to tell his lord to explain what it meant when the women cut their hands.

The Prince (Egyptian) asked the women about the matter which led to Joseph being imprisoned and the truth came out that his own wife had solicited Joseph. The King again commands that Joseph be brought and tells Joseph that he is to be entrusted with position and authority.

The brothers of Joseph arrive in Egypt and come to Joseph. He recognises them, but they do not recognise him. Joseph gives them provisions and asks them to bring their brother. The brothers promise to see what they could do, while Joseph gives orders that their money should be put in their camel-packs in the hope that they would return for more provisions. The brothers return to Jacob and tell him that corn was withheld from them, but that if their brother returned to Egypt with them, they would receive corn.

They promise to take care of their brother, but Jacob remembers what happened when he entrusted Joseph to their care. However, Jacob yields to their request and trusts to God as Guardian. The brothers open their goods and find their money returned; this they tell their father to encourage him, but he makes sure of them by making them swear on oath to return their brother to him. They give their pledge. He advises them not to enter Egypt all by one gate, but to enter by different gates.

The brothers act on the advice of their father and enter where Joseph was with his brother. Joseph speaks to his brother, revealing himself; he provides his brothers with provisions, but places his

drinking-cup in his brother's camel-pack. A crier goes after them accusing them of theft, a charge which they deny. After conversation, Joseph finds the cup in his young brother's pack. The brothers appeal against the taking of their youngest brother on the ground that their father is aged. The eldest brother states to his brethren that he does not intend to leave the land till his father gives him permission. He bids them return to Jacob and explain the situation.

The story moves on to the meeting with Jacob, who condemns his sons, but commits himself to God. He is stricken with grief, but for Joseph. The brothers think him doting. Jacob bids them return and seek tidings of Joseph and his brother.

The brethren return to Joseph and plead with him for food as a gift. He reveals himself and forgives them, and then gives his shirt to be used as proof of his continued existence for Jacob. This would, he said, when thrown in his father's face, restore his sight. The brothers depart as commanded. Their father perceives the smell of Joseph and rejoices, his sight returns.

The whole family meet Joseph, who embraces his 'parents' and bids them welcome to Egypt. He raises his 'parents' to the seat of state and bows before them. The aged patriarch now says that this is the meaning of the old dream. Joseph makes a final speech, in which he thanks God for being his guardian and teaching him dark sayings. He asks God to make him die a Muslim.

In studying this Quranic narrative we have several means to aid us in unravelling its distinctive aspects. There is the Bible (Gen. xxxvii, xxxix-1), whose traditions for Joseph are unquestionably ancient. Then there is further Jewish tradition as found in the *Midrashim*, especially the great *Midrash* on Genesis (*Bereshith Rabba* referred to here as BR) and the *Targumim*, Aramaic translations—often paraphrastic—of the Hebrew books. There are the Muslim Arabic commentaries on Surah xii, that of *Al-Baidāwī* being our chief concern here. Samaritan sources are more elusive and may not be available to any worthwhile extent for a few years to come. However the Samaritan epithets for Joseph are not without value and they will be noted where they appertain.

It is well to divide the Quranic narratives into stages and deal with each in turn. PART I (1) From Joseph's dream to his being carried off to Egypt. (2) Joseph in the house of the Egyptian. (3) Joseph in prison. PART II (4) Pharaoh's Dream and Joseph's elevation. (5) Joseph and his brethren. Part II will be dealt with in the July issue.

PART I

(1) A. JOSEPH'S DREAM

No mention is made in the Surah of Joseph's first dream (Gen. xxxvii. 5-8) which aroused the resentment and envy of his brothers.

The Surah begins the narrative with his second dream, according to which Joseph told his father that he saw eleven stars and the sun and moon make obeisance to him. Jacob advises Joseph not to tell his brethren, lest they plot against him, the devil being hostile to men. Jacob goes on to explain to Joseph how the Lord had chosen him (by this dream) and would teach him the interpretation of "dark sayings." Furthermore, the Lord would favor him and thence the whole family, just as He had favored Abraham and Isaac. The Prophet then states that in the history of Joseph and his brethren are signs of God's promise to the enquirers.

(i) In Gen. xxxvii. 9 seq., Joseph told the dream to his brethren and to his father. Whereupon his father rebuked him on the ground that it was most unlikely that he (Jacob) and Joseph's mother and brethren would bow down to him. The brothers are said to have "envied" him, but Jacob "observed the saying". In the Surah, Jacob appears to be understanding and not in any way resentful. Jewish tradition (e.g. Josephus: Antiquities II. 2, 3) has it that Joseph told Jacob first by himself and Jacob was understanding. But again (Lekah Gen. xxxvii. 10) later Joseph told his brothers in the presence of Jacob who scolded him. It is clear, according to Jewish and Muslim sources, that Jacob was anxious to avoid further resentment on the part of his sons against Joseph, his favorite. Jacob, says Al-Baiḍāwī, judged that the dream was a portent of Joseph's advancement above his brothers and so was fearful lest the envy of the brethren might tempt them to do Joseph harm. According to the Bible and later Jewish legend, Joseph was Jacob's favorite son, because he was the son of his old age, and so he bestowed special honors such as the coat of many colors. (Gen. xxxvii.3: perhaps read "a long robe with sleeves"). The special garment may indicate that Jacob realised that his favorite was above the other sons, and so Al-Baiḍāwī may have a genuine tradition behind him when he states that the dream of Joseph portended, in Jacob's eyes, his future advancement.

(ii) The Arabic commentaries (e.g. Al-Baiḍāwī and Al-Zamakhsharī) actually give the names of the stars. These names are held, according to Al-Baiḍāwī, to have been given by the Prophet in answer to a Jew who was trying to catch him out. Jewish tradition, BR lxvii. 10, lxxxiv. 11 and the Great Midrash on the Book of Genesis (ed. Schechter, Cambridge, 1902) i. 560, offers the explanation that Joseph knew that he himself was designated by the sun, that the moon stood for his mother and the stars for his brothers.

(iii) The Prophet indicates that the story of Joseph and his brethren is well suited to illustrate God's providence.

B. THE EVIL DESIGNS OF THE BRETHREN

(i) The sequel in the Surah to Joseph's announcement of his dream is that the brothers are greatly irritated, because Jacob seemed to

prefer Joseph and his brother (i.e. Benjamin) to them, although they are greater in number, and they judge their father to be at fault. It appears that the majority are agreed that Joseph should either be slain or removed to some far-off place, so that they will receive their rightful place in the esteem of their father. However, one brother seeks to avoid extreme measures and suggests the less violent measure of throwing Joseph into a well, perchance some travellers may discover him and take him off.

(ii) Agreed on a scheme to put him in a well, they endeavour to persuade their father of their goodwill toward Joseph, suggesting that he should allow him to accompany them on the morrow into the field. Jacob is uneasy about this, being uncertain of their 'careful' regard, and says he fears a wolf may kill him. The brothers, in pained protest, say that they are surely sufficient in number to avoid such a calamity.

(iii) The patriarch gave way and off the brothers went, accompanied by Joseph, to carry out their design. The Prophet inserts at this point the statement that it was revealed to Joseph that in later times he would remind his brothers of their action while they did not then recognise him to be their brother.

(iv) We are not given details of the brothers' actions in ridding themselves of Joseph, but are told merely that they return to their father in the evening, apparently in great distress, announcing that they had been running races, leaving Joseph with their baggage, when a wolf devoured him. They themselves suggest that their story will not be acceptable to Jacob, even though it is true. To add force to their claim, they produce Joseph's under-garment stained with false blood. Jacob condemns them, but accepts his ill-fate, saying that God will assist him in overcoming his calamity.

Concerning the first part of this narrative, Gen. xxxvii. 12-22 gives a different version of events.

It is clear that there are substantial differences in the two accounts. Neither is full and the reader in either case is obliged to fill in the gaps himself. The Prophet introduces Joseph's brother, a point not referred to in the Biblical account, as preferred with Joseph by Jacob. Presumably the Prophet had heard that Joseph and Benjamin were born of the same mother and no doubt he presumed that in this dispute the two sides would be arrayed on such grounds—which may well have been the case.

On the question of ridding themselves of Joseph, as they were now determined to do in view of his presumptuousness and special position in Jacob's favor, the brothers were agreed, according to the Biblical account, the Surah and Jewish legends. Gen. xxxvii. 20 makes the general agreement among the brethren to be that Joseph should be slain and his body concealed in a pit. According to Muḥammad, they were agreed on either slaying him or removing him to some far-off

or desert part of the earth. Later Jewish traditions are mixed on the question. We read in BR lxxxiv. 14 that the brothers, when they saw Joseph approaching in Dothan, planned first to set dogs on him; another story (Twelve Testaments, Zebulun 2) is that Joseph's brothers, Simeon and Gad, on the initiation of Simeon, set about slaying him and Joseph entreated them on his face to spare him, with the result that Zebulun was moved to pity and Joseph hid behind him. Out of the confusion of traditions from several quarters, one likely tradition emerges—that from the beginning Joseph was to be thrown into a pit, but whether alive or dead, or for whatever motive, is not so certain.

The Quranic narrative differs from the Biblical account in order of events, but following the Quranic meantime, we are told that one brother urged, not the outright slaying of Joseph, but that he should be thrown into 'the' well—alive—so that travellers might take him off. This at least suits the previous statement that one plan was to remove him to some outlandish place. Now the Biblical account (Gen. xxxvii. 21) states that Reuben, when he heard that his brothers planned to slay Joseph and cast his body into a pit, took Joseph from them, saying that they should not kill him, but throw him into a particular pit in the region, doing him no physical harm. Presumably the brothers, who accepted this, imagined that Joseph was to be left in the pit until either he died in the heat, without provisions, or was found and taken away. Al-Baiḍāwī and some commentators mention the tradition that this brother who pleaded for less violent measures was Judah, others that it was Reuben (Rubīl). The Biblical narrative has both Judah and Reuben in the story, the latter advising that Joseph be thrown into the pit alive, the former, in the absence of Reuben, later persuading the others not to leave Joseph to die in the pit, but to sell him to the Ishmaelites. Most later Jewish sources follow the Biblical account in this, though there are great elaborations and adornments.

It would seem that the Prophet knew the Jewish sources only in outline, for he omits all mention of the second brother intervening. But in mentioning the intervention of one brother in the discussion, he introduces the next stage, the finding of Joseph by the travellers. However, the Prophet departs from the Biblical sequence. For we next read that they persuaded Jacob to allow Joseph to accompany them. Nothing is given of the Jewish tradition (in Bible and legend) that Jacob sent Joseph, that Joseph did not find his brethren in Shechem and had to go to Dothan as a result of information given by a certain man whom he met. Later Jewish legends, e.g. Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xxxvii. 13 and Josephus: Ant. II. 2-4, tell us that the brothers were away a long time and Jacob became anxious, fearing they were warring against the Shechemites, and so he sent Joseph to enquire about them and also about Jacob's flocks. Joseph, though afraid

his going might have unpleasant consequences, went out of filial duty. When he did not find his brothers in Shechem, he journeyed farther afield, but became lost in the wilderness. Gabriel, in the form of a man, met him and we read in *Pirke Rabbi Eleazer* that the angel enquired of his mission and finally led him to Dothan. It is surprising that this very old legend was not known to Muḥammad or, if known to him, was not used in his narrative.

As for the second section of this part of the Joseph story, it appears that the Prophet was not acquainted, or concerned, with the details of transition here and inserts the request of the brothers that Jacob allow Joseph to accompany them. It has already been noted that according to the Biblical record Jacob himself sent Joseph and that later Jewish legend tells us why he did so. Perhaps Muḥammad desired to introduce the wolf into the narrative before the brothers returned with their fabricated story. There was the tradition that Jacob was specially afraid of that animal either because the land was full of wolves or that he had had a dream in which Joseph was devoured by one (so *Al-Baiḍāwī*, *Jalāl al-Dīn*, *Al-Zamakhsharī*, etc.).

Interestingly, in the third section, the Prophet introduces that a revelation was given Joseph, presumably in the past, that in future days he would remind his brothers of their deed at a time when they would not recognise him. The Prophet may simply be making use of a well-known part of the Joseph story for religious purposes. This is the only part of the Quranic account which can possibly have reference to the time when Joseph was actually in the pit. In Jewish legend, there are many detailed stories about the happenings within the pit. The Muslim commentators, however, being more acquainted with Jewish legend—possibly because they set about finding out—tell us that Gabriel clothed Joseph in the pit with a garment of silk of paradise. This garment, says *Al-Baiḍāwī*, had been worn by the patriarch Abraham before he was stripped of it when he was thrown into the fire by Nimrod, and that the garment descended from Abraham to Jacob, who put it in an amulet which he hung round Joseph's neck, so that Gabriel only had to take it out. This is also a Jewish legend¹, according to which God did not desire Joseph, who had been stripped of his clothes by his brethren, to appear before the travellers in such unseemly manner, and so sent Gabriel to him; Gabriel enlarged the amulet which he (Joseph) was wearing round his neck, so that it became a garment adequately covering him. The Jewish story goes on further to state that when the brethren looked at Joseph, as he was being removed by the travellers from the pit, they were amazed to see him clothed. In true Semitic fashion they wanted extra payment for the clothes and the travellers gave over four pairs of shoes. Indeed, this was the garment Joseph wore when he arrived

¹ cf. *ʿAsarah Hanyeh Malkut*, 20.

in Egypt and continued to wear right up to the time of his rule in that country.

As for the pit itself, Al-Baidāwī and others tell us that it was said to be a well near Jerusalem, or near the Jordan, and that others maintained it was called the Well of Egypt or Midian.

Fourthly, there is no smooth transition from the evil deed of the brethren to their return to Jacob with their sorry tale. Muslim commentaries give us the picture that the brethren set about Joseph in the field and might have killed him had not Judah, hearing Joseph's screams for help, made the brethren keep to the agreed plan to cast him alive into the well. We are told further that they let him down a little way into the well. But Joseph gripped the sides and so they had to bind him, taking off his inner garment, planning to deceive Jacob later by producing this garment stained with blood. Joseph begged the return of his garment, no doubt terrified at the thought of being in such a place unclothed, but the others sneeringly pointed out that the eleven stars and sun and moon would clothe him and keep him company. When Joseph was lowered halfway down they let him drop to the bottom into the water (in Gen. xxxvii. 24 it is said that there was no water in the pit), so that he had to stand on a stone. He stood weeping there and that was the situation when Gabriel appeared to turn the amulet's contents into a garment.

This legend has its parallel in Jewish sources. For example, we are told in BR lxxxiv. 16, etc., that Simeon (always the most hateful) seized Joseph and cast him into a pit swarming with snakes and scorpions and beside it there was another, unused, pit filled with offal.

Simeon went further and commanded his brothers to cast heavy stones in after Joseph. The brothers, we are told in the last-mentioned Jewish source, removed his coat of many colours (not referred to in the Qur'ān), his upper garment, his breeches and shirt. Yet the reptiles were unable to harm Joseph, because God kept them hiding in clefts and holes. Joseph appealed to the brothers from the bottom of the pit, beseeching them to remember their relationship and their aged father. The brethren avoided listening to Joseph's moving cry by standing at a distance of a bowshot (so Yashar wa-Yesheb—henceforth YY—81a). Only Zebulun was moved to pity and refused to eat for two days and nights, because of Joseph who had to spend three days and nights in the pit before he was sold. Even when Joseph was suffering in the pit for want of food and warmth, the brothers wanted to kill him, but Judah saved the situation by noticing a party of travelling Ishmaelites (Arabs) on their way to Egypt. His suggestion that Joseph might best be got rid of by selling him to these received consideration, and while they were arguing the matter seven Midianite merchants passed close to the pit. They saw birds hovering over the pit and discovered the handsome youth. They took him out and continued their journey, but Joseph's brethren questioned their action and fighting broke out. Simeon (the terrible) terrified them in a bout

of fighting. But finally God's purpose was worked out, and the Midianites bought Joseph for twenty pieces of silver.

The Qur'ān has nothing of these stories, but merely mentions the return of the brethren to Jacob before continuing with the adventures of Joseph. The brethren, we are told, tell their tale, but Jacob sees through their subterfuge and will not accept the blood-stained garment as evidence. Al-Baiḍāwī gives a small point of tradition (or explanation) that Jacob's reason for not believing his sons' story was that the blood-stained garment was not torn—a plausible explanation.

According to Jewish tradition (e.g. in YY 84 a-b based on older sources), it was on Issachar's advice that Joseph's coat was torn (not his inner garment as the Qur'ān says) and dipped in the blood of a goat-kid, the reason being that a kid's blood is like human blood. Jewish traditions maintain that Jacob accepted his sons' explanation and there was bitter mourning for Joseph in the whole household. It appears that Muḥammad did not know the Jewish tradition (not mentioned in the Biblical account) that the coat of Joseph was torn.

Finally in this section there is the brief Qur'anic account that certain travellers came, sent one of their number to draw water, that he let down his bucket and said, "Good news"—*bushrā*—"a youth!" The travellers concealed the youth, hoping to make merchandise out of him, and they sold him for a small sum to an Egyptian.

Again the Prophet is vague, for he says, "one of their number" just as he said "one of them" when referring to Reuben. When we study the Muslim commentaries, we find that the travellers were a certain caravan travelling from Midian to Egypt, who rested near the well three days after Joseph had been thrown into it. The name of the one who let down his bucket is given by Al-Baiḍāwī as Mālik ibn Dhār, of the tribe of Khuzā'a. When Malik lowered the bucket, Joseph took hold of the rope and was drawn up, to the astonishment of Mālik. With regard to the words "and they concealed him," there is no general agreement, for the word "they" could refer to the Midianites or to Joseph's brethren. One line of thought is that Mālik and his companion concealed the manner of their discovery from the rest of the caravan company, hoping to get away with the explanation that some people had given the youth to them to sell in Egypt on their behalf. This explanation has a link possibly with Jewish tradition (see below), though there is nothing of this in the Biblical record. It is maintained by some that Judah, one of the brothers, supplied Joseph with food for the three days during which he was in the well (or pit), but on the fourth day Judah could find no trace of him. When he told the rest of the brethren about this, they went to the travellers and claimed that Joseph was their slave. Joseph for his part wanted no more ill-treatment from his angry brethren and did not reveal his true identity during the bargaining, and finally the brothers agreed to sell Joseph to the travellers.

The commentators specify the sum agreed on as twenty or twenty-two dirhams of less than true weight. What happened was that one ounce of silver only was actually counted or weighed out, the rest being accepted on trust.

Turning to Jewish legends, we have already noted that there was battle between the Midianites and the Israelite brothers over the ownership of Joseph. We read in Twelve Testaments Zebulun 4 that, though Reuben had been the one who prevented Joseph from being killed outright and had intended to see him safely returned to Jacob, it was Judah who was most watchful at the pit, because he feared that Simeon and Gad might jump down into the pit and destroy the lad. Finally, according to YY 81b, Judah was responsible for the arrangement whereby Joseph was sold to the seven Midianites.

Jewish traditions about the whole proceedings of the final sale seem to be an attempt to conflate the two contradictory accounts in the Bible (J & E strands represented in Gen. xxxvii. 28 and xxxvii. 36 and cf. xxxix. 1). On the one hand, the Midianites discover Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 28), all seven combining to lift him from the pit, and after the battle with the Israelites pay them twenty pieces of silver (the last two data not being from the Bible), enough for a pair of shoes for each brother. There is possible confusion amongst Muslim commentators on this matter, for when they give the sum later paid to the Egyptian, the sum of twenty dinars of gold is mentioned; so also we hear of a pair of shoes and two white garments, while others insist that it was a large sum in silver or gold; whereas in Jewish legend Potiphar paid as much as four hundred pieces of silver. Thus the Muslim commentators possibly confuse the two occasions. In this context twenty pieces of silver is more likely. After the bartering for the clothes which Joseph's brethren suddenly discovered he wore, the brothers bought shoes with the money and the Midianites continued their journey in peace. On the way to Gilead the travellers felt qualms about the slave, lest he had been stolen and sold to them under false security. As they worried and took counsel, they saw the travelling Ishmaelites whom the brothers of Joseph had earlier noticed, and they decided to palm their slave off on them; and the Ishmaelites (who later sold Joseph to the Egyptian Potiphar) paid over the exact amount the Midianites had paid the Israelites. The Biblical references to the second sale are Gen. xxxvii. 28 and xxxix. 1 in conjunction with xxxvii. 36. The last-mentioned Jewish legends are recorded in YY 82b.

(2) A. EGYPT.

The Prophet mentions the Egyptian who bought Joseph for a mean price. His name is not mentioned in the Surah. Joseph is said by the commentators to have been seventeen years of age at this time and

to have remained with the Egyptian thirteen years and that he became ruler over Egypt in his thirty-third year.

The Biblical account (Gen. xxxvii. 36) is very brief, but Jewish legend amplifies as usual; e.g. in one place we read that the Ishmaelites and Midianites arrived in Egypt on the same day. When the Midianites (not the Ishmaelites as in another story) heard that Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, was looking for a good slave, they made for him at once. Potiphar was willing to go as high as four hundred pieces of silver, for Joseph pleased him greatly. He demanded of the Midianites proof that Joseph was really a slave and the Ishmaelites testified that this was the case. So Potiphar paid the four hundred pieces and Joseph entered a new life in Egypt.

Before introducing the story of the Egyptian's wife seducing Joseph, the Qur^ān mentions that the Egyptian advised his wife to treat Joseph well in the hope that the Hebrew might prove useful to them, or even that they might adopt him as their son.

The Egyptian's wife is variously described as Zulaika or less commonly Ra'il, the former being the name in the Jewish legends. In the Jewish stories Zulaika desired Joseph from the first and was instrumental in helping him to a favourable position in Potiphar's eyes. In the Biblical narrative (Gen. xxxix), it is said simply (v. 2) that God prospered Joseph, that Potiphar perceived this and therefore trusted him, and that he put Joseph over all his household affairs. Jewish traditions (e.g. BR lxxxvi. 4-5; lxxxvi. 6) have it that Potiphar observed Joseph continually praying and he conversed with him about this, with the result that Potiphar came to put unusually high trust in his slave. After variously testing Joseph, he put all the keys of his house into his hand—in fact everything but his wife.

