

THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. XLVI

OCTOBER, 1956

NO. 4

لَا نَأْخُذُ سِنَةً وَلَا نَوْمًا

“GOD THE UNWEARIED.”

The weariness of God is a notion that we think of only to reject instinctively. We remember the climax and challenge of Isaiah xl. “Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?” Known we surely have. And when we are assured of the same truth by a famous passage of the Qur’ān (Surah ii, 255), we recall the scathing taunt of the impassioned Elijah against the idolaters on Carmel. “Cry aloud, for he is a god...peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked.” A slumbering deity we know to be a contradiction in terms. The creature may tire and languish: the Creator is ever-wakeful.

But these certitudes would be perhaps less evidently incontrovertible did we not have the literal mainly in mind. Since weariness is the lot of the finite, the ever-unwearied seems merely another name for the infinite. Then the sense of the Biblical and the Qur’anic “slumber seizeth Him not” becomes simply a synonym for the Divine transcendence of the physical. His non-participation in the characteristic fatigue of the earthly may be meaningful for the fretted creature. But it is a denial that is implicit in all that He is. In that sense it does not add to our knowledge of Him, but rather serves to describe Him in the negation of a circumstance inescapable to man.

We must look, then, for a vaster import; one, indeed, that is not far to seek. God assuredly is not touched with the weariness that makes sleep a boon for mortal limbs and human minds. But suppose, in the words of a familiar states-

man's eloquent conjecture, — suppose God wearied of mankind? How vital then becomes the re-assurance of this noble verse! For if God tired, not in the physical but in the spiritual sense, if God wearied of His creation and of man His creature, then hopelessness would be our sane conviction and futility our sole reward. Life would be consumed in barrenness with all earth's heroics mere gestures of despair.

There is in the Forescene of Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts* a haunting passage which states and then disowns this fear. To "the Spirit of the Years" in Hardy's epic poem, the power behind our history is 'It', not 'He', but yet an 'It' that cares.

"As one sad story runs, It lends Its heed
To other worlds, being wearied out with this:
Wherefore Its mindlessness of earthly woes.
Some, too, have told at whiles that rightfully
Its warefulness, Its care, this planet lost
When, in her early growth and crudity,
By bad, mad acts of severance men contrived,
Working such nescience by their own device.
Yea, so it stands in certain chronicles —
But not in mine."

And "not in mine" the Qur'an corroborates, with an assurance vastly more convinced. But there, in the poet's characteristic wistfulness is the real import for us of the truth of the unwearied God, of a God Who has not tired of our follies and our frailties, a God Who continues to care.

Perhaps we are inclined superficially to think that to continue to care is precisely God's business. Did not Voltaire once insist that it was God's *métier* to forgive? Yet to believe that it cannot be otherwise is to suppose tremendous things about God, which this phrase of Surah ii should inspire us to explore. For in assuming that God is unwearied in His creative concern for man we are in the end implying just those things which the Christian faith about Him has formulated into creed. Is not that unsleeping cognisance of man on God's part the central meaning of His Fatherhood? His is an endless solicitude for the welfare of His creatures — the sort of solicitude which encourages us to see in every newborn

child a new token of God's hopefulness of man and in every recurring harvest a new investment of compassion. "Thy mercies," says the Bible, "are new every morning, great is Thy faithfulness." Nature, in silent but unceasing eloquence, proclaims this abiding Divine fidelity — a fidelity to trust for and with His creation. The sunrise and the rainbow, the shower and the spring, these are the pledges of a devotion which does not fail, of a watchfulness which never sleeps.

But this Fatherliness must, and does, go further. For if human history happens in nature, it is nature finally that is *in* that history. The play is in the theater, but the theater is for the drama. So man is demonstrably the crux of moral and spiritual meaning in the context of the external world. And here how vast upon the Divine grace are the demands of an unsleeping care?

"And God said: If ye hear it,
This weeping of the spirit
For the world which ye inherit,
Do not I hear it too."

Here, in a realm more exacting and more crucial than nature, will be, if at all, the supreme evidence of the indefatigable and invincible goodness of God. The human situation is the ultimate test of theology because its recalcitrance is the central issue for an omnipotent goodness. If we can be assured that God does not weary of this waywardness of men it will only be by the tokens of a redeeming action which corrects and saves it. To be indifferent is to be asleep. But God makes no such wearied abdication of His sovereignty. He brings His love decisively into the encounter with our sinfulness: He comes from His Heaven to make it right with the world. "Herein is love, not that we loved God but that He loved us and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins." He "Who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven"—He it is Who is not seized by the slumber of mindlessness of human need.

Apostolic Christianity breathes across the centuries the logic of its triumphant question: "He that spared not His own Son,

but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not also with Him freely give us all things?" (Romans, viii. 32.) The spectre of a disinterested deity, the torture of a silent Heaven, these are the fears than the faith of the Incarnation has gloriously answered and forestalled. Our assurance that God is truly God is that He is also "God with us." "Emmanuel" is the name that most truly describes the unwearied Lord, since it negates for evermore the fear that, tiring, He has abandoned us. And lest anyone should feel that this is not remarkable, let him contemplate the long wrongs of human deeds and what William Temple once called "the dreadful astonishment of God."

Yet this Divine fidelity in mercy is not exhausted, for the Christian, in the Father and the Son. The love He bears us is a love that will not let us go. The Spirit of God, as Francis Thompson knew through His patient reckoning with the soul, was a "hound" from Heaven, Whom "fear wist not to evade as Love wist to pursue." It is not nature only nor the arena of history that confess the tireless mercy of God. The soul of man, set in this mystery of life and born to the redeeming fellowship of God in Christ, is intimately loved. It is as the Shepherd we have come to know Him. The Spirit woos and pursues us in an untiring solicitude of compassion and of truth. In the power of the same undauntedness men and women, too, have been His agents in an undefeated service. Matthew Arnold's description may be rarely fully valid. But where it comes to be so, it is always in the energy of the unwearied Spirit of God:

"Servants of God! — or sons
 Shall I not call you...
 Beacons of hope ye appear!
 Languor is not in your heart,
 Weakness is not in your word,
 Weariness not on your brow.
 At your voice
 Panic, despair, flee away:
 Order, courage, return:
 Eyes rekindling, and prayers,
 Follow your steps as ye go."

THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY AT ANKARA. I

On October 31, 1949, the Faculty of Divinity at Ankara University began formal operations. Forty graduates of its first class finished the course in June, 1953. This unique Turkish Faculty stands at the apex of the formal, public religious education system recently established under the Ministry of Education. What is the background of this type of higher religious education in the Turkish Republic, and what is the present situation of the Faculty? Why and how was it established; what are its aims, organization, curriculum, and publications? What follows attempts to provide a description of the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* (Faculty of Divinity) and answers to these questions.

ANTECEDENTS

The present Faculty is new and unique but its antecedents stretch back to the medieval Islamic *medrese* system of education which persisted, with some reforms, until March 3, 1924 in Turkey.¹ This education was almost exclusively religious, and was supported by the state and by numerous charitable trusts in the Ottoman Empire. This religious type of instruction was virtually the only source of formal learning in the Empire from its foundation until 1924. There had been a very few special, non-religious schools, particularly the famed Palace School of Mehmed II, the Conqueror, (reigned 1451-1481)² until the 19th century. During the reign of Mahmud II (reigned 1808-1839) a number of military medical and engineering schools, based in part on the few similar institutions begun in the previous century, were established. At this time the concept of a learned man or a savant who was not simultaneously adept in religious knowledge began to gain acceptance and henceforth the term *‘alim* (plural *‘ulamā’*) was applied almost exclusively to *medrese* graduates versed in Islamic lore. A new term, *mütefennin*, was adopted for those who were trained in modern scientific knowledge. The Faculty of Sciences at Istanbul University is called *Fen* rather than *İlim* Fakültesi.³

During the mid-nineteenth century reform era known as the *Tanzi-*

¹ *‘İlmiye Salnamesi*, İstanbul, 1334 (1915-16), pp. 642 ff.; G. Jäschke, *Der Islam In Der Neuen Türkei*, Eine Rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung, Leiden, 1951, being *Die Welt des Islams*, N.S., Vol. 1, Nr. 1-2 (1951) 174 pp., pp. 111 ff. This book is hereafter referred to as G.J. 1.

² Abdulhak Adnan (Adivar), *La Science Chez les Turcs Ottoman*, Paris, 1939, pp. 141 ff.; and, for Mehmed II's palace school, see especially, Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, *passim*, which expands her chapter on the same subject in her *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven, 1931.

³ Adnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, VI. Cilt, *İslahat Fermanı Devri, 1856-1861*, Ankara, 1954, pp., 167 ff., and charts facing pp. 168, 187 and 272.

mat⁴ (circa 1826-1880) a dual system of education grew up after 1845, when an official Council of Education was established. A number of higher institutes, based on European models, which were to form the nucleus of a university, then public secondary and primary schools, were developed along more secular lines, separate from, but roughly parallel to, the ancient *medrese* hierarchy of schools. The *medreses* themselves were, on paper at least, considerably reformed and liberalized in 1910, 1914, 1915, 1917, 1919, and 1922. In spite of all attempts at modernization, these *medreses* still taught almost exclusively by rote memorization of the Qur^{ān} and Arabic texts, learned by reciting aloud before the teacher, as late as 1921.⁵

The Turkish University, known as *Darülfünun*, was formally inaugurated on August 19, 1900, the 25th anniversary of the accession of Sultan [°]Abdul Hamīd II. This was a relatively simple establishment which has since grown into the imposing University of Istanbul. There were five faculties, two of which were already operating as distinct institutions. These were the Medical School and Law Faculty which were incorporated with the new departments of Science, Letters and Theology. In 1903, the last three named boasted 30, 25 and 30 students each.⁶ By 1910 there were 140 theological students as compared to 2,500 in Law, 300 in Politics, 100 in Letters, 10 in Natural Sciences, 80 in Mathematics, 500 in Civil Engineering, and 850 in Medicine.⁷

Thus the first distinct Faculty of Theology in Turkey dates back to 1900. It developed, under various forms, and side by side with the *medreses* until the reform of the University on October 11, 1919, when the Faculty of Theology was abolished. This Faculty again became part of the University by virtue of the famous law for the unification of education (*tevhid-i tedrisat*) of March 3, 1924.⁸ The Theological Faculty ceased to attract students and disappeared in the course of the reorganization of Istanbul University in 1933. It was replaced by an Institute for Islamic Research (*İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü*) attached to the Faculty of Letters. This institute in turn failed to function and survived in a single elective course entitled Islamic Religion and Philosophy (*İslâm Dini ve Felsefesi*) taught by the late Professor Mehmet Şerefeddin Yalçınkaya (1879-1947) until his appointment as President of Religious Affairs on January 6, 1942. The Institute (or rather course) was closed at this time. It was revived on February 24, 1955

⁴ E.I., s.v. "Tanzimat," and *Tanzimat*, Istanbul, 1940.

⁵ Further details on these reforms are most readily available in *İlmiye Salnamesi*, passim, and in G.J. I, pp. 112-20.

⁶ Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 5 vols., Istanbul, 1939-1943, vol. 3, p. 1006.

⁷ E. G. Mears, ed., *Modern Turkey*, New York, 1924, p. 125.

⁸ Ergin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1020-1025; *İlmiye Salnamesi*, passim.; G.J. I, 119-121. The text of this key law in English translation appears in A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, Volume I. The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement., London, 1927, pp. 574-575. The best discussion of the law and its effects is by Ihsan Sungu, "Tevhidi Tedrisat," *Belleten*, II, 7-8 (1938), pp. 397-431.

under the leadership of the dynamic Professor Zeki Velidi Togan, and is now called *İslâm Araştırmaları Enstitüsü*. It is still a part of the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University, but is primarily a research rather than a teaching center and is distinct from the new Faculty of Theology begun at Ankara in 1949.⁹ In short, with the exception of the years between 1919 and 1924, when there were ample alternative *medrese* facilities available for the training of Turkish Islamic scholars, and the period from 1933 to 1949, when with the single minor exception noted, there were no other legally recognized schools, there has been a Faculty of Theology in a Turkish University continuously since 1900.

The aim of all these earlier institutions has been to train thoroughly qualified Muslim religious leaders, first for the Ottoman Empire, then the Turkish Republic. Certainly since the rise of the Republic, and indeed even under the Young Turks, the initiators of the reforms connected with these Theological Faculties have not wanted to encourage a return to a so-called Classical Islam nor to emulate the puritanical, unitarian doctrines of the Wahhābis in Arabia, India or Egypt. They have sought on the one hand, quite consistently, to strengthen national sentiment by linking it with Islamic feeling. This is natural as Islam has never had a tradition of separation between religion and state. On the other hand, some of those working for better theological training have been more concerned with the reform of Islam by means of a clearer understanding of its history, of modern science and thought, and a moral awakening among the people, led by enlightened, dedicated *‘ulamā’*. Thus far, it seems fair to say that neither of these aims has been fully achieved by the various Theological Faculties. If anything, they have contributed a good deal more to the first ideal of strengthening national feeling than to the far more subtle and imponderable object of reforming Islam. Both of these trends can be noted in the speech of the Minister of Education, Ahmet Zühtü Pasha, at the dedication of the new *Darülfünun* (University, of Istanbul) on August 19, 1900, and in the statements made by Professor Mehmet Ali Ayni in his report of October 2, 1919, and by Professor İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, rector in 1924-25.¹⁰

⁹ Ergin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1026-1029; İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk Meshurları*, İstanbul, n.d. (1946), p. 401; cf. *Cahiers de L'Orient Contemporain*, XXXI (1955) p. 102, hereafter cited as C.O.C. These modify slightly the information given in G.J. I, p. 122. Cf. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi İslam Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yönetmeliği*, Hüsnütabiat Metbaası, İstanbul, 1935, 8 pp. The four courses offered in 1955-'56 deal with the methodology of Islamic research, taught by Professor Togan; the history of Islamic Law, and the documentary sources of the life of the Prophet, both taught by Professor Hamidullah; and the history of the traditions, taught by Doçent Sezgin. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Öğretim Kılavuzu 1955-1956 Dersyılı*, İstanbul, 1955, pp. 42-43.

¹⁰ Ergin, *op. cit.*, 1004-1023, Cf. A. Muhiddin, *Die Kulturbewegung im Modernen Türkentum*, Leipzig, 1921, pp. 51 ff.; G. J. I, p. 121.

On February 3, 1923, Mustafa Kemal gave a clear indication of the impending unification of education as well as his views on the efficacy of the *medreses* when he stated in a speech at Izmir:

...“When we inquire what will become of the medreses... of Evkaf, we at once encounter a certain resistance. It is proper to ask those who resist by virtue of what right and of what power do they oppose these questions? Our religion is the most reasonable and logical religion. For a religion to be natural, it must conform to reason, to science, to knowledge and to logic.”

“In the social life of Islam, no one has the right to exist in the form of a special class. Whoever opposes himself to this right acts against the prescriptions of religion. There is no clergy among us [Muslims]. We are all equal.”

“The hearths of culture of our nation, of our country, must be single (unified, one). It is out of these same hearths (schools) that must emerge all the children of this land, men and women, in the same way.”

The official History of the Turkish Republic from whose French version this account is taken states: “The suppression of the medreses which, under the name of religious and cultural institutions, were in reality nothing but dark centers of ignorance and sloth, was indispensable in order to save the citizens...from becoming merely useless or even harmful elements for the country.” Even after the unification of education, and reorganization of the Faculty of Theology in 1924, a delegation of Turks at Rize submitted a petition to Mustafa Kemal on September 18, 1925 in which they asked for the *medreses* to be reopened. The President explained the “evils which had afflicted the people and the nation” then turned to the crowd around him and said: “You don’t want schools. Well, the nation does. Let this poor nation, let the children of this country at last develop themselves culturally. The medreses won’t be reopened. Schools to serve the nation are needed.”¹¹

THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY AT ISTANBUL, 1924-1933

What was the Faculty of Theology, as reconstituted in 1924, able to achieve? This is not the place for an assessment of its work, but it is only fair to say that in spite of its excellent staff, and some courageous innovations, students were not attracted to it so that by 1933 it hardly retained any *raison d'être*. There were 284 students in 1924-5; 167 in 1926-7; 53 in 1927-8; 35 in 1929-30; and 20 in 1932-33. There were only two diplomas awarded in 1931.¹² The rapid succession of secularist reforms carried out by the Republic in its formative years certainly reduced the potential areas of employment and usefulness of graduates of such a Faculty in Turkey. After 1926, they could not serve as judges applying Islamic law even in regard to personal status matters. When Islam ceased to be the state religion in 1928, Islam lost even more of its prestige. The alphabet reform in that year, and the abandonment of instruction in Arabic and Persian in state schools in 1929, meant that the Theological Faculty could no

¹¹ *Histoire de la République Turque*, İstanbul, 1935, pp. 244-246.

¹² G.J. I, p. 121, & n. 8.

longer count on its students entering with a basic knowledge of the Arabic script and language so essential to advanced Islamic Studies. The tenor of informed, urban, educated public opinion was not favorable to Islamic theological studies with their unpleasant earlier connotations of the outworn, and then despised Ottoman Empire, the Caliphate, and the World War I disasters.