Regarding the question of possible adoption of Joseph as a son, Muslim sources say that Potiphar had no family of his own, that the countenance of Joseph gained for him a high regard in his master's mind, the latter being skilled in physiognomy. We read in BR lxxxvi. 5, Josephus Ant. ii. 4.1 (and cf. Philo: De Josepho 8) that Potiphar noted that Joseph had the Shekinah resting on him, so that he trusted him and treated him as a member of the household, saying: "This youth is not built for the labour of a slave, for he deserves the place of a prince." Potiphar had Joseph instructed in the arts and Joseph was truly grateful to God for his happy state.

Perhaps something of this had reached the Prophet, for he interrupts the narrative, adding that Joseph's place on earth was established from above, and that when Joseph had reached the age of maturity he received (Divine) wisdom. The age of maturity would fit in well with the Biblical sequence, for Joseph is said in Gen. xli. 46 to have been thirty years old when he reached his high position over Egypt.

Joseph in the Quranic story, Jewish legend and Samaritan epithets, was regarded as specially endowed with supernormal ability to per-

ceive mysteries, interpret dreams and indeed life itself. The term "righteous" is used by the Prophet for Joseph and likewise in Jewish and Samaritan epithets, almost as a title.

C. ZULAIKA AND JOSEPH

This story is told at length in the Surah and at considerable length and detail in Jewish stories, and even in the Samaritan epithets (liturgical formulae) the attribute of Joseph more highly praised than any other perhaps is that he was able to keep himself pure and reject the harlot. It is to be hoped that when Samaritan material is available, apart from the liturgical formulae, it will be seen that this episode in the life of Joseph was particularly significant.

(i) We are told in the Surah that "she in whose house he was" desired him to lie with her and that she shut the doors and summoned him. In Gen. xxxix. 7, it is simply said that Potiphar's wife "cast her eyes on Joseph and said, 'Lie with me.'" The later Jewish legends make it clear that Zulaika did not confess her love to Joseph from the beginning, although she had admired him thus early. In these legends, we read that at first she tried to seduce him by artifice and would pay him visits on the pretext that since she had no son she would like to adopt him (cf. the Prophet's remark above-mentioned). Joseph did not see through the artifice and prayed for her, with the result that she bore a son to her husband. She continued, however, to embrace Joseph as a son and it was some time before he perceived her true designs. For the full account see Twelve Testaments, Joseph 3-7.

(ii) Joseph refuses because it would be disloyal to a master who had treated him so handsomely, and furthermore, that those who do not feel gratitude will not prosper. There is a slight confusion as to the word "lord" or "master" here used by the Qur'ān, some taking it to refer to Potiphar, others to God. In the Biblical account (Gen. xxxix. 8-9), a similar reason is given for Joseph's refusal, for he claims that it would be very wrong of him to deceive one who had given the whole house into his hand, and it would be sin against God. At this point the Qur'ān and the Bible come close together in the Joseph Story. In YY 86 b, Yoma 35b it is said that Joseph mourned for a while after he perceived the guile and passion of Zulaika, while she became desperate and continued to try to seduce him with increasing passion.

In the Surah we read that Zulaika determined to win him for her pleasure and even Joseph would have given in if he had not received a clear warning from God. The commentators, e.g. Al-Zamakhsharī, Jalāl al-Din, and Al-Baiḍāwī, differ on the reason for Joseph's change of heart. Either he gave great thought to the matter and found it would be very sinful, or there was some Divine miracle which decided for him. Some of the commentators mention that Joseph had yielded to his master's wife to the extent of sitting on her lap and

preparing to lie with her, when a voice called out and warned him to beware. Joseph paid no attention although the warning was given three times, so captivated was he by the woman's beauty and seductive words, until finally Gabriel himself (or, according to another version, a vision of Potiphar) appeared. The more generally accepted version is that Jacob appeared as an apparition and prevented Joseph physically from expressing his physical desire. It is explained in Sale's notes that the Muslims received this fable, so injurious to Joseph's character, from the Jews who understood the words in Gen. xxxix. 11 to mean that Joseph had this design. So the interpretation in Talmud: Nashim p. 36. However, Sale failed to mention a better established Jewish tradition (Tractate Sotah f. 36) that Jacob appeared and said; "In days to come the names of thy brethren engraved on precious stones shall shine on the breast-plate of the High Priest. Shall thine be blotted out?" Other Jewish legends (e.g. BR 87. 5) record conversations between Zulaika and Joseph, in which the former gives reasons why Joseph should yield and he in turn gives answers of a Biblical character why he should not. Just at the point where Joseph was yielding after much endeavor to resist, he saw the image of his mother Rachel and that of his aunt Leah, and then that of his father. In the Surah, it is recognised that some Divine intervention, not specified, saved Joseph.

(iii) They both made for the door and Zulaika rent his shirt at the back: then they met Potiphar at the door, Joseph trying to escape and Zulaika trying to hold him back; they reached the door at the same time. According to the Genesis story (xxxix. 11-12), Joseph entered the house on Potiphar's business, no one else of the male servants being about, and Zulaika caught him by the garment and urged him but he "left his garment in her hand and fled and got him out," no mention being made of Potiphar meeting them. In fact Potiphar heard about it from his wife later, according to v. 19.

The Prophet has obviously curtailed the account here, though he elaborates the sequel. According to Luria on Pirke Rabbi Eleazer, Abkir in Yalkut I. 145 and in YY 88 a-b, we can construct the Jewish tradition that Joseph returned to Zulaika's chamber despite himself and was about to yield finally when the Lord appeared to him, holding the Eben Shetiyah in His hand and saying: "If thou touchest her, I will cast away this stone upon which the earth is founded and the world will fall to ruin." Thus sobered again, Joseph made to escape from Zulaika, but she caught his garment and threatened him with a sword against his throat, whereupon Joseph ran out, leaving a piece of his garment in her hands as he wrenched himself loose.

(iv) The Quranic story goes directly to the examination by the Egyptian. Zulaika urged at once that Joseph be imprisoned, while Joseph simply told how he had been wronged. A witness of the family joined in, suggesting that if Joseph's garment was torn in front, then

Zulaika was telling the truth, but if it was torn at the back she was lying. Potiphar finds the garment torn at the back and immediately recognises the stratagem of his wife. He bids Joseph take no more account of the matter and commands his wife to ask Joseph's forgiveness. The story of the interview ends at this and we are taken to the next move on Zulaika's part.

In the Biblical narrative (Gen. xxxix. 13-20), Potiphar's wife at once called the men of the house and told them how Joseph had attempted to seduce her and she kept his garment aside till Potiphar returned home. She then reported her version of the affair to her husband, who, on hearing it, became very angry and had Joseph put in prison.

The Qur'ān finally tells of Joseph's imprisonment after a discussion between Joseph and Zulaika and Potiphar, which reads quite convincingly. "A witness of the family" was, according to most Muslim commentators after Al-Baiḍāwī, a cousin of Zulaika, at this time a child in the cradle. Jewish tradition (e.g. YY 88a-89a, the speaking of babes being a favorite subject in Jewish—and Christian—legend) is more explicit in giving the following: God opened the mouth of Zulaika's child, a babe of but eleven months, and he spoke to the men who were beating Joseph, saying: "What is your quarrel with this man?.....Lies my mother doth speak." The child then gives a true account of what really happened.

According to Abkir in Yalkut i. 146 Zulaika tried to obviate the consequences of her folly, for she feared that Joseph might tell of her conduct. She made herself seem ill, so that friends visiting her enquired the reason. Zulaika told them the truth and the women advised her to lodge complaints before Potiphar and have Joseph put in prison. Zulaika persuades the women to complain on their own behalf against Joseph. Potiphar, according to YY 88a-89a, was greatly perturbed about his wife's illness and when he heard the reason he believed his wife and had Joseph beaten terribly. It was then that Zulaika's babe spoke up and saved Joseph.

The Prophet now proceeds to those events which, in his account, led to the imprisoning of Joseph. According to this, before the interview with Joseph, some women in the city talked of Joseph enticing Zulaika and inflaming her with his love, but they condemned Zulaika. On hearing this Zulaika invited them to a banquet and gave each a knife. Calling Joseph, she found (no doubt as she had expected) that the women admired his beauty—so much so that they cut their hands instead of their food—an Oriental exaggeration? Zulaika now points out that this is the servant for whom she felt such passion and, knowing the women were now on her side, recommended that Joseph be imprisoned.

There is nothing of this in the Biblical account, but it is clear that Muḥammad is giving a version, somewhat mutilated, of a Jewish

tradition which makes better sense, namely that mentioned above in which Zulaika subtly gains the support of her friends. Al-Baidāwī gives the number of the women involved as forty; among them were the wives of five of the king's chief officers, *viz.* his chamberlain, butler, baker, jailer and herdsman. Jewish legends, e.g. Y 87a-b (and cf. Tanḥuma wa-Yesheb 5, giving an old source) mention the feast or banquet and give the explanation of the women cutting their hands as due to surprise at his beauty. The beauty of Joseph is the subject of comment in many places in Jewish literature, past and present, and indeed in Baba Bathra 58a Joseph is mentioned in a list of persons classed as ideals of beauty, beginning from Adam.

Jewish sources, e.g. YY 88a-89a, give the reason for the final imprisonment of Joseph, despite his innocence, as follows: Potiphar was taken aback at his infant son's miraculous speech and took the matter to court, priests being the judges. Joseph gave his version and Potiphar presented his wife's. The judges saw the garment, still in Zulaika's possession, and examined the tear in it. Their conclusion was that Zulaika had tried to hold Joseph, but had been foiled by his dash for escape. So Joseph was not condemned to death, but to imprisonment, because he had wittingly or unwittingly caused a stain on Zulaika's good name. Potiphar thought Joseph innocent, but had to protect his wife's name and he explained this to Joseph. So Midrash Midbar Rabba 87.9, etc.

The Prophet may not have heard the Jewish legend of the court scene and deposition of Joseph, but it appears that he received the story of the banquet from Jewish Midrashim.

Muslim commentators, on the question of "it seemed good to them to imprison him for a time," take it that Potiphar and his friends either suspected Joseph as being guilty, despite the seeming proofs to the contrary, or thought Zulaika wanted Joseph out of the way, so as to conquer her terrible desire for him, and thus she deceived her husband, or else her real intention was to force Joseph to give in to her by having him languish for a time in prison. In any case Joseph was imprisoned and the Prophet finds no more need to use "the Egyptian's wife" in his narrative. Jewish sources, however, as in BR 87. 10, etc., tell that Zulaika continued to molest Joseph in prison—which would suggest that the Muslim commentators who take the line that Zulaika's motive was to force Joseph to yield through imprisonment perhaps had the Jewish tradition behind them.

(3) A. JOSEPH IN PRISON

The Quranic narrative of the period of Joseph's internment comprises mainly the telling of the two dreams and the interpretations which were finally responsible for Joseph's elevation to power over Egypt. The introduction is brief, namely that there entered into the prison where Joseph was two of the King's servants; these, we are

told in some commentaries, were his chief butler and chief baker, accused of planning to poison the King. In the Biblical account (Gen. xxxix. 20-xl. 4), Joseph was put in the prison where the King's prisoners were kept bound, but Joseph was helped by God, so that the keeper of the prison took a liking to him and, as a result, the keeper gave over to Joseph the responsibility for the prisoners and their work. Then the chief butler and chief baker of the royal household offended Pharaoh and he had them imprisoned in the same place as Joseph. The latter of course had charge over these too.

Jewish legend, (e.g. *Tanḥuma wa-Yesheb* 7) tells that Joseph was in prison for ten years and during that time Zulaika continued to haunt him. Joseph was able to serve Potiphar in his master's house, although he himself lived in the prison. He received better fare as the result of the keeper's regard for him; Joseph was free to come and go much as he pleased. Gossip about Joseph and his 'crime' continued and God diverted public attention by ordaining that two of Pharaoh's servants should offend him and be cast into the prison where Joseph was—so BR 87. 1-2.

According to the Surah, one of the prisoners told how he had dreamed that he was pressing wine for grapes. That is all we are told up to this point. But the Biblical narrative and later Jewish stories tell us that Joseph came into the presence of the two prisoners one morning and observed that they were looking sad; he enquired the reason. The chief-butler told his dream (Gen. xl. 9ff). It is seen that the Prophet either knew little of the dream or desired only to mention it in brief, a summary sketch being sufficient for his purpose. Jewish traditions add little of interest to the Biblical account.

Without delay the Prophet tells that the other said he had had a dream in which he carried bread on his head, of which the birds ate. Again the narrative is as brief as possible. No doubt the Prophet was more concerned with the interpretation than with the dreams themselves, in view of his didactic purposes.

A Jewish tradition, BR 88. 5-6, gives the story as follows: when the chief-baker heard Joseph's interpretation of the chief-butler's dream, he knew Joseph had interpreted it correctly, for he had seen in his own the interpretation of his companion's dream. His dream was as in the Biblical account.

B. JOSEPH'S INTERPRETATION OF THE DREAMS.

Thus the Qur'ān gives the skeleton outline of each dream and then states that Joseph was asked to interpret them, he being, as was said, a "virtuous man." Joseph, before giving his interpretation, announced that they could not in dreams receive food which would nourish them, and that interpretation was part of the teaching given him by God, he Joseph having given up the religion of those who do not believe in God and deny the future life. The last remark is somewhat puzzling

for Joseph was brought up in the strict monotheism of Abraham. Muḥammad's doctrine continues, from Joseph's mouth, that one cannot, by religious law, associate anything with God, for the knowledge of the Unity of God has been delivered to mankind by God's beneficence, though most are not grateful. He completes the soliloquy by setting out the right religion of complete monotheism, even if it is not of particular relevance at this point.

An interesting point is raised by the words "before it come to you," which commentators take to mean (a) that Joseph promises to interpret their dreams at once, before they eat even one meal, in order to show that he used no arts of divination or astrology; or (b) that he offers thus to prophesy to them beforehand the quantity and quality of the food and drink which would be brought to them, as a proof of his skill—a fanciful interpretation indeed!

Leaving aside this specifically Quranic doctrinal insertion, we turn to the interpretation of the first dream, which is simply that the butler ("one of you" only in the text) would continue to serve wine to his lord. In the Genesis story (xl. 12-15) the three branches are three days. Within that time Pharaoh would restore the butler to his place, and he would continue to serve as before. Joseph asks the butler to remember him when he is free. In BR 88. 5-6 and the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xl. 20 we read that the butler was unaware that his dream contained a prophecy concerning Israel's future, the three branches being Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the cup being the cup of wrath Pharaoh would have to drain in the end. However, Joseph kept his secret knowledge to himself and gave the favorable interpretation as recorded in the Bible.

The Qurʾān gives the interpretation of the chief-baker's dream equally briefly. It is that "the other" would be crucified and the birds would eat from off his head. In the Genesis account (xl. 18-19), the interpretation is that the three baskets are three days and within that period Pharaoh would hang him on a tree and the birds would eat his flesh. Again, the last-mentioned Jewish legends give it that there was a deeper prophecy in the dream, that the three baskets represented Babylon, Media and Greece respectively, that the uppermost basket represented also Rome and that the bird meant the Messiah, who would come and destroy Rome. However, Joseph refrains from revealing his secret knowledge and gives the unfavorable interpretation as recorded in the Bible, unfavorable because Joseph had been made acquainted with the suffering which Israel would receive at the hands of these kingdoms—and unfavorable to the baker.

C. THE FREED PRISONER.

According to the Qurʾān and the Bible too (Gen. xl. 14), a remarkable point of agreement, Joseph asked that the prisoner he judged would be set free, i.e. the chief butler, should speak on his behalf

before Pharaoh. The Surah goes on to state that the Devil caused the butler to forget his promise, so that Joseph languished in prison yet some years. There appears to be some doubt with regard to the pronoun "him" in "Satan made him forget." If it refers to Joseph, the passage is said by some to mean that the Devil (Satan) caused Joseph to forget to make application to his Lord rather than to man, whereas, if the pronoun refers to the butler, then it is clear that Satan made the butler forget to mention Joseph to Pharaoh. The latter alternative is more natural and is in perfect accord with Gen. xl. 23.

According to a Jewish tradition (BR 89. 2-3, etc.), Joseph had to spend ten years in prison and should have gone free on the same day as the butler, but in fact remained two further years, because God had ordained that the butler should forget Joseph's request because Joseph had put his confidence in man. When the two years ordained by God were over, God made Pharaoh dream a dream which was to be the occasion for Joseph's release—so BR 87.7 and 89.1. Al-Baiḍāwī and others, referring to the words "some years" say that the original word signified any number from three to nine. But the common opinion is that Joseph remained in prison seven years, while others say at least twelve. Clearly the Jewish story above-mentioned was not known in detail, unless the commentators refer to a *total* period in prison of seven or twelve years, in which case the latter figure would agree with the Jewish (10+2=) 12 years altogether spent in prison. The extra two years of Jewish tradition accord well with Gen. li. i., where Pharaoh's dreams occurred after two full years.

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“CITY OF WRONG” I.

A MUSLIM STUDIES THE CROSS.

“Thus was accomplished the greatest of the crimes of history — the crime of the condemnation of Christ to crucifixion.” The sentence might have been taken from some Christian meditation on the story of Good Friday. For has it not always been part of the meaning of the Cross for Christian faith that it holds within itself on the human side an inclusive index to the wrongness of this world? Its evil coalition of rejection is the darkest measure of the truth about us men.

The words, nevertheless, occur in an imaginative Muslim account of the opposition Jesus suffered from His contemporaries. Its author is a Cairo scholar, Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain: its title, — *Qaryah Zālimah*, here redereed “City of Wrong”¹. It is one of the most moving of recent studies of the climax of Jesus’ ministry, coming from within Islam. It is different in character both from ‘Abd al Ḥamīd Jaudat-al-Saḥḥār’s *Al-Masīḥ ‘Isā Ibn Maryam*² where, among other things, there is much more verbatim quotation of the Gospels, and from ‘Abbās al-‘Aqqād’s *‘Abqariyyat-al-Masīḥ*³ where the author concentrated almost wholly on the teaching activity of Jesus and considered his role as a historian at an end when the Teacher was arrested in the Garden. Thereafter, for ‘Abbās al-‘Aqqād, a veil was drawn across the story and dogmatic faith took over from history, so that a Muslim chronicler could go no further beyond the Quranic conclusion: “God raised him unto Himself.” (Surah iv. 158).

Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, it is true, holds to the orthodox Muslim meaning of that phrase and to the belief that Jesus was not actually crucified. But he develops with a rare sensitivity the significance he finds in the conspiracy or compromise of weak and sinful humanity that brought the sentence of execution which the Qur’ān not simply allows, but pre-supposes. For the claim that when the perpetrators thought they were crucifying Jesus as their victim it only “seemed so to them” — whatever precisely the passage means — requires the *will* to His death. It does not deny, therefore, that the trial of Jesus might in truth be also the trial of humanity and that in their decision about Him men were inextricably involved in a decision about themselves. It is in fact just this theme which has kindled in the author’s mind at the contemplation of the Cross. Whether he can properly go so far and be content at the same time with the belief that a Jesus, who had so tremendously searched men’s souls and become the very touch-

¹ Published in Cairo, 1954, pp. 238. *Qaryah* is more properly ‘village’ than ‘city’, but since Jerusalem is clearly intended it seemed better to use that rendering. The opening sentence here is from p. 74.

² Cairo, of recent but unspecified date. pp. 256.

³ “The Genius of Christ”, Cairo, 1953. See review in *The Muslim World*, Vol. xliii, No. 3, July, 1953, pp. 218-219, by Dr. Butrus ‘Abd al-Malik.

women of their deepest obligations in the truth, could Himself withdraw. by an evasive tolerance of rescue, from the climax of these meanings— is a question to which later we must return. Meanwhile, it is clear that the Muslim writer is entirely within his Quranic rights in exploring thus incisively the nature of that which the human will meant, at least, to be the Cross. For here, on this manward side of Calvary, Muslim and Christian find themselves on common ground. Jesus was a Teacher men willed to put to death and in the decision to do so they demonstrated, in a manner for which history has no other or equal parallel, the nature of our human astrayness.

The reader of *Qaryah Zalimah* is moved, then, to a fervent thankfulness at so searching a Muslim recognition of this human import of the climax of the Gospel narrative. 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, in the work already cited, had spoken of the opposition which confronted Jesus of Nazareth as the most implacable of any experienced by the Prophets of God, more intense in its range and quality than the resistance of other days to other messengers. Here Muhammad Kāmil Husain *proffers* and describes a like opinion and traces the reasons that *compel* him to it. The result is a meditation on the approach to Calvary that appeals, not only for its own inherent reverence and insight, but for the interest of its origin in an unexpected quarter. Must it not be greeted with a grateful gladness as a clear token of the fascination of a story in a realm we have been accustomed to consider almost impervious to its attraction? For let us be clear that this book need not have been written apart from the compulsion of the theme. The author has nothing which, negatively, he aims to refute. He is neither polemical nor controversial. Nor does he seem to be responding to anything save the inner merit of what he is describing. His book impresses as a work that has no impulse other than conviction. "All experience," wrote Phillips Brooks, "comes to be but more and more of pressure of Jesus' life on ours." May it not be that here in this book is to be seen the pressure of one area of that life upon the spirit of the writer? Why should he be interested if not for the reason that our human scene still narrows just those issues which Christ's presence then compelled into decisiveness?

But let the writer state his own theme.

"It was Friday that day, but quite unlike any other day: a day when mankind were grievously astray, so far astray that they reached the extreme of iniquity. Evil so overcame them that they were blind to the truth though it was as clear as the morning sky. Yet for all that, they were people of character and religion and the most careful of men in following the right, the most concerned for truth and the most deep thinking. They were also of all people the most meticulous, in love with their country and their fatherland and sincere in their religious practice. They were characterized by fervor, courage and integrity. Yet their thorough competence in their religion did not save them from wrong, nor give their minds severity from error. Their uncertainty did not guide them to the good. They were a people who took counsel among themselves, yet their counsels led them astray. Their Roman overlords were masters of administration yet their system deceived them.

The people of Jerusalem were caught that day in a vortex of seducing factors and, all unaware, they faltered. Sound and valid criteria they lacked. They were totally at a loss, as though they had neither religion nor knowledge.

On that day, the Jewish people determined together to require from the Romans the crucifixion of Christ, so that they might pronounce judgement on his message. But what was the message of Christ, save that men should be governed by conscience in all they did and thought? When they formed their resolve to crucify him, it was in fact a resolve to crucify the human conscience and to extinguish its light... On that day men willed to slay their conscience and in this desire of theirs lay the supreme tragedy of humanity. The events of that day are a revelation of the forces that drive men into evil... They do not simply belong to the annals of the early centuries. They are disasters renewed every day in the life of every individual. All people are for ever contemporaries of that martyr day. They are perpetually exposed to the iniquity and wrong into which the people of Jerusalem fell that day..." (pp. 1-3.)

The universal quality of the events of Holy Week, as a betrayal by humanity of its own conscience, is measured through the three sections of *Qaryah Zālimah*, dealing with the Jews, the Disciples and the Romans. The author traces the inward tensions of the main actors by means both of soliloquy and dialogue. Whether or not he has been influenced by other imaginative reconstructions in English, like those of Sholem Asch or Lloyd Douglas, it is not possible to say. The ideas are fresh and the presentation original. From time to time, a Quranic phrase or a Muslim turn of thought betrays its presence. When the 'mufti' is taken to task by his wife for his 'second thoughts' about the validity of the condemnation of Jesus, she warns him that his new notion will have no effect on the people.

"The vulgar throng does not understand dubiety, even when the doubt is valid. They follow anyone who can assure them that his idea is the truth — truth *that does not admit of doubt* — even though it be wholly false."

The phrase we have italicized is the familiar Quranic *la raiba fihi*, with which the sacred volume describes its own veracity. *Al Dalāl al-mubīn*, one of the Qur^{ān}'s favorite re-iterations, comes also in the 'mufti's' conversation when he denounces the putting of politics above religion, or rather the setting of the politics of religion above religion itself. This is "the manifest error." Again, the Roman soldier, bewildered by his first contact with a religion that cares only for unselfishness and forgiveness, wonders why it does not become "a thing forgotten in oblivion," using the very words of Mary in Surah xix.23 — *nasyan mansiyyan* — when appalled by the first tidings of a birth that had implications she dare not face. Aside from these scattered echoes of Quranic language, there is the dominating sense of that misguidedness from which the Qur^{ān} prays so steadily for men to be delivered. For "the path of those who stray," as the Fātiḥah has it, followed by men who had to take sides about Jesus, is the haunting choice of this "community in the wrong."

Qaryah Zālimah opens in the bright dawn of that fateful Friday, the day of gathering and destiny. None of those who woke to it could

know that it would be remembered to the end of time. The young, ambitious 'prosecutor' whose harangue the night before had carried the Council to its decision for the Prophet's death, is pictured in restless conversation with his wife. She wants him at leisure to celebrate her birthday. But he is a ringleader in the denunciation of the Teacher whose proclamation of the love of God, and the equalness of men within it, disturbs the sanctity and system of the Jewish Law. The visage of a Man to be crucified that day came between them, disqualifying both her possessiveness and his ambition. His confidence sadly shaken, the 'prosecutor' made his way to the Council hall, striving to re-assure himself that the conservation of his religion was the one hope in the world for his people and that this might justify even the execution of One who claimed that God was love. But the fence of old arguments, impenetrable to conscience or the pain of doubt, was perceptibly weakened round his soul and when the Council met he sat in anxious silence.

Meanwhile, the scene moves from the closet to the street. In the doorway of a blacksmith's shop an iron merchant berates a miserable blacksmith who has delayed in the making of the nails already ordered. Conversation, which the 'prosecutor' overhears, turns to the Figure for whom the nails are meant. The merchant argues crudely. He merely buys and sells nails and crosses. What is done with them is not his responsibility. If the crucifixion of the Teacher is a crime, let God punish it. As for the individual, if the blame is spread widely enough in a complicity of people and factors then even God cannot incriminate any one singly. Since they all do it, nobody does it. By distribution of responsibility all onus is lost. "We can prove this from the Torah. It is not allowed to disbelieve what is written in the Book." The 'prosecutor' intervenes to suggest a refinement of this crudity. The conscience of the individual is safe provided that the evils in which he is implicated are done in the name of society. His reflections trail away into a confused soliloquy during which he makes his way to a friend's house. But neither man can find a course of action which at once satisfies the misgivings of their conscience and their insistence that the collective security requires the death of Jesus. Their tragedy is their failure, as the author sees it, to let conscience prevail. They are lost in the labyrinth of their own passions and reasons.

The 'prosecutor's' dilemma is resumed in the next chapter in the form of a debate between the 'mufti' and his young son, who heard the arguments of the Council the previous evening and reports the 'prosecutor's' eloquence with eager enthusiasm. But his father is distressed. Accustomed to give fatwas to a people who love them, he can find no assurance over this crisis. His son's confidence that the day's decision will still be hailed as glorious after a thousand years leaves him in uneasy mood. Are the new Prophet's lofty principles extraneous to the Law? Should this Man be allowed to exalt himself

above what God has commanded? If we love our enemies will not our nation perish? Do not such questions have obvious answers? Have these not already been given? Will the 'mufti' be ready to demand the rescinding of these answers? Hardly. But his conscience torments him. For this Cross is a deed, against such a Man, that no conscience can tolerate. But who can tell his duty? The way of truth is too hard for men to follow. One thing at least is clear, that he will cease to suppose himself a guide. A man who has lost his bearings can give no more fatwas.

There follows the episode of Lazarus, where fears battle over the meaning of an omen. With a pallid look on his face and a remote wistfulness in his eyes, Lazarus is pictured as an unearthly person whose resurrection from the dead only his sister welcomes and most men hold in awe. Few care to go near him. He is the butt of suspicion and his strange story earns him only ostracism. Even the disciples distrust his presence. Back, as it were, to life but not to spirit, Lazarus keeps to the by paths and the dark alleys, where sometimes he is pursued by hateful mobs of jeering children. One such chase occurs this very Friday and Lazarus seeks refuge in a blacksmith's shop, where the iron merchant is awaiting his nails. At the sight of Lazarus the smith shrieks in fear and cries out for him to quit his threshold. In his excited fear the blacksmith drops his hammer into the coals, sending out a shower of sparks. One spark enters the merchant's eye and he yells with pain. The smith, turning to his aid, stumbles and falls. As he does so a nail on the floor pierces his hand. Frightened by these things, Lazarus makes his way back to his house, while the crowd falls to cursing the new Prophet whose miracles cast such evil spells over men. A bystander who takes his part is almost lynched by the people in their anger. The merchant returns home and the blacksmith seeks a surgeon. In the house, the merchant falls into converse with one of the 'ulamā' who interprets the double mishap as a clear token of the demonic force at work in Jesus. But the former, sobered and chastened by his pain, reads in the nail piercing the blacksmith's hand a plain sign from God against the projected crucifixion. Could there be a plainer portent against the crucifiers? The shaikh demurs. Lazarus, he avers, is like the human conscience. When it comes back to a man after an evil deed is done, it is no longer quite alive. Half-dead like Lazarus, it cannot really be restored. How, moreover, can such devices as this mishap be worthy of a God Who guides? Surely God could send a shout from Heaven to deter men from the crucifying if they were wrong? The merchant, who cannot forget the nail through the smith's hand, repudiates the wisdom of the 'ālim. The latter falls back upon the familiar illusion. Not all Israel can be mistaken. The collective will is the sure one.

The author turns, then, to Caiaphas, meditating before the morning session of the fateful Council. Caiaphas, a man of subtle wisdom and

high purpose, has patiently established a *modus vivendi* with the Romans. He is bewildered over the new message, with its exaltation of virtues which suggest that the rightness of the community turns upon the rightness of the individual. With Caiaphas the reverse is true. Jesus' teaching may be noble, but he, Caiaphas, is a more effective reformer. He will not risk a Teacher who spares a woman taken in adultery. The Kingdom of Heaven cannot stand, for him, in virtues which society has little interest in rewarding. Moreover, Jesus wants to exalt the humble, but the mighty will remove him before the humble can save him. Nationalism will condemn him before humanity can save him. The religious people will denounce him, before the people of conscience can come to his rescue.

Yet Caiaphas is ill at ease. He could wish that he, not the Roman Governor, had been sensitive enough to question: "What is truth?" in this puzzling situation. All his earlier life passed in review before him that night. Why does this Prophet not take his message to the Romans who need it so much more? His religion is admirable, but dangerous. To concur in the prosecution may be to condemn the innocent: but it is also to terminate the intolerable. If we protest his innocence, we risk his continuance. Caiaphas condemns himself uneasily for seeking reasons to uphold his prejudice. He senses the hollow ambition of the 'prosecutor's' anathemas. But the presence of Jesus remains dangerous. Finally he concludes that if God wills to save him He will do so. It is not for Caiaphas to find a way for God to do His will. And if God has willed Christ's death, Caiaphas is innocent. His final decision is to let the Council take its course. He will neither stay, nor press, their decision, Caiaphas will save himself by dereliction of conscience.

So the curtain rises on the final morning session of the Council. The 'prosecutor' keeps an unexpected and uneasy silence. An old shaikh finally speaks, with the clamor of the mob without echoing menacingly around the building. The speaker takes up his point of yesternight that the Prophet has discredited the unchangeable Law. But he wishes now to lay a lesser charge. Jesus' very idealism undermines the necessary authority of religion. May not the degrader of behavior take the same liberties with the sacrosanct? Such are the dangerous precedents even of the good. Then the 'mufti' takes the floor, likewise with a softer tone. The miracles of Jesus were not unworthy or demonic. They were characterized by deep compassion and turned largely on psychological factors, not on a reversal of the natural order. The stories of some of them could be explained as legitimate hyperbole. In general, they should not be reprobated.

Caiaphas was happy about the quieter tone. Was the morning shunning the acrid, implacable tempers of the evening? Another speaker followed discounting the accusation of the 'prosecutor' that the new Prophet has jeopardized the nation. There was, after all, something

more ultimate than the nation. There was humanity. Perhaps Jesus was the first to recognize this truth. Nevertheless, pondered the speaker, its application should be postponed until the tribulation of Israel is over. But if Jesus was not to be obeyed, He was also not to be condemned. Was the Council, then, about to reverse itself? Caiaphas wondered and waited. Neither he nor the 'prosecutor' spoke. Outside the cries of "Crucify"! still mounted. The people believed the 'ulamā' had spoken and the 'ulamā' could not err. Within the walls those leaders were afraid thus to reverse themselves and recognize they had been wrong. Though some might have done so individually, they could not collectively.

Into their indecision burst a new force. In poured the rich and wealthy, the magnates of the world, the men of trade and commerce. Taken aback at the delay, they insisted there could be no rescinding of the verdict. Had it not already unleashed a torrent of passion? The people now would only be appeased by crucifixion. And the Romans, how they would despise the wavering. The crowd prevailed. The day was lost. No one personally desired the death of Jesus. Collectively they all did. How like sheep they were. No one truly found any crime in his message. Yet they willed his Cross. Who any longer can have confidence in the wisdom of humanity? Nobody thought himself responsible, but everybody was.

Mary Magdalene is the first figure to meet the reader in the section on 'The Disciples. Of entrancing beauty, the daughter of the ruling family of Magdal, Mary brings discord and sorrow to her family by her haughty selfish nature. After an altercation over her lovers, in which her brother is killed, she flees to Jerusalem, where she enters on a life of prostitution, in which, however, her associates come to realize that she is not truly one of them. For her heart is elsewhere: she is seeking expiation of her evil conscience and the humbling of her willfulness, not the sensual indulgences of the society she, in self-reproach, has chosen. It is out of this weariness of self that she is won to new life through the conversation of a Roman soldier who, visiting her haunts for the sake of their delights, brings into her life the story of a Prophet who curiously prefers the themes of love and gentleness to the storied majesty of Rome and the power of Rome's sword. Irresistibly drawn to this Figure, of whom she knows only at second hand, Mary Magdalene one day breaks out of her past and joins the band of His disciples. When the Roman lover pursues her she does not disdain his attentions. But he becomes aware that the love she bears him has now no personal possessiveness. It is in the context of the new discipleship. The youth is bewildered and perturbed in the presence of a world he can neither explain nor gainsay.

The morning of the fateful Friday finds a group of the women and others, around the sick-bed of a girl, whose agonizing pain, intermittently relieved by a medicine of herbs, sets the theme of reverie. "The

disciple whom Jesus loved" refutes the belief that pain of body is punitively related to sins of soul.

"Such injustice is not allowable with God. Even if He were to punish unbelievers with bodily sufferings it would be unjust. He only tortures them with restlessness of conscience. Suffering is neither retributive nor purifying. It is merely the natural consequence of some malady in the body that has no relation to the soul. Moreover the pain which befalls believers is not a testing, nor a preparation for Paradise. There is no causal connection between believing and health. If the matter was as you imagine it...all people would be good and believing. God did not will to have the pattern of His creation on this form." (p. 109-110.)

The girl dies and in the shadow of this sorrow the disciple, under pressure from the women, tells of the dark threat of crucifixion which hangs over the Master. Mary Magdalene's grief impels her to a wild plan for intervention with the Romans. Only Mary, Jesus' Mother, is quietly serene, as if upheld by an unseen hand. The disciple deplors the unconcernedness of Jesus about being defended:

"The amazing thing is that nothing in the situation perturbs Him. He is as steadfast as a mountain, unmoved, at rest. He has no will to indicate what we may do for His own rescue yet He knows that we are pledged to His bidding, though it means the destruction of us all." (p. 112.)

The scene moves in the next chapter to the meeting of the band of disciples in the upper room. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain writes of them as the finest band of men that could be conceived, lacking neither in faith or in resolve. With the ten, (Judas being no longer of them and the beloved disciple having been sent to make contact with Jesus) was one of the Magi who had visited Bethlehem years before. The star that guided them at the first had grown ever brighter until the day of the Sermon on the Mount, which two of the Magi had attended. Then the light of the star waned, until they knew that the departure of Jesus from the world was near. The youngest of the Magi accordingly came to witness the end.

Peter opens the heart-searching with an appeal for boldness of mind, lest the distraction of perplexity should lead to atrophy of will. One by one the disciples speak. They echo the same confession as Caiaphas, that the sentence of death, if carried through, will constitute the supreme crime of history, the most damning deed of humanity. To deliver Him is to deliver humanity, cries a second. He must be delivered as an obligation of love. Jesus must be saved not only for the defense of justice but for the continuity of the religion He has launched. None of the disciples, one says, can ever come forward with such a call as His: no successor can claim to be followed as He is. "His life alone is more able to achieve the hope of the world for peace and truth than the lives of all of us without Him."

But can they deliver Him by words? If they resort to force will this in itself be a discredit to His message? Their hesitancy gives way

to a firm resolve and they plan the best means to His forcible rescue, finding relief in a purpose of action after excruciating indecision. But their misgivings are roused again by one of their number who, protesting his readiness to die, affirms nevertheless that he dare not proceed in disobedience to the Master's way and command. But to let Him die, retorts another, is dereliction of duty. The bitter quandary deepens in their hearts.

"Are we more concerned for religion than He is? Do you know what is better for His mission than He? You regard His being taken from us as a blow to the faith. This is our idea. It may or may not be right. But to use violence is plain rebellion against His word. It is a matter of conscience. It is from God. To defy this, as I see it, is the worst presumption."

"To depart from the faith in the path of its defense is legitimate. For example it is necessary to punish with death defection from the faith if it involves sedition. Sedition is worse than killing." (p. 122-124)

But this Quranic theme does not persuade the disciple who calls for loyalty to Christ's pattern in their present dilemma about His danger. In checking their resolve he stirs their anger. For a path of positive if dangerous action is so much easier than the path of endurance and perplexity. Peter, filled with the memory of his failure at the arrest, rallies to the disciple's view that Jesus cannot be saved in a way contrary to His word.

After the Wise Man has spoken in the same sense, reproaching the disciples for thinking that out of love for Jesus they could contravene the orders of Jesus, the disciple who had been sent to talk with Jesus enters and each strains forward eagerly to learn whether the tidings of His wishes support their arguments and attitudes. That disciple brings this message:

"He commands you to go aside for worship and prayer and to leave Him until the purpose of God in Him is fulfilled and to go abroad in the world calling men to His truth. He tells you that He will meet you after three days in one of the villages of Galilee, and that whatever ill befalls him on the morrow it is by the word of God and it is not for us to oppose it. He warns you against violence and reproaches you for your attitudes at the time of His arrest." (p. 133-134)

Many of them wept at these words: all, whatever they had advocated, were filled with desperate sorrow.

"They had no compensating satisfaction, such as comes from decisive action, or the thrill of sacrifice in the path of truth, or from the lust for vengeance on the enemies of faith, for the allegiance and obedience they owed. They submitted with despair and sorrow to His order. They resolved to quit this city of wrong, but they felt the utmost sadness, regret and reproach in being obliged to abandon their Prophet in the clutches of these evil-doers who were working their will against Him. Their hearts were wellnigh broken at the thought of their choice between this tragic withdrawal and the violation of their Master's will." (p. 134)

The beloved disciple corroborates his own report and sustained by the constancy of the Wise Man, the whole band bows to Jesus' will.

The author adds that indubitably the disciples' decision was the

right one, though it is beyond the comprehension of the mind of men. Their fears for the future of Christianity without their active intervention were groundless. For the true meaning of Christianity was defined that day, its fundamental character settled for ever. Yet for all its validity from the standpoints of the spirit and religion, the writer muses on the prolonged effect of the decision upon the soul of Christianity as a faith. For the resultant religion, hinging on a decision so contrary to the wisdom of the world as this was, has come to suspect that perhaps, after all, there were other reasons for Jesus directing the disciples to such a pattern of behavior. Maybe they were somehow unworthy to defend Him in the ways more appropriate to this world. This suspicion has through the centuries made Christianity introverted and sin-conscious, as if it has never recovered from the shame (as shame it was by worldly standards) of its apostles' decision to leave Jesus to His oppressors. Hence comes the characteristic Christian concern about sin, its representative reproachfulness of life.

It is not entirely clear where the author's reflections are leading him. Does he mean that humanity and history are too weak and selfish for the kind of decision Jesus required of His followers? Or that Christianity has never been sufficiently able to sustain a confidence that the decision was right? Or that perhaps, in the end, Jesus should have been saved by those who loved Him? Hardly the last: perhaps the second. But the passage is so crucial that it should be studied in full.

"By their refraining from His rescue the disciples rendered a great service to the Christian message. The Christian religion defined its principles and formulated its philosophy that day. Out of the events of that day were fashioned the dominant characteristics of the new religion. From those events came the most impressive of its tenets about forgiveness and redemption and also that sadness which is a ruling element in the nature of the greatest adherents of Christianity, their fear of sins, their love of self-reproach and humiliation, their sense of the importance of the sin of Adam and their belief that it is the source of the anguish which Christ underwent in order to deliver humanity from its consequences. Perchance that is no more than an echo of their own great sin, when they abandoned Christ to His enemies, as if it were the duty of Christians to atone for this sin to the end of time.

But all that, the disciples did not apprehend. They could not have known it apart from revelation.

From the purely human point of view, however, there is no doubt that what they did was wrong. They left the evident truth to be persecuted and exposed their religion to extermination, their Prophet to evil and themselves to destruction. Nobody knows what would have befallen Christianity, had they succeeded in delivering Him, by force. But the thing there is no doubt of is that what their reason indicated and their reflection and their feelings directed was not right.

Now if the disciples — who were the finest of men — were not free from error after consultation and debate and after having had all aspects of the right under review, the people of Israel have excuse if they erred. For they considered the Christian message a piece of sedition, which would soon overwhelm the pillars of their religion, their order and their nation. They believed that the man was a magician and his followers criminals. Moreover, they were acting upon the basis of their own human selves, and upon passions common to man that lacked the special imprint upon them of an ardent faith such as the disciples had. If both parties erred and strayed, what is man to do in his desire to avoid error, as long as he proceeds in his actions upon human reason alone?

And Christianity has not come free until this day: maybe it never will come free of this which clung to the souls of the disciples — this regret and sorrow at what they did amiss over the truth of Christ when they held back from saving Him. It has condemned them to bear the reproach of the great sin — the sin of the abandonment of Christ to His foes, to His oppressors and tormentors. It has seemed to their imagination that they were only commanded to leave aside the saving of their Prophet because they were unworthy of this witness.

And thus a dread of falling into sin, an apprehensiveness of evil-doing became a dominant feature of the Christian spirit. And so it will remain for ever, since Christians have no way of atoning for what happened on that day." (p. 135-137)

Truly we have no way of atoning for what happened on that day. For the Cross, on the human side, is so surely the measure of our wrongness. The course chosen by Christ's love is such that all men are revealed by their relation to it as sinfully self-centred. This indeed is the manward significance of the crucifixion, which the author has so movingly described. And in that unmistakable incrimination of our self-centredness, the 'Christians,' the disciples here, are involved. In inclining to the temptation to save the Master's person by betraying His principles the disciples share, in measure, the wrongness of the world that would silence the principles by eliminating the Person. This, if we understand him rightly, is what the author seems to say. But surely there is a profound distinction between the two attitudes. And the disciples, in the end, resisted their temptation. Moreover, the Cross, on Christ's side, is the victory of a fidelity to redemptive love. It is this, rather than the inability of the disciples to enter with the Master into its solitary costliness, rather than their conquered temptations not to let it happen, which explains the Christian awareness of the heinousness of human sin and the majesty of redeeming grace. What Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain sees as the dominant quality of the Christian spirit arises from the Cross by a road different from that which, unless we misconstrue, he means in these paragraphs to assert. Truly we have no way of atoning for what happened on that day. For those events are an epitome of the humanity to which we all belong. But those events are, in Jesus' hands, precisely the way of atonement for us all. Out of this realization of having been forgiven at tremendous cost comes the sense of unworthiness the writer so sensitively attributes to the Christian mind in history. But it is not the fruit merely of the disciples' being hesitant, or of their lack of resolve to share the Master's way and fate — for to this He did not then call them. They were caught in the actuality of His decision. Its meanings were so new in history that only Christ their architect could know them in advance. Now they belong to all time.