Nevertheless, members of the Faculty of Theology tried sincerely to adapt and reinterpret Islam so that it might both share in and contribute toward the great Turkish nationalist awakening. Between 1926 and February, 1933, they published a series of very useful studies in their Faculty journal, *İlâhiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Nos. 1-25.¹³ Professor Yūsuf Ziya [Yörükân] prepared an official two-volume religious text approved for use in the middle and normal schools of Turkey by the Ministry of Education in 1929-30. This work has been analyzed by H. E. Allen in, *The Turkish Transformation*, Chicago, 1935, pp. 185 passim. Yūsuf Ziya supported, *inter alia*, current efforts to deliver the Friday sermons (Turkish *hutbe*) in the Turkish vernacular, rather than in Arabic which is incomprehensible to most Turks, and stressed the element of progressive adaptation in Islam, berating those who clung "blindly to habits"...and adding that "Muslims do not hesitate to accept new movements."¹⁴

The most remarkable activity of the Faculty culminated in an abortive report embodying a number of bold and sensible suggestions for reform of the forms of Islamic worship issued in June 1928, some two months after Islam had ceased to be the religion of the Turkish state in accordance with a constitutional amendment of April 10th. The Dean of the Faculty in 1927, and chairman of the committee which drafted this report was Professor Köprülü-zade Mehmet Fuad Bey, later Rector of Istanbul University, and more recently Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Defense. His committee, nominated by the Theological Faculty, included: Professor İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], Mustafa Şekib Bey, Professor of Psychology, Halil Nimetullah, Professor of Logic, and Professors İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, Halil Halid Bey, Mehmet Ali Ayni Bey, Şerefeddin [Yaltkaya] Bey, Şevket Bey, Hüseyin Avni [Kunter?] Bey of Arapkir, Hilmi Ömer [Budda] Bey, and Yusuf Ziya [Yörükân] Bey. Professor Köprülüzade Fuad Bey, speaking of the reform to the newspapermen who had asked him for information said:

"The purpose of religious reform is to make religion also shape the process of development now active in all the other departments of life. We shall submit this program, which we have prepared to accomplish this, to the Board of Directors of the University and that body in its turn will submit it to the Ministry of Education."

The English translation of this important document here follows,

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ H. E. Allen, *The Turkish Transformation*, Chicago, 1935, pp. 195, 210-211.

as taken from the Constantinople paper, *Vakit*, issue of June 20, 1928.

“(1) The great Turkish Revolution for democracy with all its social institutions of economics, law, morals and language represents two main aspects: (a) The scientific development of all social institutions; (b) The nationalization of these social institutions. As all scientific and rational matters are treated according to the precepts of Science and reason, so all the activities of our national life, emerging from isolation, are becoming real national activities.

“The Turkish Revolution has taken from scientific reasoning and national life the basic principle for the reforms which it has accomplished in language, morals, law, economics and art.

“(2) Religion also is a social institution. Like all other social institutions, it ought to satisfy the exigencies of life and pursue the process of development. This development, however, should not be outside of the basic nature of our religion. But it is wrong to think that our religion, whatever its scientific, economic and artistic precepts may be, should be bound to the old forms and conventions, and thus be incapable of any progress. Therefore, in the Turkish Democracy, religion also should manifest the vitality and progress which it needs.

“(3) It is almost impossible, with the modern views of society, to expect such a reform, however much the ground may be ready for it, from the working of mystic and irrational elements. Religious life, like moral and economic life, must be reformed on scientific lines, that it may be in harmony with other institutions. For such a reform our Committee proposes the following measures:

“First of all, the form of Worship: Our places of Worship must be clean, orderly, accessible and inhabitable. Pews and cloak-rooms must be provided in them. People must be urged to enter into them with clean shoes. These are the sanitary conditions of Worship in Religion.

“Second, the language of Worship: The language of Worship must be Turkish. The Turkish (not Arabic as at present) forms of verses (Quranic), prayers and sermons must be used. They should not be used only from memory but their written forms should be used as well. Special preparations should be made in the mosques on this basis.

“Third, the character of Worship: Measures should be taken to make Worship beautiful, inspiring, and spiritual, For this reason we must prepare ‘Singers’ and *Imāms* equipped with a fair knowledge of music. We must also have instruments of music in our places of Worship. The need is urgent for modern and sacred instrumental music.

“Fourth, the thought side of Worship: The printed forms of sermons are not sufficient. Preaching is something different from mere reading of a prepared sermon. The important elements in sermons are not scientific and economic ideas but rather religious values and ideas. Only philosophers of religion capable of oratory can perform such duties. However, we should profit by the present religious thinkers and philosophers in our society until the Department of Theology prepares a sufficient number of religious works on literature and philosophy.

“Such a purpose cannot be fulfilled either by mere Islamic theology or by mysticism. The really important thing is neither the translation of the Qur^ʿān into Turkish nor the forms of the Turkish words to be used. The important thing is a philosophical view showing the human and permanent nature of the Islamic religion. This has not been shown till now. Unless the Qur^ʿān is viewed and understood in this way it cannot be comprehended. Mere reason and logic are not sufficient.

“The consistency of the whole reform requires a program prepared by a scientific institution. The Department of Theology is this scientific center.

“The Turkish Revolution by creating this Theological Department has recognized this need. Our Faculty, as a result of its experience in scientific teaching during the last three years of its existence, has come to the conclusion that such a reform would be helpful and uplifting to Turkish society. It has the conviction also that there would be advantage to the nation in authoritatively presenting such reform in the responsible places. If these bases for reform, containing in themselves elements capable of exerting a creative influence on all Muslim countries, and which concern also the higher policies of our own country, are accepted and approved, then our Faculty will be able to render more extensive and important service.

“We shall later explain the ways and means of putting into practice these

measures dealing with the hygiene, Turkification, philosophy and beauty of rituals. We shall publish books and articles dealing with these subjects. We shall establish general courses and give talks. We shall deliver sermons personally on Fridays, announced beforehand, in the larger mosques of Turkey. We shall publish articles in the Journal of the Department, discussing the scientific basis and implications of this reform.

"In this way, this New Turkey will not only experience a religious revival but will be the guide for the freedom and progress of all the Muslim countries which are still enslaved and backward in civilization.

"Only through such means can a scientific institution of the Republic such as the Theological Department of the University of Constantinople discharge its duties and civilizing responsibilities towards the country."

Editor's note: Subsequently this Reform was found to be premature, and the Committee was immediately disbanded.¹⁵

This premature reform bore some fruit in the adoption of the call to prayer (*ezan*) in Turkish which was tried in 1932 and became official in March, 1933. However, little else in the formal worship, or prayers and sermons has yet been affected by these recommendations. Conservative trends have come to the fore since World War II, especially since 1950. The first legislation of the new Democratic government was to sanction the recital of the call to prayer in Arabic again on June 16, 1950, and this has been generally welcomed, in spite of some criticism that the action helped to open the door to regrettable religious conservatism.¹⁶

PRE-UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL RELIGIOUS EDUCATION 1924-1949

The need for formal religious education in Turkey was apparently little stressed in the years from 1933 to 1946. In fact, from 1933-1949 the only officially supported and recognized religious education in Turkey, with the exception of that available in the quiescent Islamic Research Institute at Istanbul University until 1942, was that offered in the special elementary courses to teach the Qur'ān by heart (*Hafız ve Kuran Kursları*). These were organized by the Presidency of Religious Affairs under the very tenuous supervision of the Ministry of Education. They began modestly in 1925 with ten courses each averaging some 35 students until 1931. In 1932-33 there were nine courses, nine teachers, and 232 students. These grew more popular so that by 1945-46 there were 61 courses with 65 teachers, 2021 male and 744 female students. Three hundred forty-seven boys and 248 girls earned certificates in these courses that year. These figures had almost exactly doubled by 1948 and in 1949-50, the year in which the new Faculty

¹⁵ L. Levonian, trs. and ed., *The Turkish Press. Selections from the Turkish Press showing Events and Opinions 1925-1932*, Athens, 1932, pp. 123-126.

¹⁶ Law No. 5665, *Resmî Gazete*, No. 7535; G.J. 1, pp. 65-68, 74-79. Note Mahmut Makal's bitter comments on this in *A Village in Anatolia*, London, 1954, p. 58; and in *Menleketin Sahipleri*, Istanbul, 1954, pp. 32-35. See also, J. K. Birge, "Islam in Modern Turkey," in *Islam in the Modern World*, edited by Dorothea S. Franck, Washington, 1951, pp. 43-44; and G. Lewis, *Turkey*, London, 1955, p. 184.

of Divinity came into being at Ankara, they reached their highest numbers between 1925 and 1951. In 1949-50 there were 127 courses, 130 teachers, 6,403 male and 2,303 female students of whom 1,811 men and 851 women earned diplomas. After the new schools to train Imāms and Preachers (*Imam-Hatip Okulları*, described in my recent article in *die Welt des Islams*, N.S., IV, 2-3 (1955) 150-63) began in 1951, attendance at these Qurʾān courses dropped by roughly fifty per cent.¹⁷ These Qurʾān courses consist of rote memorization of the Qurʾān, which usually requires about two to three years to achieve with satisfactory skill in chant-like recitation, with no attempt to teach Arabic or the meaning of the sacred text. Their continued attraction to some Turks reveals the persistent power of the Arabic sound of the Holy Qurʾān in spite of the fact that almost without exception neither the reciting nor the listening Turk understands its import. One is reminded of the old Turkish saying that "The Qurʾān was revealed in Arabia, read in Egypt, and has been written [by scribes, — Turkish *Hattat* — employing superb calligraphy] in Turkey!"¹⁸ The graduates of these courses are far from qualified to become enlightened Muslim leaders without a great deal of other education. It is doubtful whether the stark discipline of spending months learning to chant an incomprehensible text by heart, even if 't is divinely inspired, is pedagogically desirable. Nevertheless, the piety and diligence of students in these courses which are entirely voluntary is deeply impressive. One must recognize that, from 1933 until 1949, (when simple classes in [Islamic] religion were reintroduced [after a hiatus since 1928] into the 4th and 5th grades of primary schools) no other officially sanctioned religious training was available to Turkish youth in the republic.

On December 24, 1946, the question of religious education was discussed in the Grand National Assembly for the first time since World War II. It was introduced in the course of the budget debate by two influential Republican People's Party deputies, Muhittin Baha Pars and Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver. One of their reasons for advocating the reintroduction of religious education in the public schools was that too many children no longer paid any attention to their parents! Two of the founders of the young Democrat party, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (mentioned above as a former Dean of the Theological Faculty at Istanbul) and Adnan Menderes, supported this motion, but Republican Prime Minister Recep Peker warned that such action might open the door to [undesirable] religious propaganda. This extremely significant debate ushered in a new era of freedom of discussion which,

¹⁷ The figures for 1932-1948 are given in G.J. 1, pp. 122-123. The others are from *Annuaire Statistique*, 1953, Ankara, n.d. (1955), p. 178, and from personal interviews.

¹⁸ Cf. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 3, 1956; and İbnül-Emin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, İstanbul, 1956.

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in spite of various vicissitudes, has been one of the most hopeful and progressive aspects of Turkey's recent development. It led, also, to further debate in and out of parliament from which have emerged the subsequent decisions to set up a fairly comprehensive program of religious education in the national school system.¹⁹

Since 1949, when this program began to be implemented, the Ministry of Education has been directing or supervising a national Islamic religious education program at the elementary, vocational-secondary, teacher training and university levels. It may help to set the stage for our description of the Faculty of Divinity, which stands at the apex of this academic religious training program, if we review briefly the other types of formal, legal courses in vogue since the establishment of the Republic in 1923. This survey omits the Qur²ān memorizing courses already described and makes no attempt to outline the various illegal, often very informal circles, schools, or in the East, even *medreses*, which have, in various degrees, continued throughout this period. In spite of government opposition they still attract some students to their conservative, and often primitive classes.²⁰

Religious classes were part of the curriculum in grades 2-5 from 1924-35, when they were dropped. After 1927 these were voluntary, but recommended subjects. This kind of Islamic training was revived in 4th and 5th grades in 1949 on an extra-curricular, voluntary basis provided volunteer teachers were willing to stay after hours to instruct students whose parents desired them to participate. A significant shift took place in 1950, when these courses became a regular part of the curriculum for which students were responsible in examinations unless their parents requested, in writing, that they be excused. Religious classes in the 6th and 7th grades of middle schools ceased in 1931. There has been a good deal of discussion since 1949 about the possible extension of religious classes (*Din dersleri*) to the middle (*orta*) and lycée (*lise*) rank schools. A general, at times acrimonious, debate on this issue has been conducted ever since Premier Adnan Menderes announced in Konya on January 8, 1956, that such courses would be added to the middle school program. This is part of a more general attempt to clarify how Turkey plans to implement her constitutional principle of secularism.²¹

At the vocational-secondary stage, two programs to train Imām-

¹⁹ Further details and references in G.J. 1, pp. 135 ff.; and *Middle East Journal*, I, 3 (1947), pp. 279-280.

²⁰ Personal observation, and interviews with Shaykh Kasım Ağel of the Kadiri order in Elazığ, October 28, 1954; and with the Mufti of Diyarbakır, October 25, 1954. Cf. *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 7-11, 1953; and a lame official denial of this state of affairs in *Akşam*, April 25, 1953.

²¹ *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 9, 10, 11, 1956, passim.; Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-184; G.J. 1, pp. 130 ff.; and my forthcoming chapter in a Harvard Press book on Modern Islam entitled "The Religious Life of Modern Turkish Muslims," esp. pp. 151-2, 143-6, and footnotes 5, 64-68, and 70. See also *The Muslim World*. Vol. xlvi, 2, Apr. 1956, pp. 177-78.

Preachers (*İmam-Hatîp*) have been tried. The first such schools (*İmâm-Hatîp Mektepleri*) started ambitiously with 29 schools in various parts of the country in September, 1924. They were to be secular institutions, accepting graduates of elementary schools for a middle school course lasting four years. The courses included Qur²ân recitation, exegesis, traditions, general science, geography, arithmetic, geometry, biology, zoology, religious lessons, psychology, ethics and civics, Turkish, geology, physics and chemistry, hygiene, calligraphy, physical education, Turkish literature, homiletics and Arabic recitation, and history. Arabic language was omitted. Without it, and lacking many materials on such subjects as the traditions, or even adequate Turkish translations of the Qur²ân, it is hard to see how the students could progress far. By 1926-27, only two of these schools, located at Kutahya and Istanbul, remained. These were closed in 1930-31 although the last students graduated in 1932-33.²² Their current successors are the *İmam-Hatîp Okulları*, seven of which were opened late in 1951. There are now sixteen in Turkey, and the original seven in June, 1956, completed the first year of their advanced, or lyc e program. The curriculum consists of first a four year middle school section, which can be terminal, or, if students desire, (and all those eligible in 1955 elected to do so) they can continue with the three year second section at lyc e level.²³ Arabic is an important part of the program in these schools. As Arabic and Persian were dropped from the curriculum in Turkish schools in 1929, the graduates of the new Im m-Preacher schools are among the very few younger Turks with a reasonable knowledge of Arabic.

In addition to these courses, mention must be made of the texts and classes in religious education offered in official normal schools from 1924 until about 1932, and again since 1949-50.²⁴ The regular middle schools and lyc es had no provision for courses on religion as late as the academic year 1955-56. Voluntary classes in religion are scheduled to be added to the middle schools curriculum in 1956-57. This means, among other things, that very few young Turks have much formal training on the history of Islam, or in Arabic, before they apply for admittance to the Faculty of Divinity at Ankara. Let us now examine how this new Faculty was established.

STEPS LEADING TO THE CREATION OF THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY

The first formal suggestion that a new Theological Faculty should be set up was made in late January, 1948, when deputies İ. Arvas and Fatin G kmen, (the late famous creator of the Istanbul Observatory at Kandilli) tabled a bill to this effect in parliament. On January 31,

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Further details are given in my recent article on the *İmam-Hatîp Okulları*, cited above.

²⁴ G.J. I, p. 121, n. 9; and pp. 132-133.

the influential editor, Cihat Baban, pointed out in *Tasvir* that such a proposal was not out of keeping with secular principles, that religion was both an individual and a social matter, and that if Turkey did not take pains to train religious leaders false beliefs would multiply. He added that they must range the might of Islam over against Soviet pressure. On February 4th M. Tuncer, writing in the Izmir paper *Yeni Asır* added that they must in these times train up a body of well-informed, patriotic religious leaders who could teach religion to the people. He went on to say that even under the Ottoman Empire Turkey could boast of learned men, such as Fatin Gökmen, at the same time as it was plagued with ignorant theological students (*softa*) and dervishes. These sentiments were echoed by Nadir Nadi, editor of Turkey's leading paper, *Cumhuriyet*, on February 12th, when he reiterated the need for religious guides (*din rehberleri*). A week later, on the 19th, the caucus of the responsible Republican People's party approved a report of a committee calling for the creation of a Faculty of Islamic Theology, the opening of voluntary classes in religion in the 4th and 5th grades of primary schools, and special institutes to train imams and preachers. The programs and texts for this instruction were to be prepared by the Presidency of Religious Affairs subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education. The new Nation (*Millet*) party stated in its platform announced on July 22, 1948 that it favored the establishment of a Theological Faculty in Istanbul.²⁵

The next statement was made by Ahmed Hamdi Akseki, then President of Religious Affairs, at a press conference, reported in *Tasvir* on July 29. He stressed that even in Europe it was recognized that a thorough knowledge of Arabic was necessary for research in the basic sources of Islam. It was far from enough to learn to recite [the Qur²-ān] by heart like a parrot. He said that studies based on the following subjects were required: the Creed (*itikad*), dogmatic philosophy (*kelâm*), and its history, worship (*ibadet*), and its history, Qur²-ānic exegesis (*tefsir*), the history and methodology of Tradition (*hadis*), the technique of checking the narrators of tradition (*ravileri tenkid usulu*), the (four) schools of Islamic law (*mezhebler*), Islamic jurisprudence and its methodology (*fıkıh*), the philosophy of law (*hikmeti teşri*), the history of Islamic law in its widest sense, the method of liberal interpretation of Islamic law (*ictihat*), the lives and scientific significance of the great founders of the (four) Islamic schools of law (*büyük mezheb imamları*, i.e., Abū Ḥanīfa, Ibn Ḥanbal, Mālik, and Al-Shāfi'ī), general history of philosophy, the history of comparative Islamic philosophy, logic, metaphysics, Muslim ethics, moral philosophy, mysticism and its history, the philosophy of religion, the fine arts (*sənayii nefise*, chiefly referring to Islamic art), sociology, the general history of religion and of Islam, the life and ethics of Muḥammad, and

²⁵ On Fatin Gökmen, see İ. A. Gövsa, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154; G.J. I, pp. 125-126; C.O.C. XII, (1948), p. 52.