The author's narrative of the dispersion of the disciples and his reconstruction of the reactions of the Romans in the Gospel climax must be taken up in a second article in July, when an attempt will be made to gather together in conclusion some general reflections on the deep significance of *Qaryah Zālimah*. Here, one final question may be raised, though only to be deferred. If Jesus saw so compellingly that

fidelity to His message in the setting of the city of wrong meant that suffering was inescapable, and if this insight arises, as it must — and as it surely does in this book — from Jesus' relation with God, then shall God be properly thought of as forestalling this continuity and climax of devotion? Is the Jesus, who follows loyally the total consequences of His prophetic fidelity, the proper spokesman of a Heaven that intervenes to save Him, when He would not save Himself? Or rather, is the God, Who is so manifestly in Christ — in the Muslim sense of this author that how Jesus acts is Divinely right — likely Himself to do what Jesus, in pursuit of the Divine will, had sharply forbidden both to His disciples and Himself? Does God save Jesus from the Cross? This is the question which, in the end, will become inescapable. For Christ, as understood in the Gospels and in this book, had no expectation that He would. Rather He saw in His own vocation to costly fidelity in suffering and death the pathway of the eternal wisdom. If God, in the end, saw it differently, as the Qur'ān by its disallowance of any actual culmination to this drama (other than the mistaken murder of some unknown who was innocent of Jesus' mission) asserts, then can we ever be certain that Jesus saw it right? If, in short, there is an anti-climax, and that from Heaven itself, the whole encounter between Jesus and the *Qaryah Zālimah* is threatened with a final artificiality. And that is precisely what, in this moving and searching volume, it does not, and cannot, have.

‘ABD AL-TAFĀHUM

CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATES IN PAKISTAN II

The Debates of the Constituent Assembly on the Objectives Resolution (1949), the Interim Report on Fundamental Rights (1950), and the Basic Principles Report as a whole (October 7-26, 1953) were presented in an article in the January issue. Between October 27 and November 14, 1953, when the Fifteenth Session ended, the Islamic core of the B.P.R. was adopted. The present article summarizes the debate on these Islamic proposals, surveys the political events in East Pakistan in the first half of the year 1954 in relation to the making of the Constitution, and describes a portion of the debates of the Sixteenth Session (March 14-September 21, 1954): the intermittent work on the B.P.R. (April 6-July 27). The third and last article will attempt to bring the story of the Constitution from August 1954 to the year 1956.

A summary of the debate on the separate paragraphs of the B.P.R. adopted in October and November 1953 now follows:

B. VOTING ON THE DIRECTIONS AND PROVISIONS DEALING WITH "REPUGNANCY."

In the debate on the 18 Directive Principles of State Policy, the Hindus and Mr. Iftikhāruddīn sought to have the Islamic provisions liberalized or omitted entirely, but the majority defeated most of the proposed amendments. On October 29, 1953, after three days of work, Chapter ii was adopted. It consisted finally of 18 articles, of which five were new. (The text of the chapter is given in the January issue of *The Muslim World*.)

Article (subdivision) 2, on Islamic standards, seemed altogether objectionable to the minority. The matter covered in its five parts, they said, should be none of the State's business. For the State to provide Muslims with special facilities at public expense would be like a school inspector's saying, "Look here, Headmaster, here are seventy Muslim boys out of a hundred. You take special care of them. You see that their health is kept up...that they are well disciplined boys...Sir, the world will laugh...when they read that 86 per cent of the population will enjoy facilities at the cost of other sections of the people." It was urged that the minorities, who contributed more to the State coffers than the percentage of the population being provided for, should not be made to contribute toward their own conversion. The Muslims defended the article by promising that government revenue would not only provide special facilities for Muslims but would also be used for other communities. According to article 15, the State "should protect all the legitimate rights and interests of the non-Muslims." Education and unemployment insurance, for example, would be provided for all. The use of general principles in defense of the particular clauses of article 2 scarcely satisfied the opposition. One speaker declared that

elimination of *Ribā* would prevent any individual or bank from charging interest, and recommended that this provision be omitted. Also, since the morality of all people, not merely Muslims, should be preserved, he wished to drop the provision for the "maintenance of Islamic moral standards." In reply, Mr. Brohi read from Sir 'Abdur Raḥīm's *Mohammedan Jurisprudence* to show that the doctrine of *Ribā*, or "increase," was not inelastic.

Article 4, on redrafting laws according to the Sharī'ah, was objected to on four counts: (1) the effect of this measure on non-Muslims. *Tabligh*, or the propagation of Islam among non-Muslims, would have to find expression in the redrafted laws, since it was a fundamental right of every Muslim; (2) the dangerous effect on the different sects within Islam. The attempt to eliminate the Aḥmadiyya sect had caused "the terrible incidents that happened in Lahore" in the winter of 1952-53; (3) the impossibility of codifying the existing Penal, Criminal, and Civil Laws of the country in terms of the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah; (4) the principle that no religion whatever should be mixed with politics. A Muslim proponent of article 4 said, in reply to the Hindu objections, that, some time before, a committee had been set up under a Federal Court judge to survey the whole field of law and discover how to make it conform to the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah. He stated that the Muslims would be concerned not with every injunction found in the Qur'ān but only with "legislative effects." He then read from the Report on Fundamental Rights articles 10-13, guaranteeing freedom of conscience and the right to practice and propagate religion. Unlike the Directive Principles, he pointed out, this Report would be justiciable. "Are we not faithfully carrying out the pledge of the Holy Qur'ān?" he asked. "The Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah themselves safeguard the personal laws of the non-Muslims." Knowing that this article on the laws would be adopted, "only numbers counting here," its opponents tried their best to word, without referring to the Qur'ān, an amendment that would protect the rights of non-Muslims. Pleading that the latter could not be expected to be familiar with the injunctions of the Muslim scripture, they offered substitute amendments in secular phraseology; but, because the majority of the members were determined to consider the Qur'ān the source of a spirit of tolerance, the safeguarding of the personal laws of the non-Muslims was qualified by the clause "as has been enjoined by the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah."

Article 8, on removing illiteracy, seemed to the Hindus to be weak, especially the phrase "within the minimum possible time." They contrasted India's timing. Finally, an amendment calling for free and compulsory education for all children through the fourteenth year was adopted. The mover had set ten years as the goal for the introduction of such education, but fifteen years was the period voted.

To show the world that "in Pakistan no caste and no racial distinc-

tion will be tolerated," Mr. Iftikhāruddīn offered an amendment liberalizing article 10 by changing "Muslims" to "people," "un-Islamic" to "unpatriotic," "*Millat*" to "Nation." D. N. Datta supported him, but on historical grounds S. C. Chattopadhyaya differed. Dr. Maḥmud Ḥusain explained that in Pakistan only Muslims belonged to the real nation. "We possess common nationality, which is a legal concept, but we are not the same nation, which is a sociological concept. We are *not* one nation and yet we are citizens of the same State." A. R. Nishtar quoted Jinnah on the Muslims as a nation, and Iqbāl to the effect that the *Millat* is not determined by geographical boundaries. Wherever they are, Muslims belong to one *Millat*. Their ideal is "Muslims of the world unite." The amendment was defeated.

In connection with article 11, on the bonds of unity between Muslim countries, there developed an earnest discussion of colonialism. Mr. Iftikhāruddīn deplored Pakistan's failure to aid subjugated Morocco, Vietnam, Egypt, and Iran. K. K. Datta supported him on behalf of all subjugated peoples. S. C. Chattopadhyaya insisted on an amendment on behalf of Tunisia, Kenya, East Africa, North and South Rhodesia, Malaya and Indo-China, and pleaded for "all possible help to the subjugated people in the achievement of their national independence." Fearing that Pakistan might become involved in giving military aid, Mr. Brohi spoke against this amendment and it was defeated.

Despite Hindu objection, article 13, on the Muslim Head of the State, was adopted. After discussion on the people's going to law courts "free of payment" or "on payment of cheap and uniform court fee to the State," article 18 was dropped.

Professor Chakraverty offered a new Directive: "There should be no detention without trial." Before it was defeated, several members movingly spoke to it from personal experience. B. K. Datta, who had spent twenty-three years in prison without trial, said that detentions were taking place just to help the ruling party in running its elections and strengthening its position. D. N. Datta said that East Bengalis were being arrested for desiring Bengali as a state language, and cited the putting away for five years of Khān 'Abdul Ghaffār Khān, "a member of this Constituent Assembly and friend of Pakistan," because he had formed a People's Party and had not joined the Muslim League. Chattopadhyaya, Iftikhāruddīn, Fazlul Ḥaq, and J. C. Majumdar, the latter having spent twenty years in gaol, all supported Chakraverty's amendment. The citing of Muslim authorities led S. Sukdev to remark: "Our new Moulavis—Moulvi Chattopadhyaya Sahib and Moulvi Chakraverty—have stated what is Islamic law." Finally Mr. Brohi explained all the advantages prisoners might have and declared that detention without trial, permitted by present law, was "at times absolutely necessary for security reasons." The stability of the State might require such a law, he said, since a "state of emer-

gency in Pakistan continually exists." On Professor Chakraverty's amendment, 11 voted Aye, 34 No. The recording of the names perhaps indicates the feeling aroused by this measure.

Chapter iii of Part I (paragraphs 3-8)—"Procedure for Preventing Legislation Repugnant to the Qur^ʿān and the Sunnah"—occupied the Assembly on October 29, 30, 31, and November 2. The third paragraph, "No Legislature should enact any law which is repugnant to the Holy Qur^ʿān and the Sunnah," was adopted by a vote of 34 to 12. Four amendments designed to protect non-Muslim citizens were defeated. The three offered by Hindus were lost by votes of 12-33, 12-34, and 12-26. The one amendment from a Muslim (Iftikhāruddīn) was "negatived." Voting with the majority were Prime Minister Muḥammad ʿAlī and eight of his ministers. A new paragraph was inserted after 3: "The Holy Qur^ʿān and the Sunnah, wherever these expressions occur, shall mean, when applied to any sect, such interpretation thereof as is recognized and accepted by that particular sect." The complicated procedure for dealing with legislation repugnant to the Qur^ʿān set forth in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 was replaced by a new section. The Supreme Court, rather than a "Mullah Board," was given jurisdiction over this matter. Paragraph 7, exempting Money Bills from the provisions of Chapter iii, was held over. In the summer of 1954, it was voted that money bills should be excluded from the operation of Chapter iii for twenty-five years, after which a commission should be appointed to make necessary recommendations. Thus the Assembly insured no dislocation in the "existing economic, financial and credit systems." One observer noted that this solution occasioned wry smiles in the cloakroom.

One of the original Directive Principles (number 3) became the first portion of the last paragraph (8) of Chapter iii: "An organization should be set up for making the teachings of Islam known to the people, and for *Amr bi-l-maʿrūf* and *Naḥi-ʿan-al-Munkar*." After long and strenuous debate, an amendment changing "people" to "Muslims" was defeated, 33 to 12. A second article was added: "The proceeds of a special tax shall be specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for this organization and its propagation and maintenance."

Both sides of the Assembly recognized that Chapter iii would be the crux of the Constitution. Professor Chakraverty moved the omission of the entire chapter, saying he hoped the Muslims would be guided in their private life and character by the injunctions of the Qur^ʿān but that some of the principles would not be enforceable or suitable in public life. He noted that the Muslims had explained only three of the twenty cases he had cited in which these principles were not suitable or applicable. It was said, he continued, that Pakistan was to be the laboratory for an experiment in Islamic principles. Turkey's experiment upon these principles resulted in her giving up the *Sharīʿah*. She adopted the Swiss Civil Code, modelled her Penal Code

on that of Italy, and her Commercial Code on that of the Germans. "The exemption of the money bill from the operation of paragraph 3 is an admission... that some of the injunctions of the Qur^ʿān are not practicable today. It is admitted thereby that we cannot give up our banking interest, we cannot give up our income derived from the court fees, that we cannot do away with our income tax, which is a substitute for Zakāt. Interpretations of the Holy Qur^ʿān often conflicted. A certain Maulvi declared that out of the 73 sects among the Muslims, 72 would go to hell. The Maulanas and Maulvis would rule over Pakistan and in the future become a force in public life. Professor Chakraverty observed that certain conservative opinions held by the Board of Ta^ʿlīmāt-i-Islāmīa, established in 1949 to advise the B.P.C., contrasted with the enlightened views of Sardar ʿAbdur Rabb Nishtar, Mr. Brohi, and others. Anticipating that Chapter iii would be passed regardless of objections, the speaker submitted that to paragraph 3: "No Legislature should enact any law which is repugnant to the Holy Qur^ʿān and the Sunnah," the following be added: "This provision should not apply to the personal laws of the non-Muslim citizens."

At this point Mr. Iftikhāruddīn submitted as a different amendment to paragraph 3 the addition of the words "as agreed upon by all sects of Muslims or is contradictory to the commitments that may have been made to the minorities." By commitments he meant (1) the agreement between the Hindus, as represented in the National Congress, and Pakistan, as represented in the Muslim League, at the time independence from Britain was won, that in both countries full freedom, justice and equality would be given to all citizens; (2) the Lahore Resolution of 1940, promising justice to all minorities.

The Muslims were overbearing in rejecting the minority amendments. Outnumbered and beaten down on each and every attempt to liberalize the articles of Chapter ii, twelve Hindu members walked out of the Assembly on November 2. They took no further part in the Fifteenth Session. A statement read by Mr. Chattopadhyaya before they left declared that the minority members had worked in the Assembly to help make Pakistan a modern democratic State but had been disappointed by the repeated insistence on the "two-nation theory;" the refusal to assure the minority that its personal laws would not be interfered with on the ground of repugnancy; the setting up by the government of an organization to propagate religion; the name "Islamic Republic;" the requirement that the Head of the State should be a Muslim; the thrusting of five separate electorates on the minorities, even to the extent of subdividing the Hindu community. The undemocratic method of arriving at decisions in the Assembly and undue emphasis on the Islamic Constitution, he asserted, had helped to make the presence of the Hindus useless.

After the walkout the Assembly proceeded to Part II, "The Federa-

tion and Its Territories." The adoption of its three parts was unimpeded, for the amendments standing in the name of the Hindus were not moved. The name "Pakistan" (paragraph 9) was duly changed to "Islamic Republic of Pakistan." The phrase "outside the Commonwealth," added by the Hindus as an amendment, was not put to a vote. [In London on February 4, 1955 Pakistan confirmed her aim of becoming a republic within the Commonwealth, though this will not be legally fulfilled until she succeeds in drafting a Constitution.]

In the discussion that followed the adoption of the name, Mr. M. H. Gazder said he found the walkout of the Hindus "really incomprehensible" since the Interim Report on Fundamental Rights guaranteed that the personal laws of the non-Muslims would be affected by no future legislation.

Mr. Brohi explained that the principle the opposition was fighting for, namely that no law enacted by the Legislature would go counter to the personal laws of the minorities, appertained not to paragraph 3 but to Part VI of the Report, dealing with the legislative competence of the Houses of the Legislature. He did not consider that "any vital decisions taken by the House should have alarmed the minorities or their representatives in this House... Even when we were dealing with the question of the setting up of an organization for making the teachings of Islam known to others,... I attempted to convince them that... there was no endeavour to impose an Islamic way of life on the non-Muslims. When you make the teachings known to all and sundry you cannot be accused of countenancing forcible conversions." Thus ran Mr. Brohi's apology for the refusal of his colleagues to omit the chapter or to insert limitations couched in secular language, instead of the phrase: "as enjoined by the Qur²ān," or to express and apply in the Constitution itself the substance of the Report on Fundamental Rights.

Part III, "The Federation," was swiftly adopted with no opposition amendments challenging the provisions for the Head of the State. One provision of the Report was changed: that the Constituent Assembly rather than Governor should, in the beginning, frame the rules for the election of the Head of the State.

On November 14, 1953, when Mr. Brohi moved adjournment of the Fifteenth Session, Begum S. S. Ikrāmullāh threatened to resign, saying that the people had been fooled long enough and that work should proceed regardless of the coming election in Bengal. Her colleagues spoke with appreciation of the service her family had rendered Pakistan and hoped she would not resign. Then Mr. Nūr-al Amin congratulated the Party on accepting the principles that would make for a truly Islamic Constitution. He predicted "a thumping majority" in the election on the ground the people would know that only the

League would provide an Islamic charter. June or July 1954 was set as the goal for finishing the work.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ELECTIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN
MARCH 1954

The story of the Constitution after the Fifteenth Session merges with the story of the political campaigns and elections in East Pakistan in March 1954. The arguments of the opposition were carried from the floor of the Constituent Assembly to the people—with the result that the United Front, a coalition of non-League Muslims, Hindus, and leftwing groups, including Communists, won 223 of the 237 Muslim-seats, the Muslim League 10, in an Assembly of 309. The political and economic ills of the province described in the debates, and the fear of having an undemocratic Islamic Constitution, were among the causes of this overwhelming defeat of the League.

The United Front insisted after the elections that the forty-five East Pakistani incumbents in the seventy-four-man Central Assembly no longer represented East Pakistan. It demanded the resignation of the Central Cabinet, the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly as unrepresentative of the majority, and an end to constitution-making until the national assembly had been reconstructed. Mass demonstrations on April 4 in Dacca, the capital, carried the threat of a campaign of civil disobedience in East Pakistan unless the Muslim League yielded to its mandate. On the same day Prime Minister Muḥammed ‘Alī repeated that the Constituent Assembly would meet on April 5 and proceed with the final drafting of the Constitution.

This, in brief, describes the status, from November 1953 to April 1954, of the constitutional proposals and of the party that sponsored them. Traced in greater detail, the record of this period shows that the debates in the Assembly bore a close relation to the speeches in the field, and that the framing of the Constitution was affected by the changing fortunes of the political parties. What had gone on in Karachi helped determine the outcome of the provincial election. The results of the election in turn were interpreted as a mandate to upset the constitution-making.

By November 10, 1953, a wide-open breach in the seven-month régime of Prime Minister Muḥammed ‘Alī was threatened by a series of sharp disagreements among the ten-man Cabinet. The Muslim League was beginning to fear that growing opposition parties might break its control of Pakistan by capturing legislative seats in the elections of East Pakistan, then set for mid-February. The rift had begun after August 21, when the Prime Minister returned from conferences with Jawaharlal Nehru on the settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

In January, 1954, an intense political campaign got under way. Prime Minister Muḥammed ‘Alī, president of the Muslim League,

and other politicians from the Center addressed hundreds of audiences. The United Front's campaign was run jointly by Fazlul Haq and H. S. Suhrawardy, both former premiers of undivided Bengal. Fazlul Haq, leader of the Krishak-Sramik Party (Peasants and Workers Party), was the most powerful single figure in the campaign. Suhrawardy, Convener of the West Pakistan Awami (People's) League, made the Awami League of Bengal the best organized party within the United Front. Long an effective political critic of the Government, Suhrawardy had refused invitations from the Muslim League to accept a cabinet post in Dacca or Karachi. He challenged the legality of the League's decision to recast constituencies so as to increase Muslim League representation from 119 to 237. Under the new arrangement there were to be 309 seats in the East Pakistan legislature, of which the minority would have 72. He attacked the League's methods of campaigning "at public expense," its failure to release political prisoners, more than 150 of whom were forbidden to leave their districts or were interned, and said the present "insolvent régime bred corruption."

The *Twenty-One Point Program* of the United Front called for declaring Bengali a state language, abolishing Zamindari and the redistribution of land among the peasants, the nationalization of the jute industry, the repeal of the Safety Act and "similar vile ordinances," the freeing of political prisoners, the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive departments of the province, complete autonomy for East Bengal according to the Lahore Resolution, and reforms looking to the social, economic, and political welfare of the people—such as free and compulsory primary education. The platform paralleled some of the central demands East Bengal had made during the consideration of the B.P.R. by the Constituent Assembly.

Defeat was in store for the Muslim League. Fearing the loss of minority support, the party warily made concessions to minority demands respecting the Constitution. On January 26 Mr. Muhammad Ali promised to vote in the Constituent Assembly for Bengali as an official language along with Urdu. The omission of all mention of language had been criticized as a defect of the B.P.R. Neither the League's postponement of the elections from February 16 to March 8 nor the desperate offer of the governorship of East Pakistan to Fazlul Haq helped the cause of the League. In the six days of voting, March 8-13, about half of the twenty million eligible voters went to the polls. All five Muslim League Ministers in the East Pakistan cabinet were defeated in their race for assembly seats. Chief Minister Nūral Amīn, a member of the Basic Principles Committee, was beaten by Haq Nawaz Khān, a twenty-seven-year-old student leader. On April 2 Fazlul Haq took office as Premier of East Pakistan.¹

¹ See Richard L. Park, "East Bengal; Pakistan's Troubled Province", *Far*

The Constituent Assembly met as Legislature on March 31, 1954 and rushed through plans to resume work on the B.P.R. on April 5. But with the backing of a large group of high Government employees, now turned "rebel", the United Front leaders were "determined" to halt action, on the ground that the Assembly did not represent the majority of the people of Pakistan.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION
MARCH 14-SEPTEMBER 21, 1954

The Sixteenth Session of the Constituent Assembly was mainly devoted to debating the constitutional proposals embodied in the B.P.R. and the Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and on Matters relating to Minorities. Amendments to the Government of India Act, 1935, as Amended for Pakistan, 1947, and other legislation were also passed.

On March 14 the opposition members discussed the heavy cost of maintaining the Board of Ta'limāt-i-Islāmīa, of whose services no report had reached the Assembly. Mr. Chattopadhyaya said this Board involved the huge expenditure of Rs 75 or 80 thousand a year. "Each Maulana is getting 1000 rupees per month and a well furnished house, which is according to Islamic principles, no doubt." Once more Mr. Iftikhāruddīn demanded the election, by the end of June, of a new Constituent Assembly which should draft a Constitution that would not disrupt Pakistan. On this day, however, other speakers were concerned with securing for themselves greater privileges and honors, similar, they said, to those enjoyed by legislators in other parliaments of the world. It was felt that the Assembly should sit for six months, if necessary, in order to finish the Constitution. Adoption at the end of the year would make possible elections early in 1955.

On April 5, forced by the Prime Minister, the Constituent Assembly met for the second time in the Sixteenth Session. The "Judiciary", Part X of the B.P.R., was under consideration on April 5, 6, and 8, but there was much talk about the effect of the elections on the Constitution. Several members insisted that the people of Pakistan, especially those of East Bengal, did desire an Islamic Constitution, though in the manifestoes of the United Front the Islamic Constitution was not mentioned. (But Fazlul Ḥaq's Resolution repudiated separate electorates, one of the hallmarks of the League's proposals). The victory of the United Front was a mandate not for a secular Constitution, they said, but for the curbing of economic injustice. To hold elections for a new Constituent Assembly might cause six or seven,

Eastern Survey, Vol. XXIII, No. 5 (May 1954), and Richard L. Park and Richard S. Wheeler, "East Bengal Under Governor's Rule", *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. XXIII, No. 9 (September 1954). These two articles describe the election and its sequel.

or even twelve to fifteen, years of delay in propounding a Constitution. The United Front, in any event, was an "unholy alliance." Why should the Muslim League bow to it? Maulana ʿAbdul Ḥamīd Khān Bhashānī, one of the popular leaders, did not believe in an all-Pakistan organization, it was said, but cared only for his Awami League in East Pakistan. Other leaders of the Front were persons who opposed the very creation of Pakistan. Thus they argued.

On April 8, Khān ʿAbdul Ghaffār Khān, the leader of the Khudi Khidmatgar, or Servants of God, movement of the Northwest Frontier Province—the "Frontier Gandhi"—dramatically moved that consideration of the B.P.R. be postponed. He said:

"If we ignore Bengal now, it will be tantamount to ignoring the majority of Pakistan, which will be against all accepted democratic practice. The newly elected representatives want the dissolution of this House, and its replacement by a newly elected house, which should frame Pakistan's Constitution. It is therefore necessary to hold talks with the new representatives of Bengal and come to a compromise with them. Pending such an agreement, further work on constitution-making should be postponed, for a day may come when the whole work done by this House may be scrapped altogether."

He added that the House had procrastinated for seven long years, making the framing of the Constitution the pretext for clinging to office. His motion for postponement of consideration of the B.P.R. was defeated.

In the meetings of April 13, 20, 22, and 26 nothing was accomplished on the B.P.R., controversy over the official language creating "an atmosphere uncongenial to work." On April 22 thousands of persons stormed the National Assembly, protesting the Government's decision to consider the use of Bengali as a second state language. The people of West Pakistan have a nearly fanatical concern for Urdu, to them the language of philosophers and poets. They consider Bengali only a dialect of Urdu or Hindi.

On April 23, the concept of an Islamic republic came under fire in a report by two of the country's most eminent jurists who deduced that a government founded on the Qurʾān could not be democratic.¹ Their 387-page Report questioned the 'democracy' of Islam and brought up many inconsistencies between ancient religious concepts and modern theories of government. Drawn up by a two-man inquiry commission headed by Chief Justice M. Munīr of the Punjab High Court, the Report was intended to fix responsibility for the religious riots of 1953 that cost 300 to 1000 lives in West Pakistan. To the surprise and discomfiture of many politicians, the Report turned out to be much more than an analysis of the troubles of the Aḥmadiyya sect. The conclusions covered every facet of the Islamic religion as it might affect a state based on the principles of the Qurʾān. This "bombshell," as one official called the Report, was not mentioned on the floor because the Hindu members were boycotting the constitution-making.

¹ See *The Muslim World*, Vol. xlv., No. 2, April, 1955, pp. 196-200.

When the Constituent Assembly met at ten o'clock on May 7, the Prime Minister and G. Pathan, Joint Secretary of the League, requested time out for important consultations. At 11:45 without having given the House advance notice, Mr. 'Alī moved that a section on "Language of the Republic" be added to the B.P.R. As reported in *Pakistan 1953-1954*, "The Prime Minister moved the formula under which the official languages of the Republic would be Urdu and Bengali and other languages as might be declared to be such by the Head of the State on the recommendation of the Provincial Legislature concerned. For a period of twenty years from the commencement of the Constitution, however, the English language would continue to be used for all official purposes of the Republic for which it was being used immediately before such commencement." P. D. Bhandara opposed the amendment "in the interests of the solidarity of the country," saying that Urdu had all the concomitants of a full-fledged language and was spoken from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. After heated arguments and three adjournments, the resolution was carried. East Bengalis had won a notable victory.

The debate on several articles considered in May reveals concern lest the Head of the State or President, according to the nomenclature adopted on May 19, should have too much power. The B.P.R. naturally provided for no Governor General, an official in the British governmental structure, but it gave the President some of the powers of the Governor General. Though a number of members of the Assembly, including Deputy President Gazder, considered Part XIII, "Emergency Provisions", to be undemocratic, paragraphs 240, 241, and 242 were adopted on May 11. The debates on these articles possess special interest when reviewed with later developments in mind: Governor's Rule in East Pakistan beginning May 29, the bills of the Constituent Assembly on September 20 and 21 curbing the power of the Governor General, and Governor General Ghulam Muhammad's proclamation of emergency on October 24, 1954.

Mr. Brohi remarked that one might ask, why write a constitution if one man has the power to bring about such far-reaching changes as these articles allow, yet in the end he supported these proposals. Mr. Gazder disapproved giving the Head of the State the power to order the Head of a Unit to carry on the government by dissolving the legislature. "We are providing a reenactment of Section 92A as it exists now under the Government of India Act, as adapted for Pakistan." He cited examples of the use of this power in Sind, where the Government had acted dictatorially just when the people were ready for a new election. He believed that though this provision might be useful "in the case of the last election to the East Bengal Legislature when even fresh elections may not solve the problem, it ought to be used only on the advice of the Ministry." Another Muslim said the exercise of emergency powers should be laid before the Parliament.

Mr. Bhandara agreed that "The power of an individual to dissolve a duly elected body is a negation of democracy."

Paragraph 248 provided that legal proceedings might be taken against the Head of the State or the Head of the Unit while he was in office and that such a case should be tried by the Supreme Court. Begum J. A. Shah Nawaz proposed as an amendment that if the case were of "a frivolous or vexatious nature," the Supreme Court should be allowed to punish the plaintiff with rigorous punishment up to five year's detention and fine, without further trial." Thus she would protect the Head of the State from being harassed by the illiterate people "to whom sovereignty has now been given."

A similar desire to guard against what the people might do was revealed the discussion on May 15 of Part XV, "Amendment of the Constitution." Some favored easy amendment, on account of rapid social change, and cited Turkey as a country that allowed for progress. The conservatives, eager "to preserve the ideology on which Pakistan is based"—eager also to protect the Muslim League's Constitution from being tampered with by the opposition party of East Bengal, called for a rigid procedure in amending the Constitution. Mischievous persons might mislead the man the street. Since the Pakistanis were starting on the road of democracy at a time when there was a certain revulsion of feeling against the working of democracy, and considering their cultural development, the Assembly must protect the Islamic Constitution by making amendment difficult.

The Constituent Assembly met on six different days in May. A thousand miles away there was turbulence—riots in the jute and paper mills, with heavy loss of life. We pause here to note the political crisis in East Pakistan because it was the forerunner to a second emergency that was directly to affect the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution.

On May 29 and 30, the Prime Minister dismissed Fazlul Haq and his cabinet. He charged they were unable to maintain law and order, and that Haq was a traitor who wished East Pakistan to become an independent country. Under Section 92 A, the Governor General proclaimed "Governor's Rule" in East Pakistan. Ten thousand troops were sent from West Pakistan, and Major General Iskander Mirza, the Defense Secretary of the Government of Pakistan, assumed the role of civilian Governor.

Two meetings of the Assembly in June and three in July were devoted to various sections of the B.P.R., such as Services and Public Service Commission.

The meetings in August and September revealed that many strong conflicts divided Pakistan and that the making of the Constitution was closely tied to current politics. The Constituent Assembly sought to protect itself and curb the power of the Governor General. Factions within the Muslim League Party were engaging in an open struggle

for power. There were also the Muslim-Hindu contests over the treatment of minorities, the conflict of interests between the Center and the Provinces, and the intense rivalry of the East and West zones. Acrimonious attacks on persons marked the discussions. The majority party succeeded in holding its forces together so that a Draft Constitution, dated September 1954, was published, but the obstacles encountered in the completion of the work, and the opposition overridden, pointed to difficulties ahead. The transactions of August and September 1957 will be reviewed in the next issue, with special attention to the adoption of the B.P.R. as a whole. The third and final article will also attempt to look beyond that sixteenth Session to the stresses and strains of subsequent events.¹

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GRACE J. CALDER

¹ The text of the Draft Constitution of 1956 will then be discussed. It embodies many of the provisions found in the draft of 1954 and may therefore be expected to encounter comparable opposition. Progress has unquestionably been made toward a more liberal and a more realistic solution of important issues; yet the old dilemmas, some of them in new guise, persist. The draft of 1954 was rejected as "unrepresentative of the people" because it failed to solve satisfactorily the controversial problems connected with the creation of an "Islamic State," the representation in the federal legislature of the two wings of Pakistan, the distribution of powers between the federal and the provincial governments, and language. In the draft of 1956, the provisions for making Pakistan Islamic remain essentially unchanged. The question of elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate, which two years ago emerged as the central sectarian issue, is to be determined by Act of Parliament—a constitutional proposal satisfactory neither to the segment of the Muslim population demanding separate electorates nor to the Hindu minority advocating joint electorates.

BOOK REVIEWS

A **History of Muslim Historiography**, By Franz Rosenthal, Leiden, 1952.
E. J. Brill. 8vo. x, 558 pp.

This is an interesting and important though hardly readable book, which represents an enormous amount of labor and meticulous scholarship devoted to a subject which should be, but is not, very exciting. Colleagues whose academic interests are in the field of history, and who have heard about Ibn Khaldūn, often express surprise that so little attention has been paid by Arabists to the Muslim historians. Should they work through Dr Rosenthal's book they will understand why. In 1882 Ferdinand Wüstenfeld in *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, set forth such bare facts about the Arabic writings on history as he could garner from the material available to him, and D. S. Margoliouth's *Lectures in Arabic Historians*, very poorly printed at Calcutta in 1930, attempted to survey the types of historical writing found in Arabic literature. But until the appearance of this present book we have had no systematic attempt to survey the whole field and present a comprehensive picture of what the Arab Muslims conceived the task of a historian to be and what they have contributed to historiography. In recent years there has been a goodly number of modern, western-trained Muslims in the Near East, in Turkey, in Persia, in India and even in Indonesia, writing on the general history of Islam and particularly on their local history, who may be the promise of a new era in Muslim historiography, but they fall outside the compass of this book which is concerned rather with the writers of that earlier period who give a relatively pure Muslim presentation of history.

What appears most clearly from this survey is the fact that the curious and striking limitations of Muslim historiography are for the most part due to the Muslim religion. There was no lack of material in pre-Islamic Arabia to form the basis for genuine historical interest. There was an abundance of inscriptional material in South Arabia and a goodly amount in the North which was available without excavation and was well known to the Arabs. There were the familiar stories of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, the great "days" of tribal warfare and conflict, which were doubtless once far more abundant than the meagre body of them which has been preserved for us. We hear of those who in Muḥammad's lifetime could attract an audience to listen to "the Persian histories," and the Qurʾān itself is evidence of the circulation in that environment of stories of Alexander, of the Seven Sleepers, and of such ancient Arabian worthies as those it names Hūd and Šāliḥ. The People of the Book knew the Biblical stories and genealogies, and it seems clear that the pagan Arabs had their genealogies, even though those later incorporated into Muslim works are so often suspect. With the coming of Islam, however, these things belonged to the "Times of Ignorance," and so things that were better forgotten save in so far as they could be used in the service of the faith. It is very curious to see how the writers of historical works have to labor to defend the legitimacy of their task, to reply at length and with some asperity to the theologically minded critics who condemned the writing

of historical works, and are at great pains to demonstrate the usefulness of the study of history. It is equally curious to observe how, even so, religious interests tend to dominate and control the work of even the best Arabic historians.

Yet historical writing makes up a sizeable proportion of Arabic literature, and Dr Rosenthal has carefully and accurately traced the history of this writing of history in its various forms of *akhbār*, *āthār*, *taʾrikh*, *ṭabaqāt*, *ansāb*, *siyār*, the annals, biographies, world-histories and local histories, memoirs, geographical treatises, historical poems and even historical novels. In all this he has assembled a great amount of information not easily available, some of it not available at all, elsewhere, and in his footnotes provided students with the necessary references. What is more important, however, is that in the second part of the book he has made accessible the work of two 15th century writers on historiography by providing a summary of Al-Kāfijī's *Concise Account of the Science of History*, and a translation of Al-Sakhāwī's *Iʿlān*, an apologetic work intended to show the blameworthiness of those who adversely criticized historians. In a third part he prints the Arabic text of Al-Kāfijī's work, together with a collection of shorter passages from a number of the texts referred to in the body of the work.

The wealth of material gathered here and annotated so meticulously make this an invaluable reference book to which students will turn for many years to come. This makes it the more regrettable that the manuscript was not gone through before printing by someone whose native tongue was English to make it read more smoothly and idiomatically.

Columbia University, N.Y.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Expériences Mystiques en Terres non-Chrétiennes. By Louis Gardet. Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1953. 181 pages. Paper, 480 French francs.

Under the general direction of Jacques Maritain, a new series of books entitled "Sagesse et Cultures" is being published with the express aim of restoring "wisdom" (that is, Roman Catholic Christian thought) to its proper position of centrality and primacy. This volume by Louis Gardet is the fourth in the series. Its purpose is to be a first essay in comparative mysticism; a later definitive volume will carry the venture further and will concern itself primarily with the mystical experience of the Self.

M. Gardet is a specialist in Islamics and a student of comparative theology. His volume reflects both these interests. It is Islam which receives the principal attention while the basic thesis is derived from comparative theology.

The thesis is that the study of comparative theologies shows that there are two fundamental forms of mysticism. It is a mistake to believe, as many do, that beneath all the varying forms of religion there is one pure stream of universal mysticism. In the Hindu Yoga system as based upon the Samkhya system of Indian philosophy, one of these forms shows its nature most clearly. By following the tech-

niques of this system it is possible to have genuine mystical experience, yet experience not of God but of the ultimate Self of the mystic in its created uniqueness and purity. The second type of mysticism is found in monotheistic religions. In it the mystic finds union through love with the depth of God Himself.

These two forms of mysticism differ absolutely, we are told, in their foundations, acts, and terms. Mysticism of the Self follows very definite techniques and those who are "élite" in nature will surely reach destruction of the ego and the experience of the pure Self. The Christian mystic, by contrast, has no techniques, since he rests entirely upon the grace of God who is the Creator of the Self. For this mysticism there is no élite class since the only measure is that of love.

While there is a general pattern of mysticism in the monotheistic religions, they are not to be equated. Only in Christianity, M. Gardet maintains, do the mystical and speculative unite fully. This is true because only in Christianity is known the Divine Word become flesh and the One and Triune God, which are not symbols but actual events and facts. The theological interpretation of these central Christian facts makes a complete unity with the experiences of the Christian mystic and provides the framework of understanding for those experiences.

Does this then mean, the author asks of himself, that the Christian faith is a necessary condition for having mystical experiences of God? He answers that this is not so, although it is a highly desirable condition. The soul in any tradition may receive God's grace. But because of the limitations of their theological formulations, non-Christians in their experiences must stop, dazzled, on the threshold of the mystery of God (p. 175).

Mystical experience of the Self leads to neglect of theology, quite naturally, while experience of God leads to emphasis upon the values of dogmatics. Experience of the Self tries to preserve that Self while the experience of God loses the Self to find it again, transfigured by and in the love of God.

Space does not permit discussion of the body of this work. Brief chapters deal freshly and incisively with Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian mysticism, respectively, and chapters in part 2 describe briefly, yet in essential detail, the figures of the great Muslim mystics, Rābī'a, Al-Bisṭāmī, Al-Ḥallāj, and Ibn al-Fāriḍ. A final chapter examines the techniques and experiences of Sufism with its two paths, of *fikr* and *dhikr*.

Criticism of this volume has to await the elaboration of the thesis promised in a later work. Questions such as the following remain in the mind of the reader: Is there no place for the doctrine of grace in Hindu mysticism? Are there no techniques used by Christian mystics? Does Roman Catholic dogma actually succeed in bringing into complete unity its formulations and the experiences of the mystics in its tradition? Do other monotheistic religions fail to provide sufficient theological structure for their mystical experiences? Whatever the answers to these may be, this volume is certainly well worth

reading and studying. It is highly stimulating and suggestive, and its material on Islam is of high value.

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CALVIN KEENE

Amthāl-i-Qurʾān. By H. E. ʿAlī Asghār Ḥekmat, Majlis Press, Teheran, 1373 (1955), pp. 337, and Indices.

H. E. ʿAlī Asghār Ḥekmat is at the present time the ambassador from Iran to India, after having served his government both as Minister of Education and as Foreign Minister. In addition to his administrative activities he has assiduously engaged in literary projects. His valuable contributions to present-day literature in the Persian language include *Abridged Translations of Shakespearean Plays*; *The Translation of the Third Volume of Professor Browne's Literary History of Persia*; and *The Evolution of Persian Prose*.

Amthāl-i-Qurʾān may be comprehensively translated as "Figures of Speech in the Qurʾān." This scholarly study of the Qurʾān in one of its most fascinating literary aspects is written in the Persian language, with the Arabic text of relevant passages from the Qurʾān incorporated and translated. The word *amthāl* is employed in the broad sense to include fables, proverbs, and parables, as well as apt comparisons, so that it covers inclusively the author's careful examination of the prophet Muḥammad's use of figures of speech. Some of the proverbs are similar to sayings in the Old Testament and there are teachings of Jesus that are readily recognized, particularly from the Sermon on the Mount. Parallel citations from the Bible are from the Persian translation that is in general use in Iran today.

The main part of the book, pp. 140-335, is devoted to the interpretation of the parables of the Qurʾān. Each passage is given first in the Arabic text, which is followed by a Persian translation. It is then interpreted, both in accord with the opinions of the most generally accepted commentators, the authorities in *Tafsīr*, and also in the light of the usage to which it has been applied subsequently by the poets and theologians. As Professor Hādī Ḥasan, of the Aligarh University has already remarked, "the main part of H. E. Ḥekmat's work is a critical study of 53 Quranic parables in exquisite Persian."

Students who are working with Arabic and Persian studies will appreciate the author's careful and accurate references to source books and the useful indices.

Birmingham, Ala., U.S.A.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON

Law in the Middle East. Edited by Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny, Washington, D. C., 1955, pp. 372, glossary and index. \$ 7.50.

Vol. I: Origin and Development of Islamic Law. The Middle East Institute,

Professor Joseph Schacht, one of the contributors to this volume, says in concluding the third chapter: "The Sharīʿa will always remain one of the most important, if not the most important, subject of study for the student of Islam." Despite this and similar statements by other authorities on Islam the books which have been published in recent

years about the various aspects of Islamic law can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and are but a trickle compared to the torrent of books on Islam and the Middle East. It is therefore with great pleasure that one welcomes this volume on the origins and development of Islamic law to be followed by a second volume on the modern legal systems of the Middle Eastern countries.

It must be stated outright that this book is not directed at the lawyer or those who seek technical knowledge only. As stated by the late Mr. Justice Jackson who wrote the Foreword, by Mr. George Camp Keiser, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Middle East Institute, who wrote the Introduction, and by the Editors in the Preface, the aim of the book is to develop a better and more balanced understanding of the Middle East. As a matter of fact the stimulus came from a small group of American laymen not members of the legal profession. A Committee on Law in the Middle East prepared the broad outline, considered contributors in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East, and charged the Editors with the preparation of a detailed plan and with its execution.

Most of the fourteen contributors are men famous in this field. Sir Hamilton Gibb, in his chapter on Constitutional Organization, once again demonstrates his interpretative scholarship. His penetrating treatment of the historical process shaping itself into constitutional theory, the failure of the moral duty in Muslim society to result in a civic duty, and the essential continuity of the principle of Muslim government as represented in the observance and protection of the Shari'ah cannot fail to attract the undivided attention of the reader.

Professor Schacht's two excellent chapters on the Early Development of Jurisprudence and the Schools of Law represent extensive and painstaking research which went into his *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* and his *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Droit Musulman*. His conclusion, based partly on Professor Emile Tyan's *Histoire de l'Organisation Judiciaire en Pays d'Islam*, that the judicial function of the state started only during the Umayyad period, and his other conclusions, based partly on Goldziher's works, that Muslim law developed from the Umayyad popular practice and that the systematization of the law took place essentially in Kūfah and not in Medina have presented Muslim law in an entirely new light very different from the traditional theory.

The chapter on the Nature and Sources of the Shari'ah by the late S. G. Vesey-Fitzgerald presents a straightforward exposé of the subject, although dependence was not, in the main, had on primary sources. Some of his conclusions — e.g. that a system of courts and lawyers not unlike that which has since become familiar in Islam existed at the time of the Prophet (p. 91) — do not agree with those reached by Schacht and Tyan who depended mainly on primary sources.

This raises a question as to the duty of the Editors in questions of conflict of opinion among the contributors. It is true that they state in their Preface that they abstained from changing the ideas and views of the writers, but one would expect, in case of conflict, at least a footnote referring the reader to the contrary opinion.