Turkish and Arabic literature. He added that entrance into the Faculty should depend upon a six year course of language study and religious education in a (special) higher theological lycée, in which, in addition to Oriental languages, at least one European language was to be taught. He also advocated admitting students who were quite mature and at least thirty years of age. In conclusion, he pointed out that there were then (in 1948) still enough qualified specialists who could form the teaching staffs of these two institutions.

The next significant step leading to the creation of the new Faculty of Divinity took place on January 7, 1949, when the senate of Ankara University decided to examine this project. On January 23rd the program of the new Republican cabinet, led by M. Şemseddin Günaltay, who is a distinguished historian, student of Islam and *medrese* graduate, was published. In it he pledged to follow Western democratic models and to defend the principles of the Turkish revolution. Freedom of conscience was declared to be holy. Voluntary religious instruction was to be introduced but this was not to be in any way an infringement of secular principles. The intention was to enlighten people in a rational way so that they could avoid "reactionary fables" which had obscured religion for centuries and thus forestall the abuse of religion for political purposes. On February 1, the Ministry of Education issued a circular permitting voluntary classes in religion in the 4th and 5th grades. These classes began on the 15th. A notorious incident occurred in parliament on Feb. 4. A man suddenly began to recite the call to prayer (*ezan*) aloud from the visitors' galleries in the outlawed Arabic. When he was promptly silenced, his companion took up the chant. Both were arrested, and, on interrogation, were identified as Osman Yaz and Muhieddin Ertuğrul. They turned out to belong to the iconoclastic Turkish branch of the originally North African Ticiani dervish order. One of them declared: "Society is rotten because religion and morals have become weak. If a man has faith, he needs neither education or culture. Allah gives him every capacity and supplies all his needs. On the day when faith is reborn in his country everything will have a renaissance." ²⁶

This incident was widely discussed in the press, and at a Republican party caucus on the 15th. It led to violent debate in parliament on February 23 when the budget of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, dependent on that of the Prime Ministry, was being reviewed. Most deputies favored increasing its budget so that it could perform its duties better. Dr. Segil, deputy for Ankara, stated that 85 % of Turkish citizens speak Turkish as their mother tongue and inquired: "Hence, when will the Qur^{ān} be translated into our mother tongue, and when will it be read from a Turkish text in our mosques?" Sharp protests ensued. One deputy explained that as the Qur^{ān} is the literal

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII (1949), p. 54.

word of Allah men had no competence to translate it. Professor Günaltay, the Prime Minister, then intervened to say that parliament "is not the place for religious debates..." and added that it would remain the function of the graduates of the proposed Faculty of Divinity to carry out religious reform if that were necessary. At a Democratic party meeting in Ankara on March 25, Celal Bayar spoke in a similar vein and one of his listeners interrupted him with the remark: "The state can't exist without Islam!" With various ups and downs, this debate over Islam, religious education, reaction, secularism, and the relation between Islam and the state in contemporary Turkish society has been going on ever since.²⁷

THE NEW FACULTY OPENS

On March 30, the Senate of Ankara University decided to pursue the project for a theological faculty. A bill for the establishment of such a Faculty was introduced into parliament on May 12, and law No. 5424 which was passed on June 4, 1949, authorized the creation of the new Faculty.²⁸ This law took effect on June 10, 1949, and provided for a teaching staff initially appointed for a period of up to seven years. This can include one dean, eight professors, fifteen docents and twenty-nine assistants. The law included an appropriation of T.L. 43,000 for the budget of the Faculty of Divinity until the next fiscal year beginning March 1, 1950. Only 39,865 T.L. of this amount was apparently spent during the prescribed period.²⁹

It is worth noting that on June 10, the very day that the law for this new Faculty took effect, the Turkish parliament passed legislation amending the penal code, in an attempt to hinder extremist political, social and religious propaganda. Article 163 stipulates that any individual creating or participating in any association whose aims involve organizing the judicial, social, economic or political order on religious bases is liable to from two to seven years in prison. The use of religion for political or personal objectives, as well as the use of religious sentiment with a view to weakening the principle of secularism, is an offense for which prison terms of from one to five years may be imposed.

At this same final sitting of that session of parliament article one of law number 677, which had abolished the dervish lodges (*tekkes*) in 1925 was amended to abrogate and prohibit the use of certain religious titles and the position of the keepers of special saints' and heroes' tombs (*türbes*; whence their keepers, *türbedars*). It was also provided that the heads of former dervish orders who had been formally

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55; G. Jäschke, *Die Türkei in Den Jahren 1942-1951*, Wiesbaden, 1955, pp. 93 ff., hereafter cited as G.J. 2; and references cited in note 21 above.

²⁸ Law 5424, *Düstur*, vol. 30 (1949), pp. 1205-1208; *Resmi Gazete*, No. 7229, 10 June, 1949.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; G.J. 1, p. 127; *Annuaire Statistique*, 1953, p. 163.

deprived of their authority and benefits, but who had, in exchange, received small stipends from the government's Presidency of Religious Affairs and had enjoyed certain immunities, could henceforth be fined, imprisoned or even exiled for periods of not less than a year. This measure was definitely aimed at weakening the power of the still outlawed, but resurgent, dervish orders by giving the authorities power to isolate dervish leaders from their followers. During the debate on these two laws, which were violently criticized by the Democrat and Nation party opposition, Republican premier Günaltay declared that, as long as he remained in office, the law against extremist ideologies would not be abused for political ends. In view of the subsequent dissolution of the Nation party in 1954, and of the strong Democratic support for loosened controls over traditional Muslim religious practices after their advent to power in 1950, it is interesting to note some of their statements made at this juncture in June 1949.³⁰

Nation party representatives accused the Democrats and Republicans of a sinister plot against themselves. The 12th point in their party program called for it to defend all elements of the population who retained their religious faith and added that the different religions and sects existing in Turkey made up religious communities to which the charitable trust (*evkaf*) properties (taken over by the Republic in 1924) should be entrusted. They also asserted the right of everyone to pray in the language of his choice, by which they meant to restore the call to prayer in Arabic as in fact the Democrats hastened to do a year later. The Nation party accused Democrat leader Celal Bayar of having trodden on democratic principles and reminded the public that its program insisted on the separation of religion from the state, included a strong stand against the communists, and attached basic importance to nationalist principles. The Democrats were less outspoken about these two laws, and their leading critic, Professor M. Fuad Köprülü, went so far as to observe: "In Islamic countries revolutionary agitators hide themselves under the turban. Thus, the Muslim Brethren in Egypt are in reality a Communist organization. In these circumstances, any law aiming at combatting Communism must equally struggle against reaction. Secularism must be at the base of our national life. Whatever country abandons it is doomed. History proves this."³¹ Democratic practice during the past six years has not wholly sustained these assertions.

A number of influential scholars and politicians joined with more conservative elements in welcoming the creation of the Faculty of Divinity and expressed their hopes that it would soon provide urgently required and modern, enlightened religious leadership. Professor İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, former Rector of Istanbul University and deputy, declared that the new Faculty was "needed for the liberation and

³⁰ C.O.C., XVIII-XIX (1949), p. 167.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

gratification of the social conscience." Ahmed Remzi Yüreğir said that it would be "no place for superstition mongers (*hurafatçılar*)." Minister of Education Tahsin Banguoğlu announced: "It will be worthy of the Atatürk Revolution and will not work in the spirit of the *medreses*, but will work against reactionary trends. We may invite professors from Pakistan." This promise took effect early in 1956 when Dr. Muḥammad Daud Rahbar, an able young Pakistani specialist of Qur'anic exegesis, trained at Cambridge, who had taught at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, was invited to join the staff of Ankara University. Professor Yavuz Abadan of the Faculty of Law at Ankara declared, on June 16, that "the Faculty of Divinity cannot ever be a center to inspire religious feelings, but simply a teaching institute which carries on research in an objective manner on the historical, sociological and intellectual development of all religions." At the opening of the next academic year on October 31, 1949, Rector Hikmet Birand welcomed the new faculty into the community of Ankara University. He observed that the religious spirit could be a great, enlightening power, and added that whereas religious reforms in previous centuries had been the primary concern of individuals they were now intimately related to communal life. He concluded that it was a duty of an alert religious institute such as the new Faculty to note and strengthen religious tendencies and to provide guidance to the community in these matters.³²

On this very day the first three formal appointments to professorships in the Faculty of Divinity were made. Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, formerly Professor at the Theological Faculty, Istanbul, then member of the advisory council of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, became Professor of the History of Islamic Schools of Canon Law and sects (*İslâm mezhepleri tarihi*). Hasan Remzi Oğuz Arık, Director of the Ethnographic Museum at Ankara, took over the chair for the History of Islamic Art, and Hilmi Ömer Budda, another former Professor in the Theological Faculty, then member of the Turkish Language Society, was elected Professor of the History of religions. Esat Arsebuk, Professor of Islamic Law, became the first Dean of the Faculty of Divinity. Unfortunately for the Faculty, all of these professors died within the ensuing four and a half years.³³

During this first semester over 85 students enrolled in the Faculty for the four year course. Of this number a total of 80, consisting of 58 men and 22 women successfully completed the first semester course. In the second semester 130 qualified lycée graduates were enrolled.³⁴ According to an official announcement issued in the *Resmî Gazete* on

³² G. J. 2, pp. 103-104; G. J. 1, pp. 127-128.