Special mention must be made of Professor Tyan's chapter on Judicial Organization and Dr. Liebesny's chapter on Western Judicial privileges. Chapters by Dr. Şubhī Maḥmaşānī on Transactions in the Sharī'ah, by Professor Muḥammad Abū Zahrā on Family Law, and by Mr. Henry Cattān on Waqf are able presentations of the subjects discussed but they have nothing to do with the origin and development of the law, and it would have been better to reserve them for the second volume which, presumably, is to deal with positive law. Nevertheless it is interesting to note the attempt of Mr. Cattān to connect the institution of "uses," which is the origin of the law of trusts in English law, with the law of Waqf. His theory is as reasonable as any so far advanced, but we might ask why there are no Arabic legal terms in the law of uses? Is it not the case that when an institution is borrowed by one culture from another its technical terms are borrowed with it also? Is not that one of the arguments used by writers to disprove any influence of Roman on Muslim law?

It seems that the absence of one of the Editors, as stated in the Introduction, during the last stages of preparing the book placed an unusually heavy burden on the other, since there was a time limit to complete it. This is reflected in the mistakes in spelling: e.g. p. 57 Fanan for Fagnan, p. 79 Tryan for Tyan p. 108 *istighāl* for *istighlāl*; in lack of standardization: e.g. the same person is referred to on p. 81 as Sulaymān I, on p. 109 as Sulaymān the Magnificent (Al-Qānūnī), on p. 282 as Sulayman II known as the kanuni [according to a certain theory he could be II]; in faulty transliteration, of which there are many examples; and in not guarding against the Arabic idiom in the translated papers: e.g. p. 148, "if the man wished to divorce his wife with whom he has consummated the marriage he does so," p. 181, "Waqf property is that the owners of which have dedicated it in perpetuity." One would also question the wisdom of using the term "Courts of Complaints" on p. 59 while these courts are given their name Mazālim on p. 263, or the phrase "having regard for the public interest" on p. 65 while its Arabic equivalent is used on p. 101.

But these minor matters should not detract from the importance and the extreme usefulness of this work whose Editors must be congratulated for their well-placed efforts.

Princeton University, N.J.

FARHAT ZIADEH

The Arabian Peninsula. By Richard H. Sanger, Cornell University Press, 1954; pp. xvii, 296, ills., maps, index; \$ 5.00.

This volume collects much useful and fairly recent information on the Sa'udi Arabian Kingdom and on most of the other areas of the Arabian Peninsula.

The most authoritative portion is the account of the author's participation, in 1946, in the diplomatic mission by Colonel William A. Eddy (then American Minister to Sa'udi Arabia) to arrange a treaty of recognition, commerce, and friendship between the United States and the Yaman in its historic capital, Şan'ā' (the government at present is at Ta'izz). This chapter and the following and final one on the revolt in the Yaman in 1948 are most vivid and interesting.

Value and interest are to be found at many places in the summary of information (now already needing revision!) on the various regions of a storied peninsula which, both geographically and historically, comprises a complicated entity most difficult to master and describe. These qualities of the book are found, for instance, even in the retelling of the story — important for the entire globe as well as for Arabia and Hither Asia — of the discovery of a revitalizing economic resource within the Peninsula in the form of abundant oil. For American readers this story cannot be retold too often. It is something in which, for the achievement of American enterprise, power of capital, and policy of fair-dealing, they can justifiably take pride.

Mr. Sanger's book sticks to its subject of the Arabian peninsula, avoiding the Arab Palestine problem which casts a shadow upon all relations between the United States and all the Arab countries. It goes to the extreme, however, of omitting entirely one of the most significant episodes in the history of American-Saʿudi relations. That was the secret wartime conference between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Saʿūd on an American warship in the Red Sea in 1945. Any American who reads this book, or anything else on any Arab land or problem, should also read the following: *F.D.R. Meets Ibn Saud*, by Colonel Eddy (then American minister, and official interpreter on the occasion), published by American Friends of the Middle East, New York, 1954; "The Political Temperature in the Near East Today ... (pamphlet), address by Colonel Eddy at the Naval War College, April 1, 1953, and *What Price Israel*, by Alfred Lilienthal, Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1953.

The reviewer, like others who have written about the book, could furnish a number of corrections on both major and minor points for use in case of a hoped-for second edition. Only three notations will be set down here: Chapter II, "Reopening One of King Solomon's Mines", is now history, for the activity by SAMS (not "Sams") at Mahd al-Dhahab (not "Mahd Dhahab") has been ended. P. 34: The last battle of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with the rebellious Ikhwān was not "at the town of Riqji," but at a completely desert spot al-Raqī (pronounced: ar-Ruqaʿī), just east of the great wādī, al-Bāṭin, near the junction of the boundaries of Saʿūdī Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait. Dealing with dots on a map of Arabia may be dangerous; one may be indeed a town, or even an oasis with from two to over forty towns and villages (witness Al-Hufūf or Al-Ḥasā or Al-Aḥsā!), but on the other hand it may be only a waterhole or a notable formation of sand or rock.

Chapter XIV, "Muscat: Our Oldest Near Eastern Friend." Some confusion and obscurity in this chapter need clarification, especially the first paragraph of page 192. The division between the Sultanate of Muscat on the coast and the Imamate of Oman in the interior began long before World War I. And surely "Sheikh Suleiman ibn Taimur" is a mistake for Shaikh Sulaimān ibn Ḥimyar (Al-Nabhānī, shaikh of the tribe of Banī Riyām and Amīr of the Green Mountain — Al-Jabal al-Akhḍar). A part of the obscurity of details in this chapter results from the indiscriminate use of "Said" for both *sayyid*

("lord, sir, Mr.," etc.), which is an alternate title for the Sultān of Muscat, and for Saʿīd ("happy, auspicious," etc.), a personal name, as in case of the present Sultān or Sayyid of Muscat, Saʿīd ibn Taimūr. "Sultan Said Sultan" for the Sultān Saʿīd ibn Sultān (d. 1856) is a mistake for Taimūr ibn Faiṣal, ruler of Muscat at the end of World War I. Further (p. 194) "Al Busaid" is *Āl Bū Saʿīd*, which is of course not the personal name of the sultān's uncle (he has three) who accompanied him to the United States in 1938, but the ancestral tribal name of the ruling family of Muscat and all their relatives!

A rather painful point, incidentally, is the mention, more than once, of "white" women in Arabia, rather than "American", or "occidental." The Arabian Peninsula is nowhere static. It is to be hoped we may see a second edition of this useful book.

Dhahrān, Saudi Arabia

C. D. MATTHEWS

Manuel de Genealogie et de Chronologie pour L'Histoire de L'Islam Avec 20 Tableaux Genealogiques hors texte et 5 Cartes. By E. de Zambaur, 2nd edition, (unrevised) 1955, Bad Pyrmont: Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, Inhaber: Walter Behrens, 2 vols. I, pp. xii, 388, indices; II, 20 genealogical tables and 5 maps, 75 D.M. = \$ 15.75.

This great work has long been out of print and it is a signal service to have it reissued, 28 years after its first appearance, in spite of the fact that it appears in facsimile, without any revision. In many respects this manual far surpasses Stanley Lane-Poole's *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, (published 1894, reissued 1925) and the two annotated and improved translations of it prepared by the late W. W. Barthold, (*Musulmanskia Dynastii*, Petrograd, 1899) and by the late Halil Edhem, in Osmanli Turkish, (*Düvel-i Islām*, İstanbul, 1928). Unfortunately, these translations of Lane-Poole's work stuck too faithfully to his plan hence limiting themselves to a restricted group of dynasties alone. De Zambaur deals with twice as many dynasties, which he recognizes are still not all, and adds non-regal families which have been distinguished by their members as statesmen, ministers, vizirs, governors or generals. His manual also contains lists of governors resident in the great cities or *Amsar* of Mecca, Medina, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad, Basra, Kufa, Rayy, Fars and Nishapur, pp. 19-49; Sassanian governors of Yemen, p. 113; Grand Vizirs of the Ottoman Empire, pp. 161-66, 311-312; and the Ottoman Pashas of Egypt, Budapest, and Baghdad and governors of Bosnia, pp. 166-174. In presenting all this additional material, culled from Arab and other Islamic historians, particularly the *Al-Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, numismatic and epigraphical sources, de Zambaur reluctantly omits any introductory historical notices on each dynasty or family, which he admits is one of the valuable features of Lane-Poole's handbook. De Zambaur also notes in the preface that he has completed a monumental, annotated translation and commentary, with analytical indices, glossaries, synoptic and genealogical tables, of this great history by Ibn al-Athīr from 302 A.H. onward, where Al-Ṭabari's account ceases. What has become of this translation? Cannot it somehow be published if still available?

The first five genealogical tables (A-E) in volume II deal with various branches of the °Alīds, then, in turn, with the Umayyads (E), °Abbāsids (G), Ayyūbids (H), Banū Shihāb of Lebanon (K), Wahhābis (L), Sayyids of Muscat and Zanzibar (M), Uqaylids (N), Ottomans (O), Baduspanids (P) Buyids (Q), Seljuks (R), House of Djudji (S), Tīmūrīds (T), and Mongols (U). The five useful outline maps indicate subdivisions of the Islamic domain and the names and territories of dynasties in each area at various periods. First comes Spain circa 450 A.H., with about 15 petty dynasties; then Asia Minor circa 730 A.H. showing almost a score of principalities vying for the succession of the Seljuks of Konya; then Syria under the Zangids, and Iraq, circa 530 A.H.; followed by fragmented Iran, circa 750 A.H.; and India, circa 800 A.H. Although there are lists of rulers of the Maldives and three Indonesian dynasties in vol. I, unfortunately neither the genealogical tables nor the maps deal with Indonesia or Muslim areas East of India.

Muslim scholars in Malaya, China, Indonesia or the Philippines, we hope, will soon add to our knowledge of their Islamic heritage. In this connection I cannot abstain from recommending C. L. Pickens Jr.'s excellent annotated *Bibliography of Literature on Islam in China*, Hankow, 1950, 72, pages, (already noticed in *The Muslim World*), J. K. Birge's, *A Guide to Turkish Area Study*, and L. P. Elwell-Sutton's companion *Guide to Iranian Area Study* both A.C.L.S., Washington, D.C. 1950 and 1953 respectively, to say nothing of Louis Massignon's indispensable *Annuaire Du Monde Musulman*, 4th ed., Presses Universitaires, Paris, 1955, as fine models.

In conclusion and for the record, I must add that there already exists a very fully annotated copy of the original edition of de Zambaur's Manual which should be thoroughly checked and used in any future revision of this great handbook. This corrected copy belonged to the late orientalist Prof. Karl Süssheim. His choice library was bought by Yale University at the end of World War II and some five thousand volumes of it, chiefly in Osmanli Turkish, were generously loaned by Yale to the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University in 1952. Süssheim's copy of de Zambaur contains many notes and corrections, usually in his own hand, in ink either on the tables or on loose sheets of paper lying between the pages. When I last consulted Süssheim's copy in July, 1955, there were minor corrections on genealogical tables A, D, Fa, O, S, and T. There were many corrections plus loose notes on tables Fb, G, H, Q, and R. There were some corrections and separate loose notes on tables K, L, and N. Süssheim was apparently unable to correct table M on the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar!

Beirut, Lebanon

HOWARD A. REED

Turkey. By Geoffrey Lewis, Nations of the Modern World Series, N. Y., Frederick A. Praeger, 1955, pp. 222, appendices, map, index, \$5.50.

Lewis' book is the second of the same title in the Nations of the Modern World Series. The first by A. J. Toynebee and Kenneth P.

Kirkwood was published in 1926 and, hence, is quite out-of-date. The author is a Senior Lecturer in Islamic Studies at Oxford University. He visited Turkey in 1951 and 1953. During the latter visit, he travelled extensively within Turkey. Thus, he combines scholarship in Turkish history with first-hand information of present day conditions.

He has skillfully combined his knowledge of modern research in Turkish history with the techniques of journalistic reporting to produce a book which is both informative and pleasant to read. Although too comprehensive in scope, *Turkey* is certainly the most intimate and accurate of the recent publications dealing with the same topic.

Turkey, is divided into two parts. Part I, "The Story of the Turkish Republic," is composed of twenty-two brief chapters which total somewhat more than two-thirds of the whole. The treatment in this section is largely chronological, beginning with the origins of the Ottomans and continuing through the general elections of 1954. In this section, Lewis orients his material around significant developments in the political sphere. Part II, "Aspects of Modern Turkey," is composed of nine chapters dealing separately with different phases of Turkish social life and with Lewis' personal analyses. Lewis has appended an annotated translation of the Turkish Constitution as revised up to January 10, 1945.

The author traces Ottoman history up to the 20th century in about forty lucidly written pages. He has done this ably; yet the reader will certainly miss among his headings on the basic institutions of the Ottoman Empire one dealing with the "fief" and land tenure systems. In the reviewer's opinion, these latter institutions provide the real clue to an understanding of the nature of the Ottoman system and embody the secret of its decline and fall.

However abbreviated Mr. Lewis' treatment of the geography, economy, politics and culture in modern Turkey may be, his data and analyses are accurate. Without making pretensions, he has been able to detect the real motivations and the nature of the main aspects of contemporary Turkish nationalistic, democratic, secular and Westernist trends as well as the causation of the various difficulties and disappointments which have been encountered.

The major merit of *Turkey* lies in the author's sympathetic approach to the historical and contemporary Turks. His attitude has enabled him to keep aloof from common prejudices while permitting him to appraise and criticize in a well-balanced manner. Actually, it is the inclusion of his own considered opinions which makes the book absorbing for the general reader.

McGill University, Montreal

NIYAZI BERKES

The Arab Genius in Science and Philosophy.

By Omar Farrukh, The American Council of Learned Societies, 1954, pp. 161, Cloth \$ 3.50, Paper \$ 2.50.

The Arab Genius is one of many books which reflect the present mood of the Arab mind, and the changes in values and attitudes which have crept, unnoticed, into this mind.

The word "Arab" in the title of this book, the scope of which is

an attempt to encompass the entire *Muslim* tradition, is the most obvious clue to this mood. Its use is indicative of how far the Arab has accepted the fundamental values of the "nation-state," or "nationality," on the one hand, and how far he has departed from the fundamental values of the "heritage" which he tries so hard to "preserve." Underneath this title lies a re-writing of history which hides some of the most serious problems in cultural identity. Muslim, Christian, and other Arabs feel that they should belong to a "national" tradition, and are no longer satisfied with the tradition of the *ummah* (often erroneously translated "nation"), or the *millah*, as the sources of individual pride in belonging and identification. The chief motive in writing *The Arab Genius* is to set forth "the position held by the Arabs" in the legacy of human thought and scientific discoveries. This position is claimed for anything written in Arabic (for this seems to be the only criterion of what is "Arab"), regardless of whether the author was an Arab or not.

Another motive, itself another clue to the present state of the Arab mind, is to show that the Arabs have already convincingly demonstrated their genius according to standards accepted by the modern and supposedly superior West. If an idea or a scientific discovery accepted as a part of the Western tradition, can be traced to an "Arab," then what better "proof" may a modern Arab offer to demand membership in the achievements of genius? What narrow limitations have we imposed upon ourselves in our attempts to plead for the acknowledgement of others and to discover some basis for self-contentment. The genius of our tradition is judged by the occurrence of its products in Western thought in such spheres as "theology," "mental philosophy," "social philosophy," — etc.

In our eagerness to assert ourselves as a "nation" in the terms of the modern West, and to compensate for our present conditions, we are naively and unknowingly betraying the best in our tradition and abandoning the very sources of our genius. As long as the predominant tone in our present thinking centers around "We too are great, even by your own standards you Westerners!," we shall remain unable to rediscover the sources of our genius and unknowingly substitute in the place of our basic values some modern Western values which undermine the "heritage" we wish to "preserve."

In our preference of "Arab" to "Muslim" are we abandoning, or relegating to the background, a philosophy of the universality of man and the unique individuality of every human being, which is truly one of the greatest achievements of the human mind, and without which the so-called "Arab" genius would not have been what it was? For the sake of hollow pride are we depriving ourselves of the most comprehensive view of human life and of existence? The differences between the set of values embodied in the national word "Arab" and those embodied in the universal word "Muslim" are so vast that the genius produced by the one would be of an entirely different species from the other.

The Muslim genius, or any cultural genius, does not lie, as the author seems to assume, in *specific* contributions and discoveries.

Specific contributions themselves reflect (and enrich) more comprehensive attitudes of mind which reside in the culture as a whole and which do not lend themselves to adequate expression. Can we understand the range of Muslim thinkers, their modes of thought, their contributions, or their contacts with ideas of other civilizations, without understanding the underlying attitudes the Qurʾān has generated in them? Can we understand the significance of the principle of unity in the Muslim mind and its application to all levels of thought and experience: the unity of the human personality, the unity of knowledge, the unity of mankind (without a definite image for all to conform to), the unity of history, the unity of existence, and the individual achievements in these fields without realizing the importance of the Unity of God to the Muslim? We must realize how important it was to them to reconcile the multiplicity of things and the diversity in the ways of life of the various peoples to the principle of unity.

Muslims gave to the world in their peculiar conception of the Unity of God the highest perspective conceivable by the human mind, under which all knowledge and all experience may be related in a comprehensive whole. The rest was detail. The Muslims discovered some of this detail and borrowed some from others.

These details have obviously multiplied today, and many are disproved or corrected. But the Muslim conception of what the Unity of God should imply in knowledge and experience will remain forever the highest and most comprehensive perspective possible for the human mind. This conception inspired Muslim genius. Muslims must rediscover its importance, for only then will they be able to contribute again to human understanding, and perhaps overcome an unjustified feeling of inferiority.

New York.

ALI OTHMAN

Islam in the U.S.S.R., Turkey and Europe. By S. M. Ahmad, Abbas Manzil Library, Allahabad, 1954, pp. 315.

This is one of a series of four books on Islam in India, China, Africa and Europe by the Honorary General Secretary of the Abbas Manzil Library Trust of Allahabad, India. The book has four Chapters: Military Conquests, Peaceful Penetration, Political Conditions in the Past and Present Day Conditions. The main purpose of the author seems to be to emphasize the peaceful penetration of Islam, refuting the notion that Islam was spread by the sword. This theme is reiterated very frequently, with insufficient attention to the various forms of direct and indirect pressure which have accompanied Muslim penetration. The author uses Sir Thomas Arnold's *The Preaching of Islam* to prove his thesis. In that book, (p. 420) Arnold says: "The very existence of so many Christian sects and communities in countries that have been for centuries under Mohammedan rule is an abiding testimony to the toleration they have enjoyed." Yet, basing himself, on that very fact, Professor Margoliouth, in his *Early Development of Muhammadanism* (p. 134) remarks: "It is a marvel to all who have considered Eastern Christianity and its circumstances since the Islamic conquests that it should have survived at all."

Speaking of the Tartars and other forces in Eastern Asia, the author says that the propaganda of Islam was very zealously carried forward, every Muslim being a missionary. (p. 163) The Armenians were naturally involved in those struggles, surrounding the conversion of the Tartars and Turks to Islam. There are several Armenian contemporary writers who have given descriptions of the events. M. P. Yeghiayan has studied these writings and in his article in my *Festschrift* gives two reasons. One, the aloofness of the Byzantine Emperors, which weakened the Armenians vis-à-vis the Tartars, and the other the many divisions of Christendom in face of the united body of Islam. These Armenian writings need to be translated into English for the light they throw upon these questions.

Regarding the modern changes in Turkey, the author writes that if Turkey "allows the teachings of the Prophet to become again the foundation of her national life, though stripped of the Sharī'ah and the legal system, she may lead the whole world of Islam to a reformation which is long over-due." But what Islam will be without the Sharī'ah is yet to be seen. The whole significance of the Atatürk Revolution in relation to Islam, then and since, needs to be much more radically assessed than here. In the closing pages the writer discusses erroneous Western ideas about the history and faith of Islam.

Los Angeles, California

LOOTFY LEVONIAN

SHORTER NOTICES

Eternal Egypt. By Clement Robichon and Alexandre Varille, Translated by Laetitia Gifford, the Philosophical Library, New York, 1955, 144 Illustrations, \$ 6.00.

A delightful pictorial presentation of Egypt, both ancient and modern, from feluccas in Old Cairo harbor to the Grand Temple at Nubia. There are six pages of brief notations on the pictures and a foreword. The work first appeared in French and there is a British, as well as this American, edition. It presents the splendor of Pharaonic Egypt but adds: "One must look on the living Egypt of today to understand the peasant Egypt of all time, which was the true source of the riches of the most diverse sovereigns." Such 'looking' the authors and photographers have here well served.

The Tower of Babel. By André Parrot, the Philosophical Library, New York, translated from the French, 1955, pp. 75.

The author offers a survey of the literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence for the Tower of Babel and discusses its place in art and theology. He identifies the Tower with a ziggurat and regards it as "the cathedral of antiquity."

The Flood and Noah's Ark. By André Parrot, translated from the French, the Philosophical Library, New York, 1955. pp. 75.

A brief monogram, like the above, with illustrations, presenting the author's conclusions on the Flood, based on a quarter of a century in archaeological work. He summarises the literary and archaeological evidence and the religious significance of the epic disaster.

Non Christian Religions, A Comparative Study. By Ione Lowman, Baker Book House, Grands Rapids, Michigan, pp. 123, \$ 1.75, n.d.

The author treats very briefly the world's major religions for students who wish to confine their awareness of these faiths to a pre-determined form. Discussion is inevitably oversimplified and some of the ultimate problems of religious meeting are neither broached nor suspected. A few points may be noted from the section on "Mohammedanism." (How unfortunate it is that this inappropriate term will not die!) The Qur'an has 114 Surahs, not 144. It does not actually contain "excerpts from the New Testament," though a few general parallels exist. There are some unfortunate misprints. But the major need is for depth in reckoning and depth in compassion.

Discovering Buried Worlds. By André Parrot. The Philosophical Library, New York, 1955, pp. 119 and Bibl.

Translated from a French work, dated 1954, this short book discusses the difficulties of the archaeologist and presents a sketch of the history of excavation in Iraq and of the civilisations it has illuminated. Everything, however, is so scant that the reader is left wondering why anything, if so little?

North African Powder Keg. By Edmund Stevens, Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1955, pp. 265 and index, \$ 3.75.

"An ace-reporter, an inflammable spot and an objective look" — so runs the publisher's summary. Like all reporting, this book may prove somewhat ephemeral. But that is not to say that the reporting is not vigorous and incisive. The writer, the Rome correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*, describes the impressions, formed from a series of visits to the three North African territories, as to French policy, police methods, Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian customs, the tensions of French disunity and the stresses of local opinion. When one gets beyond the mixture of metaphor ("the spark of religious fanaticism that serves as a well-spring of violence") this book provides a factual and realistic picture of an accumulating tragedy of errors.

Complaint and Answer. *Shikwat wa Jawāb-i-Shikwat.* By Muḥammad Iqbāl, translated from Urdu into English by A. J. Arberry, Shaikh Muh. Ashraf, Lahore, 1955, pp. 79.

This brief poem, one of the earliest Urdu compositions of Iqbāl, was rendered into literal English by Mazheruddin Siddiqi, and Professor Arberry then versified the translation. It is typical of the great poet's ideas. In the *Shikwat*, he complains, in the name of Islam, that the pristine glory of this faith has been lost. No other people ever strove so disinterestedly for God, yet their contemporary heirs confront a history that has apparently gone wrong. God has seemingly forsaken them. He has only Himself to blame if the earth is now bereft of the truth of His Unity. (p. 20) In the *Jawāb*, God answers that the seeming abandonment of Muslims by God is really their own abandonment of their heritage. The community has become a heart-break to its Prophet. "What relationship of spirit links you to your glorious dead?" (p. 56). "Be thou faithful to Muhammad and We (God speaking) yield Ourselves to thee." (p. 72). Three reflections urge themselves on the objective reader — if poets expect to have such. Was the pristine Islam ever quite the idyllic entity here supposed? Is this account of the great ego-call really what Islam to God means? Are not the problems of human society common? Why, then, say of Muslim decadence (p. 53): "Christian is your mode of living, and your culture is Hindoo."? Though this little work throws no more light on Iqbāl than we already had, it poses again all the old questions that have been asked about him.

Notes on Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi.* Edited by A. J. Arberry, Shaikh Muh. Ashraf, Lahore, 1955, pp. 48.

An interesting work, if only because it corroborates the general impression of subtlety created by Iqbāl's poetry. Professor Arberry discovered among the books of the late Professor R. A. Nicholson an annotated copy of his first translation of Iqbāl's *Secrets of the Self*, with comments on the renderings in the handwriting of Iqbāl. This brief work gathers together these comments, studies the differences between the first translation and the second (which Profes-

sor Nicholson did in the light of the poet's notes) and those comments which he did not so take note of. No doubt reverence for Iqbāl makes this a work of piety but the average reader will not find too much of consequence at stake in the variant rendering. "We are the preservers of the universe" becomes "We are the protectors of the universe." (p. 45) and the like. But is the final sense any clearer?

The Essence of Islamic Teachings. By Syed Nawab Ali, Shaikh Muh. Ashraf, Lahore, 1955, pp. 54.

This short publication treats its great themes all too briefly. "We have our own distinctive ideology of Islam" says the author and he expounds it, in familiar language, under the heads: The Revelation, Quranic Teachings, Islamic Ethics and The Triumph of Islam. There are interspersed quotations from Gibbon, Carlyle, Lane-Poole and other Western writers. Like so many similar booklets on the excellence of Islam, the writer leaves a serious reader yearning for deeper and more realistic treatment of the vast themes and claims, and also for a greater sensitivity to the mutuality of human problems. How many questions, for example, underlie this statement: "Islam is not the name of any particular set of rituals. Any man who lives a moral life is a Muslim. That is, every good man is a Muslim."? Is Islam, then, a distinctive ideology?

Al-Shi'r al-ʿArabī fī-l-Mahjar. By Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, Cairo, 1955, Franklin Publications, pp. 295.

This study of Arabic poetry of Arab emigrants is another product of that vigorous publishing house, Franklin Publications. An introduction by ʿAzīz Abāzah deplores that emigrant poetry is so thoroughly beset by doubt and uncertainty. He emphasizes the role of the Lebanese in the evolution of this poetry and notes its partial debt to American influences. Not all readers will approve of his verdict that Arabic emigrant poetry has not opened any new horizons in art. The author presents briefly the form and pattern of the modern *Hijrah* and traces with quotations the influences, nostalgic and prospective, that shaped the poetry it produced. He then studies fifteen individual poets in what he calls the northern and the southern migrations.

Mawāqif Ḥāsimah fī Tārīkh al-ʿIlm. By J. B. Conant, Translated by Aḥmad Zakī, Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif, 1954, pp. 506.

A translation of the former President of Harvard's *Science and Common Sense*, with a brief Introduction by the translator, and diagrams. Another in the growing series of popular scientific works available in Arabic.

Hādha Madhhabī. Translation by ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Dūsī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan and others, Cairo, Kitāb al-Hilāl, 1955, pp. 210.

This volume is a successor to another *Kitāb al-Hilāl*, edited by the late Aḥmad Amīn with the title ʿAllamatnī al-Ḥayāt. It presents some of the *Credos* from the second of E. R. Murrow's collection: *This I Believe*, together with a selection of Arab contributors, among

them Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Sāmī al-Ṣulḥ, Maḥmūd Taymur, Ṭaha Ḥusain (who also writes an introduction) and Aḥmad al-Zayyāt. There are also a number of extracts from historical figures beginning with Socrates and ending with Benjamin Franklin.

Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society. Vol. xv. 1953 and 1954, with indices to Vols. i-xv, edited by C. J. Mullo Weir, Glasgow, 1955, pp. 84.

This volume contains a study of the song captions in Al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* by H. G. Farmer, who attempts to answer the question: "What were the rhythmic modes and melodic modes whose names crowd the pages" of Al-Iṣfahānī's great compendium. Professor James Robson contributes a study of *Isnād* in Muslim Tradition and the Rev. Eric F. F. Bishop offers "a fresh view of *Dhū-l-Qarnain*, being a critical discussion of the ideas of Dr. Muḥammad Azad as to the identity of the Qurānic figure. Finally the Rev. A. Guthrie describes a recently acquired ms. of the Qurʾān. Its most notable feature is the prayers for the reader which it contains at the end.

The Evolution of Public Responsibility in the Middle East. Edited by Harvey P. Hall, Washington, 1955, pp. 118.

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Middle East Institute was devoted in 1955 to the theme of Public Responsibility. It surveyed and debated the political, social and economic aspects and assessed progress and prospects, either by countries or in general. This yearly conference gives a valuable expression to the deep problems of the areas it serves. 'Responsibility' was a well chosen word — the more so if we remember that much of the 'public' turns on the 'private'.

American Friends of the Middle East. Fourth Annual Report, 1955, New York, pp. 55.

This brief Report presents the major activities of A.F.M.E. during the past year, in the promotion of understanding, of inter-cultural meeting, student friendship, lecture programs, public relations and travel. Illustrations recall some of the occasions at Middle East House.

The Arabesque. The Abstract Art of Islam. By Rom Landau, the American Academy of Asian Studies, 2030 Broadway, San Francisco, California, 1955, pp. 23.

The author, now Professor of Islamic and North African Studies in the American Academy of Asian Studies, is wellknown for his books on Morocco. Arabesque is the form of art that is geometrical and two dimensional, in obedience to the Islamic veto on the delineation of three dimensional forms. Because it is concerned with pure form, without any reference to 'natural' images, Rom Landau believes that it is the purest type of art. European art, he alleges, because it utilized the human form even in high religious themes, tended to the deification of man. Arabesque, however, is timeless and amoral and thus proclaims *islām*, or submission. Instead of the human form, the

maker of Arabesque chose the Arabic script. "Arabesque tells us a great deal about the mind of its makers in general, it tells us nothing about the individual artist." This is an illuminating study but like many monographs on art it contains a good many dicta that are highly subjective and too magisterial.

Arbaʿu Masrahiyyāt min Al-Adab-al-Amirīkī.
Cairo, 1954, pp. 410.

Edited by Ḥasan Maḥmūd,

A Franklin Publication Arabic translation of four American Plays. *The Silver Cord*, by Sidney Howard, *You Can't Take it with You*, by George Kaufman and Moss Hart, *Beyond the Horizon*, by Eugene O'Neill and *Our Town* by Thornton Wilder. Each has a different translator and Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, the most noted Egyptian playwright, contributes an introduction.

Working Together, the Near East. By S. A. Morrison, London, The Highway Press, 1955, pp. 32.

The author presents a lucid account of movements of inter-Church co-operation in the Near East, as between both 'Orthodox' and 'Evangelical,' both in ecumenical fellowship and in health, education and literature. While there is a measure of effective common action, the different Christian traditions of the area remain still very far apart organically and inter-mission councils need to move beyond their present degree of growth into unity.

World within a World. By Elwyn Lee Means, Nashville, Tenn., U.S.A. 1955, pp. 115.

A mission study manual for adults dealing with Islam, and a publication of the Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Virginia, this book springs from "an awareness of physical and spiritual need and a personal faith in the adequacy of Christ." How the two may most validly be brought together — the need and the adequacy — both in terms of service and of thought must remain a call for humility and searching of heart. The author follows familiar paths in her brief account of the rise and content of Islam. There is a section on modern conditions within the Muslim countries, with a final chapter on Southern Baptist work in the Near East.

Who Knows Better Must Say So! By Rabbi Elmer Berger, The American Council for Judaism, New York, 1955, pp. 112.

Letters written for private reading during a journey through the Arab East and Israel, lasting almost two months, made by the Executive Director of the American Council for Judaism, are here offered to a wide public. They describe in a spontaneous and informal manner the impressions and experiences of a distinguished Rabbi whose views on the proper relations of Judaism with Zion and of Jews with the political order anywhere differ profoundly from those which have shaped the State of Israel. Among the many impressions the book leaves perhaps the sharpest is that Israel, which was to be the supreme and final answer to the ghetto, is in some danger of becoming itself a sort of national ghetto — and that, not only on account of Arab resentments but of Israel's seeming unawareness of the demands of its own highest interest.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Very extensive repairs and reconstruction have now been completed at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Saudi Arabia Airlines have reduced their fares in order to encourage more people to visit the remodelled mosque and have urged surface transport companies to do the same. Four great minarets have been erected, each over 300 feet in height, being the tallest minarets in the world. Neither those of the Sophia Mosque in Istanbul nor those of the Muḥammad ʿAlī Mosque in Cairo are taller or more impressive. Nine massive gates now lead to the mosque. They are named after the first four Caliphs, the late King ʿAbd al ʿAzīz and Sultān al Majīd (the last two being restorers of the Mosque.) The other three gates are: *Bāb al-Raḥmah*, *Bāb al-Salām*, and *Bāb al-Nisāʾ* — the last being a special entrance for women. The area of the Mosque is twice its former size. Air-conditioning has been installed and a new amplification system. Several streets in the vicinity of the Mosque have been widened to improve the approaches. A new Egyptian style of Arabic calligraphic design has been followed, replacing the old, classic, Andalusian style of carved and separated decoration

The Egyptian Constitution. Reaction to the new Constitution promulgated in January last in pursuance of the Régime's original promise, has received a mixed reception on the part of world commentators. Arab opinion is generally favorable, there being special pleasure at the statement in the Constitution that Egypt is a Democratic Arab Republic and that the State religion is Islam. Some western circles fear that the provisions are so circumscribed as in effect to perpetuate the reality of the present Régime under slightly liberalized forms. This may well be inevitable, for the quandary of the Régime since its inception has been precisely this question of the feasible returnability of power to the recognized forms of democratic activity. In the absence of genuine opposition parties with full freedom of articulation such democracy cannot be vigorous or realistic. Nevertheless, there is perhaps an immediate realism in Constitution's recognition that this ultimate desiderandum is not now feasible. The desire, notwithstanding, to give the Régime some more specific link with constitutionality is entirely commendable.

The Constitution provides for a plebiscite on its own approval to be held on June 23rd 1956, followed by another plebiscite for the election of a President, who must be of Egyptian nationality and over 35 years of age. Legislative powers are to be vested in a single Assembly whose members will be elected by a national "Union" to be formed under the auspices of the President. Their members will be removable in certain circumstances. The exercise of the suffrage, which will be compulsory, will be for approval of the President, who is to be nominated by the National Assembly (though in the first case by the Revolutionary Command) and whose term will be for six years. He will be empowered to veto and to initiate laws, and after consulting the National Assembly may refer matters at issue

to a popular referendum. Judges are not liable to dismissal and will be subject to no authority save that of law.

The operation of the Constitution depends, of course, upon the restoration of political parties, but a law regulating these has not yet been prepared and in its absence the Constitution will remain in this field more potential than actual. Complete freedom of the press and of expression and freedom of person, faith, and abode are guaranteed. Final judgement on the items and purposes of the new document must await the promised promulgation of rules relating to methods of electing the National Assembly. "Elasticity and adaptability" are promised in this connection. But it seems inevitable that the Assembly in the first instance will be an officially nominated body, out of the several vocations in society. Sturdy independence of sentiment may be discouraged by the provision that any Assemblyman can be removed if ten of his colleagues initiate such a step and two thirds approve. All ministers will be appointed by the President, who will not, by any sharp definitions, be responsible either to the Assembly or to the electorate.

If the democracy thus established is somewhat Bonapartist, it is none the less satisfactory that some real progress has been made on the road towards forms aiming to ensure that power shall be accountable as well as beneficent. The final test of constitutions is the expressiveness and opportunities of minorities. Meanwhile, the Speaker of the Syrian Chamber of deputies has reputedly visited Cairo in order to discuss the possible federation of the two countries.

Personal Status Law in Egypt. 1956 has seen the inauguration of a far reaching change in the law of personal status. The Shari'ah Courts and Millet Courts closed down in January and all personal status cases were transferred to the Civil Courts. A system of public notaries has been set up for marriage and divorce matters for members of non-Muslim communities. Priests and Rabbis may serve as such, as well as lawyers, if nominated by their communities. Marriage ceremonials are not affected. The function of the notaries is to ensure attestation of the contracts. If a divorce, however, is subject to dispute it will be dealt with by the Civil Courts. In such dispute the law of the community of the parties would be applied by the Civil Court. The purpose of the reform is to unify procedures and not to diminish in any way the rights of minorities. It also makes possible the contraction of marriage before a non-ecclesiastical or non-religious official, if such be nominated for appointment by one's community.

Reforms in Bahrain. The first 'state,' as distinct from municipal, elections in the history of Bahrain are being prepared for March and April, 1956. They will choose members to control the departments of Education and Health. These elections and some promised reforms of the judicial system are the concessions secured by a Higher Executive Committee which in 1954 demanded much more far reaching changes that were not granted, such as the setting up of a legislative council and the establishment of a high court of appeals. The modera-

tion and reasonableness of Bahrain's reformist group are due in part to the enlightened social policies of the last three decades. Oil revenues have been wisely used and education has grown.

Though the present steps are somewhat of a compromise between the Ruler and the Higher Committee, it is expected that demands for political expression and opportunity will increase within the Shaikhdom.

Secularism and Religion in Turkey. Wide repercussions have resulted, both inside and outside Turkey, from the Speech of Prime Minister Menderes at Konya, in December, 1955, in which he appeared to impugn, in some measure at least, the authority of the basic principle of secularity which Ataturk had written into the Turkish Revolution. He said in effect that while religion and politics were separated and there must be freedom of conscience, Turkey was and would always remain Muslim. He spoke of Muslim education as a right of conscience when parents sought it for their children. He proposed that religious instruction be introduced into the middle Schools. While excluding any return to fanaticism, he affirmed that religious instruction was a pre-requisite of freedom of conscience and national vitality. The Turkish conscience itself would be a sufficient bulwark against any return to obscurantism and bigotry. He stressed the important problem of the education of teachers for this work. (There is an Imām Hatip school on secondary level in Konya where the speech was made, which the Premier commended as a model.) He also promised more pay and prestige to religious functionaries and teachers.

It should be remembered that the Democratic Party in Turkey, led by Celal Bayar the President of the Republic (who accompanied Mr. Menderes) and the Prime Minister, has been under numerous difficulties since its resounding victory in the 1954 elections, but especially since the riots of September last. To add to the nation's economic difficulties, the Party has suffered significant defections to the new "Freedom" Party (twenty more defection took place after the speech.) Some have interpreted the remarks as a gesture to predominantly rural sentiment, the more so as they also included fiscal concessions to the small taxpayer. But they may well represent a deeper recognition of the need for religious undergirding of national education and, thus, of national citizenship. (See *The Muslim World*, current volume, pp. 13-14, and 81-82.) The minds of men may well be feeling for the middle ground, which assuredly exists, between the positivistic philosophy of the Ataturk period and the rigid Islam he destroyed. The attitudes and impulses of Sūfī mysticism persist below the surface and generations of Islamicity can readily recur in post-revolutionary form. Enlightened religion, rather than secularism, it can be argued, is the true defense against bigotry. There has for some time been a marked interest in religious education in the West on the part of many responsible, thinking Turks.

Some city dailies, especially in Istanbul, came to the defense of the entire Ataturk concept after the Konya speech, protesting the dangers of religion in education and demanding on uncompromising con-

tinuance of laicism. Whatever its immediate motives and its longer consequences the Menderes speech is realist in that it frankly recognizes the reality and urgency of the problem confronting Turkey. Islam has survived the Revolution with a vigor more and more evident. The State, then, is compelled both for this, and for purely governmental, reasons to take Turkish Islam seriously. But how, in what measure, and under what concepts, are the supreme questions. The Prime Minister has been realistic in raising these issues and the storm of discussion he aroused reveals how central they are. Here is the text of the passage in question:

"Now I want to speak to you about our concept of secularism. It has two meanings. On the one hand it means the separation of religion from politics, and on the other hand it means freedom of conscience. With not the slightest hesitation we accept the absolute separation of religion and politics. Coming to the question of freedom of conscience, we must affirm that Turkey is Muslim and Muslim she will remain. No one will dispute the fact that if our children and the children of future generations are to remain Muslim, they must be nurtured and trained in the practices and principles of the Muslim Religion. However, because religious lessons are not given in our schools, our countrymen who want their children nurtured and trained in the principles of our religion, are deprived of this possibility. Muslim children should not be deprived of their natural right to learn about their religion. We cannot say that this deprivation and lack of opportunity is in harmony with their freedom of conscience. In response to this situation it is suitable that we put religious lessons into our Orta schools. We do not believe that atheistic societies and countries can continue to grow and prosper. We know to what a degree the most progressive countries in the world hold to their religion, even after they have separated religion, politics, and the rest of the world's work from each other. Fanaticism is not fitting or proper to the level today of our noble nation. While our country is tightly tied to its religion, it is our desire to have a religion which is the highest and most spiritual. We find the purest expression of Islam in the conscience of our nation."

Labor Relations and Industrialization in the Arab States. The steady growth of industry in the Arab world is creating a growing problem of labor relations law. The Secretariat General of the Islamic Congress has asked for a number of Egyptian Labor union leaders to visit Islamic countries in order to study the creation of a confederation of Islamic Labor Unions, and to strengthen relations between the working classes in all these countries. The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Labor is holding its spring meeting in Cairo. A Constitution is being drafted for a proposed Federation of Trade Unions in the Arab States. A journalist in Saudi Arabia gives point to these developments in a discussion of the main factors in labor relations in his country. He castigates employers who evade existing laws by practices harmful to workers. Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafajī of Al-Azhar has recently published a book on "The Rights and Duties of Workers in the Islamic Shariʿah." He cites the centrality of the worker in the national economy and recalls how most of the Prophets spent their youth in employ, Moses with Shuʿaib and Muḥammad with Khadijah. He lists the following as being the bases of the Shariʿah in this field:

1. *The safeguarding of the workman's dignity, humanity and personality in life, because work is neither a humiliation nor a disgrace but an honorable means of living for many people of the nation.*

The workman constitutes the basis of economic life. Therefore, it is imperative that the employer appreciates and upholds the workman's personality, dignity and will, and not regard him as a humiliated enforced workman or as a slave in disgrace. The principles of Islam contain texts in support of this. Many workmen used to make conditions for their work for employers. It is related that once a group of men, having lost their way, hired a Bedouin to guide them. He said: "I will not proceed with you until I state my conditions." "What are your conditions?" they asked. He answered, "I shall be one of you in all that you eat and do — you are forbidden to mention my father's name."

2. *The appreciation of the workmen's efforts, on a basis of fairness and sympathy.*

According to the Islamic Shari'ah, which demands assistance to the worker, employers may not take advantage of the workman's urgent need for work and give him less wages than what he is entitled to; instead, employers should estimate fairly the wages the workman deserves for his work. The laborer must be guaranteed the wages for his efforts and hard work. Many transactions whereby the workman's wages are not guaranteed have been prohibited. Therefore, land may not be given to the workman for cultivation on condition that his wages will be derived from its produce, because the land may perhaps not yield any produce. However, many Shari'ah jurists permitted such a transaction because it was conducive to the common benefit of the people and because of the jurist's confidence that the land would yield produce.

A workman's wages may not be kept unknown in a contract of service, but should be known and specified so that the workman may work under a clear basis and avoid injustice. The tradition (ḥadīth) says: "He who hires an employee shall inform him of his wages." The Islamic Shari'ah urges the employer not to covet the workman's wages but to pay the wages to the workman in full. In return, employers are promised a good life in this world and the next. In one of the traditions, the Prophet of God says:

Three men came to a cave. A rock tumbled down the mountain and blocked it. They prayed to God, invoking their good deeds, and the rock moved aside. One of them had prayed to God and said, "I hired workmen and paid them their wages except one who went away and left his wages behind. I invested his wages and they increased. He then returned and said, 'Servant of God, give me my wages.' I answered, 'All the camels, sheep and cattle you see are your wages.' He said, 'Do not mock me,' and I answered, 'I am not mocking you.' He then took them all and left nothing behind."

Wages are due upon completion of work or before, if the workman has made it a condition, provided that benefit, namely, the work in question could be attained.