³³ *Ibid.*; R. D. Robinson, *Developments Respecting Turkey July 1953-October 1954*, American Universities Field Staff, (Distributed by subscription only), New York, 1954, p. 59.

³⁴ G. J. 1, p. 128; G. J. 2, p. 117; *Annuaire Statistique* 1953, p. 154.

June 6, 1950, No. 7536,³⁵ required courses during the first and second semesters consisted of the following:

TABLE I

Initial Course of Study, Semesters 1-4, 1949-1951

1st and 2nd semesters, 1949-1950: —

History of comparative religion	2	hour(s)	weekly
History of Islamic religion and the four schools	3	"	"
History of Islamic Art	3	"	"
Arabic and Persian	6	"	"
English, French or German	6	"	"
Logic	1	"	"
Sociology and Ethics	2	"	"

and in the 3rd and 4th semester, i.e.; in 1950-1951: —

Introduction to Tradition (<i>Hadith</i>)	1	hour(s)	weekly
History of comparative religion	2	"	"
History of Islamic religion and the four schools	3	"	"
History of Islamic Art	3	"	"
Arabic and Persian	6	"	"
English, French or German	6	"	"
Psychology and Philosophy of religion	2	"	"
History of Islamic Science	1	"	"

During the first year of operation the Faculty had a total of ten teachers including one woman. In subsequent years, the Faculty and budget expanded considerably, while student enrolment remained fairly static. Detailed figures on these developments, and on the number of graduates receiving diplomas in 1953, 1954 and 1955 are as follows:

TABLE II³⁶*Figures on Teachers, Students, Graduates and Budgets
Years 1949-'51; 1953-'56*

Year	Teachers			Students			Graduates			Budget T.L.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1949-50	9	1	10	58	22	80	—	—	—	39,865
1950-51	12	1	13	73	21	94	—	—	—	102,548
1951-52	11	2	13	63	16	79	—	—	—	140,134
1952-53	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	9	40	
1953-54	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	5	16	
1954-55	25	2	27	60	10	70	20	2	22	296,369
1955-56	24	3	27	65	18	83	6?	—	—	514,262

Towards the close of the first academic year of the Faculty of Divinity newly appointed Democratic premier Adnan Menderes announced his government's platform on May 29, 1950. It included a

³⁵ G. J. I, p. 128.

³⁶ Figures collated from: —*Annuaire Statistique*, 1953, pp. 154, and 163; Faculty of Divinity Announcements for 1954 and 1955; and private communications from members of the staff in July 1952, October-December 1954, July 1955 and January to March 1956.

declaration that the new régime would take up the question of religious instruction in higher institutions (*Yüksek müesseseler*) in order to train needed religious men (*din adamları*) as demanded by the entire nation. The Democrats also announced that they were opposed to reaction and devoted to secularism. On June 6, 1950, examinations at the end of the first year of the Faculty of Divinity were held in Ankara.³⁷ Ten days later the very first law passed by the Democrats reinstated the call to prayer (*ezan*) in Arabic. This legislation was passed on June 16, the eve of the *Ramazan* month of daylight fasting and the premier's office took pains to communicate this action to provincial authorities by telegram that very evening.³⁸ Some days later the State Radio Monopoly started to broadcast Qurʾān recitations three times weekly. These have since been supplemented by sermons and other religious broadcasts, later published and distributed widely by the Presidency of Religious Affairs, which has received increasingly large budget allocations every year since the Democrats attained power in 1950. Its budget for 1949 amounted to T.L. 2,859,215; in 1950 it came to 2,912,720; by 1955 this had risen to 15,225,497; and for 1956 it stands at 17,486,661.³⁹

On October 10, 1950, religious classes in the 4th and 5th grades in primary schools became regular parts of the curriculum and compulsory unless parents requested in writing that their children be excused. According to the newspaper *İstanbul*, October 11, 1950, 98 % of Turkish parents were in favor of this action. Such a high proportion is almost certainly exaggerated, but it was and remains a very popular aspect of primary education, especially in Turkish villages.⁴⁰

It is significant to add that a survey of 362 younger Turkish prospective and actual civil servant administrators conducted in April, 1954 indicated that 89 and 94 % of them expressed a need for a religious faith and 78 and 89 % respectively said that they had an adequate religious faith as a guide to personal conduct. When asked if secular education might be a possible substitute for religious training their responses seemed more inclined toward secular education. Forty-four and 50 % agreed that secular education was a substitute for religious training, 33 and 35 % disagreed and 17 and 21 % were undecided about this issue. These same two groups of Turkish administrators favored the teaching of religion (i.e. Islam) in the public schools. Fifty-nine and 70 % approved; 15 and 36 % were undecided and only 15 and 15 % disapproved. Their personal reactions to increased mosque attendance were even more strongly favorable with 76 and 77 % pleased;

³⁷ G. J., 2, pp. 122-123.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; p. 123; and G. J. 1, p. 78.

³⁹ Figures derived from the Annual publication *Bütçe* (*Budget*) for years 1949-1956 which were kindly supplied to me by Hazim Atif Kuyucak and Memduh Yaşa, Istanbul April 3-4, 1956.

⁴⁰ C.O.C., XXII (1950) pp. 223-224; and personal observation.

9 and 12% apprehensive; 6 and 7% antipathetic; 4 and 9% undecided. They felt that Islam was adequate for modern life in the proportion of 73 and 78 % yes; 12 and 13 % undecided; and 10 and 14 % no.⁴¹ It should be pointed out that although this is a very limited sample, in general younger Turkish administrators have benefited in particular from the Republican revolution under Atatürk and his successors. Hence, their generally conservative and strong support for religious education and kindred traditional Islamic practices is an interesting index of the preponderant and resurgent role of Islam in contemporary Turkish life. The Faculty of Divinity is an expression and symbol of this interest.

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⁴¹ A. T. J. Matthews, et. al., *Emergent Turkish Administrators, A Study of the Vocational and Social Attitudes of Junior and Potential Administrators*. Institute of Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Science, University of Ankara, Publication No. 1, Ankara, 1955, p. 62-64; 54-58.

RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan is usually described as a Muslim state. Its leaders take delight and pride in calling it as the largest Muslim state in the world. The framers of its Constitution decided on November 2, 1953, to designate it as "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan." Pakistan, it is claimed, came into being to enable the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teaching and requirements of Islam as set out in the Qur^ʿān. It is the aspiration of the Indian Muslims to preserve and foster Islamic values, this being the sole justification for insisting upon the partition of India and the setting up of Pakistan. The *raison d'être* of the emergence of Pakistan as an entity independent of the rest of India has been the recognition of the distinction in the rights, interests, and culture of Hindus and Muslims considered as distinct nations. Quaid-i-Azam Muḥammad ʿAlī Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, declared in 1944 that Muslims and Hindus were two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. Pakistan was claimed as a homeland for Indian Muslims on the principle of right of self-determination.

When Pakistan actually emerged as a nation on August 14, 1947, it was, however, not exclusively of Muslim population but contained several millions of non-Muslim citizens. Many had doubts whether there would be room for any non-Muslim in a state that had come into being pre-eminently because the Muslims had sought a homeland wherein they could lead a life of their own based on a common religion and a common ideology. According to the census of 1951, minorities constitute 14.1% of the entire population of the country. There are about 11,000,000 non-Muslims out of the total population of 76,000,000. They consist mainly of Hindus, Christians, Parsis, and Buddhists. The bulk of the Hindus, who constitute the biggest minority group, live in East Pakistan where they constitute 23.2% of its population. In one district, namely the Chittagong Hill tracts, they even form the majority of the population. It may be pointed out that outside India, the largest number of Hindus live in Pakistan. Another notable fact is that the majority of the Buddhists of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent live in Pakistan. The Hindus occupy a very important position in the economic life of East Pakistan and are an integral and vital part of it. The largest number of landlords of East Pakistan are Hindus. All the textile mills of the province, except one or two, are owned and managed by them. They still dominate the Bar and occupy very important places in the educational services of East Pakistan. They have a substantial share in commerce and industry. There are a number of political minority parties such as the Pakistan National Congress, Scheduled Castes Federation, and Pakistan Buddhists' League; there are some Hindu cultural organizations also. There are numerous religious sects amongst the Hindus; the most important division in Hindu

society is between the caste Hindu (upper class) and the scheduled caste (the depressed class). Hindu society is noted for its widely prevalent caste system. The Hindus of East Bengal, justifiably proud of their great contributions to Indian literature and art, bitterly resent the political power of the Muslims in Pakistan.

Next to the Hindus, the Buddhists are the most important minority community in Pakistan. They also live in East Pakistan. The total number of the Pakistani Buddhists is 319,000; the tribal Buddhists who constitute the majority of the Pakistani Buddhist population enjoy a fair measure of administrative autonomy. They have three tribes — Chakma, Mong, and Bomong — each having a chief of its own who administers tribal affairs with little outside interference. Christians and Parsis are two other important minority groups. They have an important role in the economic and cultural life of the country. The Christian and Parsi business men have always played a very important rôle in the country's commerce and business. Similar is their role in the educational life of the country. The Muslims of Pakistan are, in fact, deeply conscious of the valuable contribution which their non-Muslim compatriots have made and continue to make towards enriching the national life socially, economically, and culturally.

What should be the rights and safeguards for these important non-Muslim minority groups in Pakistan is a question which engaged the attention of the framers of the Constitution from the very beginning of their work. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan came into existence on August 10, 1947, and within two days of its establishment, the Constituent Assembly set up a committee to advise it on the fundamental rights of the citizens of Pakistan and on matters relating to the minorities. Jinnah in his inaugural speech at the first session of the Constituent Assembly laid down the policy of the new state towards its minorities. He declared: "You may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State...we are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste, or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State...you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual but in the political sense as citizens of the State."¹ It was a very good beginning and an excellent ideal. The declaration of the founder of the State had a most welcome reception among the minorities. The minority leaders in defending their claims in the Constituent Assembly and elsewhere have

¹ Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1947, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 3-6.

referred to this memorable speech on many an occasion. It was regarded as the Magna Carta of minority safeguards in Pakistan.

But a single declaration or a speech cannot solve the minority problem in a country made of various religious minorities; in the hard workaday world of stern realities there are fallings-off from the ideal. The problem of minorities, particularly that of religious or racial minorities, is one of the most perplexing and intriguing problems of modern democracy. What is the use, asked Hare and Mill, of broadening and extending the franchise unless all the parties have representation in the legislature? Did not the minorities run the risk of being swamped and was there not the possibility of representative democracy turning, in course of time, into an unqualified and intolerable tyranny of the majority? In a democracy all basic questions affecting the governance of that country are usually decided by appeal to the majority principle. But it is an equally important principle of democratic institutions that minorities must be duly safeguarded; their culture, their legitimate rights should not be open to attack or assault by the operation of majority principle. The principle of protection of racial, linguistic, and religious groups is not a new thing. In Europe after the conclusion of First World War of 1914-18, when numerous new states were set up as a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, and German and Russian empires, the interests of the minorities in these various "succession states" were to be safeguarded by the "Minorities Guarantee Treaties" drafted under the auspices of the League of Nations. About a score of such states (like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Rumania, etc.) entered into these international agreements for the protection of the "racial, linguistic, and religious minorities" within their respective borders. In undivided India, ever since the days about half a century ago, when the Muslim community, as the biggest minority in India, began to demand separate representation in order to safeguard their rights and interests, the necessity had been felt of providing for such safeguards. They are evident in some shape or other in the various stages of constitutional reforms during this period — the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909); the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919); and the Government of India Act (1935) following upon the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences. The Muslims, however, felt that safeguards, from time to time offered to them, were inadequate to safeguard their religious, economic, cultural, and political rights, and this led eventually to the partition of India; Pakistan was, in a sense, itself the product of minority problems.

In Pakistan the problem of non-Muslim religious minorities was further complicated when the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan decided in March, 1949, to establish a state on Islamic principles. The Objectives Resolution as adopted by the Constituent Assembly proposed a state wherein the "principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance,

and social justice as enunciated by Islam" would be fully observed.² No sooner did the framers adopt an Islamic state than the position of non-Muslim citizens in Pakistan presented itself as a complex and difficult problem. What should be the rights and duties of a non-Muslim who does not believe in Islamic ideology in Pakistan? The question produced an immense volume of talk and discussion. Muslim scholars and 'ulamā' busied themselves in determining the position of non-Muslims in an Islamic state. What was the attitude of Islam towards the minorities? There is in Islam a fine equality of all races and colors. All are alike in the spirit of God; all can aspire to any position or vocation. There was also in the original Islam a doctrine of respect and toleration for other religions. Reference is made in support of the tolerant spirit of Islam to the charter which was granted to the Jews by the Prophet Muḥammed after his arrival in Medina and the notable message sent to the Christians of Najrān and the neighboring territories after Islam had fully established itself in the Arabian Peninsula. The latter document pledged the security of the lives, religion, and the property of the Christians. "There shall be no interference with (the practice of) their faith or their observance; nor any change in their rights or privileges."³ This document was regarded as the guiding principle to all Muslim rulers in their mode of dealing with non-Muslim subjects. "Reasons of State" led a sovereign here and there to display intolerance or to insist upon a certain uniformity of faith, but the system itself has maintained the tolerance. As Professor Arnold pointed out, "The theory of the Muslim faith enjoins toleration and freedom of religious life for all those followers of other faiths who pay tribute in return for protection and though the pages of Muhammadan history are stained with the blood of many cruel persecutions, still on the whole, unbelievers have enjoyed under Muhammadan rule a measure of toleration, the like of which is not to be found in Europe until quite modern times...the very existence of so many Christian sects and communities in countries that have been for centuries under Muhammadan rule is an abiding testimony to the toleration they have enjoyed and showed that the persecutions they have from time to time been called upon to endure at the hands of bigots and fanatics, have been excited by some special and local circumstances rather than inspired by a settled principle of intolerance."⁴

The critics of the Islamic state, on the other hand, maintain that whatever may be the theory of tolerance in Islam, history belies it. Even in the best days of the Islamic state, the non-Muslims suffered in spite of the Prophet's assurance. In support of the thesis that the non-Muslim subjects of Islamic states labor under severe disabilities,

² "Objectives Resolution," Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, vol. V, No. 205, pp. 100-101.

³ Amir 'Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, London 1935, pp. 273-75.

⁴ T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London, 1913, p. 420

reference is made to the narrow views of the later canonists and lawyers of Islam. In an Islamic state, the critics point out, the best status that the non-Muslims can have is that of *Dhimmi* (i.e. non Muslims of lands which have been conquered by an Islamic state). *Dhimmis* have their lives, families, and property assured to them, but they have a definitely inferior status. They are not full-fledged citizens but enjoy the status of protected wards. They are to be accorded toleration and protection but are outside the full community of the state, since in principle the state is theocratic. They must pay a special tax in return for protection but are not allowed to carry arms. They are allowed to retain their own religious organization, personal status, places of worship and religious trusts.

The non-Muslim citizens in Pakistan naturally expressed apprehension with regard to their position in the proposed Islamic Constitution of Pakistan. They were given some grounds for their apprehensions by the 'Ulamā'. According to the leading 'Ulamā' of Pakistan, the position of non-Muslims in the Islamic State of Pakistan is that of *Dhimmis* and they are not full citizens of Pakistan, because they lack the same rights as Muslims. They will have no voice in the making of the law, no right to administer the law and no right to hold public offices.⁵ According to one prominent member of the 'Ulamā' who was also a member of the Constituent Assembly, "they (non-Muslims) cannot be entrusted with the responsibility of framing the general policy of the state or dealing with matters vital to its safety and integrity."⁶

But neither the Government of Pakistan, the framers of the Constitution, nor the Pakistani intelligentsia, have ever accepted the views of the 'Ulamā'. The 'Ulamā' live in a world of their own and judge things by their own standards. The notion of an Islamic state has not led to any suggestion of the Constitution's giving privilege or exclusive power to the 'Ulamā'. Pakistan has denied to the clergy and given to the people the right to interpret Islam. Pakistan is elaborating a new, twentieth century, authoritative interpretation of religion.

What is the position of non-Muslims in the modern concept of the Islamic state as interpreted in Pakistan today? The founder of the state had already formulated the principle of equality of all citizens irrespective of caste, creed, and religion. We find in the Objectives Resolution of 1949 which laid down the foundation of the Islamic state in Pakistan that "adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures" and "adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate inter-

⁵ Report of the Court of Inquiry, Punjab Disturbances of 1953, Government of Punjab Press, Lahore, Punjab, 1954, p. 212.