3. *The workman may not be pressed too hard or be overburdened.*

The tradition says, "Do not charge them what they cannot do and if you charge them, assist them." Shu'aib told Moses after they agreed that Moses should work for him, "I do not wish to make the work too hard for you." Should the employer's conduct lead to overtaxing the workman to a degree damaging to his health, the workman would be entitled to cancel the contract. He would also be entitled to complain

to the authorities for protection against overtaking, and to go to arbitration in cases of dispute. To render justice to him who needs it is an established principle of Islamic Shari'ah.

4. *The freedom of the workman in (certain) financial dealings.*

The employer may not restrict the freedom of the workman to invest his money. For example, the employer may not lay a condition on the workman to deal only with specific persons or in a specific plan, because so long as the workman is qualified and capable his talent should not be restricted. Such restrictions may stand in the way of the achievement he desires, (if) he has full freedom in investment.

5. *In order to combat unemployment, the wealthy who are unable to invest their wealth should be invited to give their wealth to those who are capable and have no money of their own, provided that they should be honest, sincere, truthful and of good discretion.*

Islamic Shari'ah contains many laws in this respect, such as *mu-zāra'ah* (cultivation of lands), *musāqah* (irrigation) and others.

6. *If he is not negligent, the workman is not liable (to the employer) if the money in the workman's care is lost; if it is lost because of his negligence, he is then responsible.*

If the owner of capital stipulates that the workman be held liable for loss of capital even though he was not negligent, the contract (between the workman and the owner of capital) is void.

7. *The right of the workman to cancel his contract.*

The workman has the right to cancel his contract in many cases, such as the following: if due to incapacitating illness, he is unable to go on with his work; or, if at the time of entering into the contract, he was only a "distinguishing" minor who later became adult; or, if the owner of capital stipulates that he be held liable for loss of capital in his care; or, if the owner of capital violates one of the conditions of the contract; and so on.

8. *The workmen and the right to compensation.*

The workman is entitled to compensation from the owner of capital in some cases, as follows:

a. If the workman is attacked by the owner of capital and is injured in his limbs.

b. If the workman, while a minor, is injured or is killed doing the work for which he was hired, the employer will be liable. If the workman is killed accidentally, i.e. the walls of the factory where he is working fall on him, his *diyah* ("blood money" compensation) will fall upon the owner of capital who will also be liable for the wages due to the workman. He is also liable if the workman is injured. But if the workman is an adult man at the time of the contract, he is not entitled to compensation since he is a discerning man, responsible to himself, and accepted the work and knew its consequences. Out of charity, the owner of capital should help him by playing him an adequate compensation for his injuries. The authorities may give judgment in his favor for compensation. Charitable treatment is greatly commended in Islam.

9. *The owner of capital may not enter into a contract of service with an undiscerning boy or with an insane man; since these two categories are not discerning and do not realize the consequences (of their action), they are not responsible.*

10. *The owner of capital may not dismiss a workman if his productive capacity decreases due to illness or old age, after the workman has spent all his youth and the period of his productive capacity in the service of the owner of capital.*

The general principle is that the loss is in proportion to the benefit. If the owner of capital enters into a contract with a young man who then spends his youth serving him and consequently his production decreased due to his old age or ill health, the owner of capital may not discharge him but should be content with his production in old age as he was content with his production during his youth.

This principle is referred to in a tradition of the Prophet, which says, in effect, that a man overburdened a camel until it grew old and then he decided to slaughter it in order not to have to feed it. The Prophet then said, "You have eaten out its youth until it grew old and now you wish to slaughter it." The man then left the camel.

11. *The workman's right to a weekly rest.*

In Islamic jurisprudence, if a man hired a Jew for one complete month, Saturdays were excepted from work. This is the rule if the worker was a Jew. If he was a Christian, his weekly rest was Sunday. What do you think it would be if he is a Muslim?

The above, he concludes are some of the workman's rights which are admitted and are enforced by Islamic jurisprudence, but the duties of the workmen are also numerous. He should be sincere in his work. He should not be greedy and should be trustworthy. He should safeguard the money in his care as if it were his own. He is required to cooperate with the owner of capital in a constructive manner, and so on.

The Student Abroad. The complexity and intensity of Arab-Israeli problems are illustrated by the report that the Arab League has requested its member states to furnish lists of their nationals at present studying abroad. It intends to brief them on Arab points of view so that they may effectively represent them in their foreign contact. Given the tenacity of contrary propaganda and the growing Arab sense of the urgency of public relations, this is comprehensible. But it seems a dangerous precedent if the student abroad is to be, to this extent, utilized as a publicity agent, or if it is believed that he needs to be officially primed by governments to this end. Apart from the distracting character of these obligations, with their inevitable invasion of the student's study purposes, it may perhaps be asked whether the person mature enough to deserve foreign study cannot also be relied upon to represent his heritage and its present needs adequately, of and out of himself. It is important for the sake of each, that education should have some unfringed autonomy over against politics.

Women's Rights in Islam. The Syrian Chamber of Deputies voted by 47 votes to 46 to exclude women from candidacy in the first Syrian municipal elections, but it approved of literate women as voters. Meanwhile, in a celebration of *Maulid al-Nabi*, a group of leading women in Karachi demanded a wider recognition of the true teachings of Islam. Claiming that the *Maulid* should be a time of sincere reflection

on the Prophet's principles several speakers described him as the greatest champion of the rights of women in all history.

Muslims in India. The recent visit of King Saud of Arabia to India has tended to focus attention on the role and place of Muslims in India. At ceremonies of conferment of honorary degrees and elsewhere speakers have emphasised the religious freedom enjoyed by Muslims. At Delhi, an address of welcome to the King was made by a community of *Anṣār* Muslims who trace their ancestry back to the original Medinan *Anṣār* of the Prophet. Their spokesman bore warm witness to the confidence and liberties of Indian Muslims. Similar feelings were expressed at Aligarh.

Arab Development Project. Among the casualties of the December, 1955, riots in Jordan was the Arab Development Project in the vicinity of Jericho. This enterprise, a pioneer work of great significance and remarkable success, was the result of wholly Arab initiative under the inspiring leadership of Mūsā ʿAlamy. This, however, did not secure it from mob violence. Mūsā ʿAlamī has asked the Jordanian Government for damage compensation to the tune of 39,000 dinars. It is not known whether the rioters were inspired by the recollection that Iraqi sources provided some of the funds for the launching of this project.

Release of Ḥasan al Ḥudaibi. The leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt has been released from confinement under an amnesty celebrating the promulgation of the new Egyptian Constitution. This ordered that all prisoners who had completed three quarters of their terms (and fifteen years of a life sentence) were to be set free. With the leader a former Prime Minister, Ibrahim ʿAbd al-Hādī, was also set free, as well as the former King's press attaché.

Miscellanea. The former Soviet Ambassador in Cairo, Mr. Daniel Solod has become Director of Middle Eastern Affairs in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. He has an important role in preparing for the spring visit to the Soviet capital of Colonel ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. The Ambassador's departure from the Middle East seems to be widely regretted there since, both in Lebanon and Egypt where he held ambassadorial rank, he built up very warm personal relations with Arab leaders.

The second Conference of Arab Social Welfare experts is arranged for March. Each member state of the Arab League will send one representative at the League's expense and two at its own.

A Chinese Communist trade delegation recently passed through Jiddah on its return journey home from Beirut. It stayed several days in the city but held no official talks with Saudi Arabia.

The Ford Foundation has announced the allocation of half a million dollars for social welfare in Iraq.

The Directorate General of Public Security announced in January the execution of the Shari'ah's provisions against three robbers in

the city of Mecca. Their right hands and left feet were cut off following the Friday prayers, as announced by Radio Mecca on Jan. 6th.

Iraq oil revenues in the last quarter of 1955 totalled 19 million dinars.

The Syrian Ministry of Education has recently decided on the introduction into State schools of Christian education for Christian students. The preparation of the curriculum will be discussed by Christian leaders and scholars.

An Irrigation Institute for the Middle East, with instruction in Arabic, has been established at the Agricultural School in Latakia, Syria.

An "Atoms for Peace" Exhibition has been opened in Cairo, arranged by the Egyptian Atomic Commission and the United States Cairo Embassy.

Al Bilād al-Saʿūdiyyah, the Mecca daily, reports last December a protest against excessive wedding expenses in the city. It alleges that fantastic sums have been paid, sometimes over 10,000 Saudi riyals. It deplores ostentatious snobbery on the part of the middle classes, in imitation of the wealthy, and suggests that a maximum dowry should be SR 2,000 and wedding expenses SR 1,000. Waste of money, it contends, has become a serious social problem.

Following the recent visit of the Egyptian General ʿAmir to Saudi Arabia in celebration of the unified Egyptian-Saudi-Arabian command, the Director of Public Affairs of the Egyptian Army issued this statement: "The Arab cause lives today in a new dawn, the lights of which will soon submerge this blessed part of the world. In these lights, the lights of faith, and with this unity, the unity in command and armies and with these great potentialities of nature and human resources, we shall be able to build a new Arab society based on faith and supported by power."

Canvas sun-shades erected in the Great Mosque in Mecca for the protection of people at prayer, reports a Meccan newspaper, are in need of repair. It is suggested that the shades be replaced by concrete awnings.

A Meccan student received from the ʿUlamāʾ a negative reply when he enquired whether it was permissible to perform the Friday prayers by listening to the radio broadcast reverently.

It is reported that seventeen American negroes who were converted to Islam have emigrated to Cairo, in order to be able to practise their faith with complete freedom. *Al-Tahrīr*, the Cairo weekly, reports that a negro family of fifteen persons recently sought asylum in Egypt from racial persecution in the United States.

Noting that the Ford Foundation has spent \$ 500 million in the past year on social needs within the United States, a Meccan daily appeals to its wealthy citizens to come to the support of civic funds for Meccan poor, since the funds are seriously depleted and many social needs remain unmet.

Heavy cash penalties have been decreed against merchants and trading companies by the Ministry of Finance of Saudi Arabia for failure to use Arabic in all commercial transactions.

Aligarh Muslim University conferred an Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon King Saud of Arabia, during the course of his December visit to India.

Al-Mukhṭār, the Arabic edition of *The Reader's Digest*, which had a brief career during and after the Second World War, has begun to appear again. It is now under the Editorship of Ḥasan ʿAbdallāh Qurashī, and published by the Akhbār al-Yaum house.

According to a report by the United Nations' organ for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, educational facilities for Arabs in Israel need considerable improvement. There is a dearth of Arab teachers and out of an Arab population of some 180,000 there are only 795 Arab students in secondary schools and 72 in higher institutions in Israel.

Al Shahab al Marmiyah, by Shaikh ʿAbd al-Rahmān al Tuwaijirī, is a recent Saudi Arabian publication in which the author marshalls the Shariʿah attitude against musical instruments and songs. He deduces also rational proofs for the deleterious effect of music and other amusements, including illustrated magazines.

According to the New China News agency an Islamic Theological Institute has been opened in Peiping. There will be a four year course in Arabic and accommodation is available for about one hundred students.

A Polish engineering firm has been awarded the contract for the study of the reconstruction of the Ḥijāz railroad. This work of study will occupy some eight months of 1956 and during that time terms of the building contract will be prepared.

Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Baqūrī, the Egyptian Minister of Waqfs, who visited Red China following the Bandung Conference, has lately made two extended trips into North and West Africa. He brought messages from the Sultān of Morocco and attended the Presidential inauguration in Liberia, also studying the Islamic situation in Senegal and Liberia.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- AL-GHAZALI. A. M. M. Muhyi-ud-Din. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad October, 1954. pp. 590-604. A listing of the philosopher's complete works.
- DAS ARABISCHE SCHATTENTHEATER IM MITTELALTERLICHEN AEGYP-
TEN. Paul Kahle. *Wissenschaftliche Annalen*, Dresden. December, 1954. pp. 748-776. Material on Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow plays and Mamluk leather shadow figures.
- L'ART ARABE IN SICILIA. Francesco Gabriele. *Libia*, Tripoli. 1954. pp. 1-19. Deals especially with the Cappelle Palatina in Palermo. Illus.
- DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: comment and chronology. *Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1955. pp. 309-322. Covers March 1-May 31 and deals with Tunisia and the Gaza Strip.
- ÉLÉMENTS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES SUR LES PROBLÈMES D'ENSEIGNEMENT ET D'ÉDUCATION en Afrique du Nord. M. L. Tillet and A. and L. Van Leeuwen. *IBLA*, Tunis. 1954. pp. 265-308.
- ÉLÉMENTS PERSES EN ARAMÉEN D'ÉGYPTE. Émile Benveniste. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. 1954, 3/4. pp. 297-310. Description of new papyri from Elephantine which have recently come to light in the Brooklyn Museum and the Bodleian Library.
- MIR SAYYID ALI TABREZI. M. Abdulla Chagatai. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi. Autumn, 1955. pp. 24-29. A study of the 16th century Safavid miniature painter who was court artist under the Mughal Emperor, Humayun. Illus.
- ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF RAINFALL IN JERUSALEM. M. Rosenan. *Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem. Vol. 5, no. 3. pp. 137-153. Statistics, with commentary, from 1846-1954.
- A RHYMED BALLAD IN PAHLEVI. J. A. Tavadia. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1955, 1/2. pp. 29-36. Text, Translation and comment of a work affording fresh material on the study of Islamic prosody.
- UNO SCRITTO DE GIAMĀL 'ABD-EN NĀSER SULLA FILOSOFIA DELLA RIVOLUZIONE EGIZIANA DEL 1952. Ettore Rossi. *Oriente Moderno*, Roma. December, 1954. pp. 529-539. Although 'Abd al-Nāṣir states that the Revolution arose from a long period of unrest and aspiration, the author believes that the defeat in the Palestinian War was the real cause.
- THE STUDY OF ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY, ARCHITECTURE AND FINE ARTS. Myron B. Smith. *Al-Islam*, Karachi. July, 1954. pp. 90-96. A plea for Muslim scholars and Near Eastern governments to give active support to archaeological research.
- THE SUBJECTS AND TITLES OF BOOKS WRITTEN DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES OF ISLAM. Bayard Dodge. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. October, 1954. pp. 525-540. An outline study.

II. ARABIA

THE LAND OF MIDIAN. H. St. John B. Philby. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Spring, 1955. pp. 117-129. Describes journeys in the Northern Hijāz.

SCULPTURE FROM ARABIA FELIX. Berta Segall. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton. July, 1955. pp. 207-214. Although not illustrated, the article gives minute descriptions of finds in Timna.

III. QUR'ĀN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

ARABISCHE BESTATTUNGSBRAÜCHE IN FRÜHISLAMISCHER ZEIT; (nach Ibn Sa'd und Buhari). Irene Gruetter. *Der Islam*, Berlin. 1954. pp. 147-173. Beginning of a study of burial customs.

DAKĀ'IK al-HURŪF BY 'ABD AL-RA'ŪF OF SINGKEL. A. Johns. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1955, 1/2. pp. 55-73. The first installment of text, translation and comment on a 17th century work by a teacher of great learning and piety who lectured in Malaya.

HOW DID THE EARLY SHI'A BECOME SECTARIAN? Marshall G. S. Hodgson. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. January-March, 1955. pp. 1-13. Discusses the spiritual independence of the Ghulāt and the strategic advantages of the sectarian tendencies of the Imāmate of Ja'far al-Šādiq.

IBN KHALDŪN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. Buddha Prakash. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. October, 1954. pp. 492-508. A comparison with modern thought on the subject; for instance Spengler.

IBN AL-MUYAFFA ET SON OEVRE. M. M'hamed Farid Ghazi. *IBLA*, Tunis. 1954. pp. 401-414. The author believes Ibn al-Muqaffa's work to be a monument in the evolution of the Arabic language — "la base de la formation littéraire du monde Arabe."

SUR LA DIFFUSION DES FORMES D'ARCHITECTURE RELIGIEUSE MUSULMANE À TRAVERS LE SAHARA. J. Schacht. *Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers. 1954. pp. 11-27. The Hausas, Kanuris and Fulbe in the Western Sahara were affected by traceable Islamic movements across the desert.

IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

DIE LANDWIRTSCHAFT AEGYPTENS IN DER FRÜHEN 'ABBĀSIDENZEIT. D. Müller-Wodarg. *Der Islam*, Berlin. 1954. pp. 174-227. First installment of a thoroughly documented study.

THE MUSLIM PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIETS. A. Bennigsen. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. April-July, 1955. A documented survey of conditions, concluding that the integration of Muslims into the Soviet Union is far from completion and that at present they constitute a weak link in the Soviet system.

MUSLIMS IN AUSTRIA. Dr. Isma'il Balic. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. May, 1955. pp. 14-15. Although only a few thousand in numbers, the Muslims, treated tolerantly, are increasing.

MUSLIMS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA. Richard Pipes. *The Middle East*

Journal, Washington, D.C. Spring, 1955. pp. 295-308. Despite Russian infiltration and propaganda, a decided growth of nationalism is apparent in the area and may, perhaps, result in a Turkic-Muslim state oriented toward the Middle East.

TURKEY AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF REVOLUTION. Norman Bentwich. *Quarterly Review*, London. July, 1955. pp. 346-351. The transition period between the rule of the Sultān and the stabilizing needed after the Revolution has dealt well with the Turks and progress has been steady.

UZBEKISTAN. *Asian Review* London. July, 1955. pp. 255-260. An abridged report of a conference of historians held in Tashkent in 1954 to discuss problems affecting the study of the history of the peoples of Central Asia.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

CAN ISLAM BE "MODERN"? Alfred Nielsen. *International Review of Missions*, London. July, 1955. pp. 257-263. Discusses the contributions of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Ṭaha Ḥusain.

CHEZ LES POTIERS NABEULIENS, P. and L. A. Lisse. IBLA, Tunis. 1954. pp. 375-399. An historical sketch and detailed description of the methods used in the work. Illus.

CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉCOLIER ALGÉRIENNE. George Rioux. IBLA, Tunis. 1954. pp. 369-372. Deductions made from psychological tests.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE GAZA STRIP. James Baster. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1955. pp. 323-327. An appalling picture of conditions in an area, normally supporting 70,000 people with difficulty and now, with the help of UNRA and the Egyptian Government, trying to cope with 300,000, over 200,000 of whom are refugees — mainly from Israel.

L'ÉCONOMIE DE LA TUNISIE, I and II. Raymond Barra. IBLA, Tunis. 1954, parts 3 & 4. pp. 203-224, 353-368. Presents a plan for economic improvements to combat various evils, such as instability, an antiquated land tenure system, and low productivity — inadequate for a fast-growing population.

FAMILY LIVING IN MODERN TURKEY. Rachel L. Rustow. *Child Study*, New York. Spring, 1955. pp. 19-25. Describes middle-class families and their methods of rearing their children.

THE HARNESSING OF THE TIGRIS, Iraq. *Islamic Review*, Woking. August, 1955. pp. 14-18. An account of the proposed Wadi Tharthar Flood Relief Scheme with its centre at famous Saamurra.

IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION AND SOCIAL TENSION IN ISRAEL. Samuel J. Klausner. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Summer, 1955. pp. 281-294. A case study of Iraqi immigrants.

L'ODIERNO ORDINAMENTO DEGLI STUDI ISLAMICI NELLA 'MADRASA' MĪR-I-'ARAB DI BUKHAHA. Alessandro Bausani. *Oriente Moderno*, Roma. August-September, 1954. pp. 395-404. Gives programme of studies for 1953-1954 and surveys the development of education in Bukhara for the last fifty years.

- PORTRAIT OF A YEMENITE WEAVER'S VILLAGE. S. D. Goitein. *Jewish Social Studies*, New York. January, 1955. pp. 3-26. Reports life in a village transplanted in Israel in 1950.
- SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN. Fahim I. Qubain. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Summer, 1955. pp. 269-280. Although 96% of the population is Muslim, there is considerable friction between the 'Shī'ah and Sunnī factions as well as among the Jews, Persians and Indians found on the island.
- WATERS OF THE EL-GHAAB VALLEY TRAPPED TO EXPAND LAND AND POWER. *The Arab World*, New York. September, 1955. p. 3. Describes plans for Syria's great reclamation project.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- THE CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC COMMUNITY AND MODERN THEORIES OF NATIONALITY. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. August, 1955, pp. 6-13. Includes the "Emergence of Pakistan" by A. K. Najmul Karīm and the "Malay Muslim community" by Dato Megat 'Osmān.
- FRANCE IN ALGERIA. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. September, 1955. pp. 25-33. Covers the results of fifty years of French rule on the religious life of the country.
- THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD. *Current History*, New York. August, 1955. Whole Issue. Deals in particular with events and conditions in Turkey, Libya, the Arab League States and Mediterranean strategy.
- L'ORIENT ARABE D'AUJOUR'HUI. P. Rondot. *Études*, Paris. Janvier, 1955. pp. 65-79. A thorough and, for the West, a discouraging appraisal.
- PROBLÈMES D'AFRIQUE DU NORD. P. Bretaudeau. *Église Vivante*, Paris. Janvier-Février, 1955. pp. 16-25. Discusses the facts of French colonization and the impact of Catholicism on Islam.
- WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND THE ARAB WORLD. A. L. Tibawi. *The Quarterly Review*, London. January, 1955. pp. 75-88. Western scientific training without Western domination is welcome throughout the Near East, but Russian Communism is introducing a new and vigorous influence.
- THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT. Albert Hourani. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Summer, 1955. pp. 239-255. Surveys the background and results of the agreement of 1954.
- EGYPT'S PREMIER REVEALS HOW HE MADE A RED ARMS DEAL. Keith Wheler. *Life*, New York, November 14, 1955. pp. 127-130. In an interview, Premier Nāṣir explains why he turned to the Soviets when he was unable to obtain arms from the United States.
- L'ÉNIGME ÉGYPTIENNE. C. d'Ydewalle. *Études*, Paris. Février, 1955. pp. 181-194. A study of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and his problems.
- ISRAELI AGGRESSION ON GAZA. Kamil A. Rahim. *The Arab World*, New York. September, 1955. pp. 1, 8, 12. A strong indictment of Israel.
- SETTLEMENT IN THE SAHARA Benjamin E. Thomas. *The Geographical Review*, New York. April, 1955. pp. 271-272. An abstract describing efforts to find more people who can adapt themselves to life in the Sahara.