⁶ Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1949, vol. V, No. 3, p. 45.

ests of minorities." Further, the minorities, like other Muslim citizens of Pakistan, are guaranteed fundamental rights, including equality of status and opportunity, before the law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association. ⁷ Certain conclusions encouraging to liberals may be drawn from the debate on the Objectives Resolution. Although it was intended that Muslims should be subject to the economic and social obligations prescribed by their religion, there was to be no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims in their rights of citizenship. The privileges and status of the non-Muslims, according to the Objectives Resolution, would not be in any way less than those of the Muslims. The concept of *Dhimmis* in an Islamic state was most emphatically repudiated. Whatever may have been the position of non-Muslims in the early Islamic state of 7th century Arabia, the concept of the Islamic state in Pakistan did not suggest any inferior status or second-class citizens to its non-Muslim inhabitants. Yet the Hindu members of the Constituent Assembly continued their opposition to any state based on the principles of Islam. They found it convenient to borrow passages from the utterances and writings of the 'Ulamā which were ridiculous and could easily be attacked and exposed. Quoting from their speeches, the Hindu leaders made the easy conclusion. "Islam is not democracy." The leader of the Hindu Congress party asked the question: "Is there any equal right in an Islamic country?", and answered emphatically in the negative. Liaquat 'Alī Khān, the first prime minister of Pakistan, appealed to the Hindus not to listen to religious fanatics. He told them; "These so-called 'Ulamā' who have come to you, they have come with that particular mission of creating doubts in your mind regarding the good faith of the Mussalmans of Pakistan. Do not for God's sake lend your ear to such mischievous propaganda...They have misrepresented the ideology of Islam to you. They are in fact enemies of Islam while posing as friends and supporters of Islam." ⁸

Many suspect the opposition of Hindus as inspired by a deliberate intention to discredit Pakistan to the world. It may be added here that before partition of India, some distinguished Hindu scholars admired the broad and fine principles of Islam and believed that a state based on these principles need not be out of tune with a democracy. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, most eminent Indian sociologist (at present Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University) in his *Democracy of the East* wrote: "The Communal-Democratic system of politics, founded upon the basis of theocracy in the Islamic Commonwealth, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of political evolution, not less significant than the development of the Athenian democracy and the Roman Re-

⁷ Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1949, Vol. V, No. 5, pp. 100-101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

public.”⁹ Wilfred Smith, in analyzing the problem of non-Muslim minorities in the Islamic Constitution of Pakistan remarks: “It is fundamental to remember that the rights accorded to any minority or other non-powerful group in any state depend on the ideal of those in power...A state may be democratic in form but unless it is democratic also in ideal, unless the majority of its citizens are actively loyal to the transcendent principles of democracy recognizing the ideal validity of every man’s status as a man, then the arithmetical minority has, through the democratic form, no rights at all...Many outsiders and several Pakistani Christians and Hindus...have stated or supposed that these minorities would be better off if Pakistan were simply a ‘Democratic’ instead of an Islamic state. This is irresponsibly glib. For if Muslims do, in fact, treat non-Muslims unjustly, then a democratic framework (without the Graeco-Roman and religious tradition of democracy to vitalize it) would merely give them as majority the constitutional authority for doing so without let or hindrance.”¹⁰

But in fairness to the minorities it should be mentioned that one particular clause in the proposed Constitution still retained gives to the non-Muslims justifiable ground for resentment. Clause 15 (1) laid down: “the Head of the State shall be a Muslim.” It was justified by the framers of the Constitution on the ground that the Head of the State would be only a nominal or symbolic head; that real authority was vested in the Cabinet and non-Muslims could become members of the Cabinet. Further, they held that similar restrictions regarding the religion of the Head of the State could be found in several other modern states. But whatever excuse or justification might be offered, it cannot be denied that this clause was a breach of the assurance and pledges given to the minorities by Jinnāh and Liaquat. It was also a clear departure from the interpretation of Islamic ideology as given by the framers of the Constitution when the Objective Resolution was passed in 1949. Liaquat, in the course of the debate on the Objectives Resolution, emphatically said: “A non-Muslim can be head of administration.” This clause seems to have done considerable harm to the liberal interpretation of the “Islamic state” in Pakistan. The sooner it is amended the better.

But after this single and solitary clause, there is no other discrimination on the grounds of race, color, or religion in respect of citizenship or the rights in the Constitution. It guarantees the right of all citizens including eleven million members of minority communities to apply to the Supreme Court for enforcement of their fundamental rights.¹¹ Following the model of some of the new constitutions of the world, the

⁹ Radhakamal Mukerjee, “Democracy of the East,” London, 1923, p. 174.

¹⁰ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, “Pakistan as an Islamic State,” McGill University, Montreal, Canada, pp. 41-43.

¹¹ Report of the Basic Principles Committee (as adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan), Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1954.

constitution-makers guaranteed certain fundamental rights to the citizens, Muslim and non-Muslims alike. The report of the fundamental rights was accepted by the Constituent Assembly in 1950, much earlier than the articles which sought to reaffirm and secure the Islamic character of the Constitution. The fundamental rights include among others the following important provisions: equality of all citizens before the law; equal protection of the law to all citizens; no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth with regard to access to places of public entertainment, recreation, welfare, or utility. Every qualified citizen shall be eligible to the services of the state irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex, descent or place of birth. Every citizen is guaranteed freedom of speech, conscience, expression, association, profession, occupation, trade, or business, etc. No community shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community. The personal law of every community is guaranteed. No person shall be compelled to pay any special taxes, the proceeds of which would be specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the propagation of any particular religion. (The non-Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly often expressed the apprehension that in an "Islamic state," Islam would be propagated and maintained by the public money and that the non-Muslims would be forced to pay taxes for this.)

Further it is provided that there will be no discrimination against any community in the matter of exemption from or concession of taxes granted with respect to religious institutions. No discrimination in admission to educational institutions is tolerated.¹² Those certain broad and liberal principles were insured in the "Directive Principles of State Policy" which would be applicable to all citizens, Muslim and non-Muslims. The report of the fundamental rights of citizens received favorable comments both inside and outside the Constituent Assembly. It was a comprehensive list and Liaquat Ali Khan could claim that "all the essential rights have been provided." The report was regarded as very satisfactory from the point of view of the individual of all communities. In addition to these fundamental rights which were applicable to Muslims and non-Muslims, certain special safeguards for minorities are provided in the Constitution. The Committee on Fundamental Rights set up a sub-committee on matters relating to minorities at its first meeting held in 1948. The minority committee included representation from all groups of the minority population. The sub-committee issued the following questionnaire to important individuals and organizations in the country with a view to ascertaining the views of the public on this complicated question.

¹² Report of the Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan (as adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 1950 & 1954), Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1954.

1. What should be the political safeguards of a minority in the centre and in the province?
2. What should be the economic safeguards of a minority in the centre and in the province?
3. What safeguards should be provided for a minority with regard to matters (a) religious, (b) educational and social and cultural?
4. What methods are suggested to make the safeguards effective?
5. Should any of the safeguards be eliminated later and if so, how, when, and under what circumstances?
6. Any other remarks or suggestions with regard to safeguards for a minority.

The suggestions received from the public were numerous and often divergent. They were all circulated in a consolidated form to the members of the sub-committee, which made its decision in the light of these suggestions and proposals received from the public. The consolidated statement remained a confidential document in the secretariat of the Constituent Assembly. The writer had, however, personal contact and discussion with a number of minority leaders and, from discussion with them, some ideas about their demands could be gathered. The leader of the Hindu Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly said, "We do not ask for any rights or privileges or any special favors from you."¹³ While a prominent member of his own party in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. D. N. Dutta said: "We want our political safeguards, our social and economic safeguards to be placed before the House and determined."¹⁴ Whatever some of the Hindu leaders might say, it was clear from the beginning that certain safeguards were needed for the religious minorities, particularly when the Constituent Assembly decided to have an Islamic Constitution. In one of the memoranda submitted to the Constituent Assembly by the minority communities, it was demanded that Hindus should get representation in the legislature, not only according to their numbers but also some "weightage." For instance, in East Bengal, the Hindus constitute about 23% of the entire population, but it was demanded that they should get 41% of the seats in the East Bengal legislature. As regards the economic and cultural safeguards, it was pointed out that "much can be done to safeguard the interest of the minorities and to instill a sense of confidence into them, if the fundamental rights of equal and impartial treatment of all citizens are strictly enforced."¹⁵

In the months following the partition of India, there were riots in both India and Pakistan resulting in deaths among minorities. But by

¹³ Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debate, Official Report, Vol. XVI, No. 23, p. 253, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1954.

¹⁴ Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 66, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1954.

¹⁵ Memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan by Principal D. Ghoh, *Modern Review*, Oct. 1948, p. 280, Calcutta (India).

1950, Pakistan could justly point out that not a single communal riot had taken place. There is at present no threat of physical persecution of the minorities in Pakistan. This is freely admitted by the minorities themselves. Freedom of conscience was already provided in the Fundamental Rights of Citizens in Pakistan by 1950.

Minorities, differing from the majority in language and culture, should have the right to conduct their own schools, provided, of course, that they conform to the general regulations of the government in regard to education and are not used to inculcate a spirit of hostility to the majority or the state. This was also clearly provided in the fundamental rights. The Constituent Assembly in its final report on the minority rights added the following safeguards in addition to those already provided.

1. "Any minority residing in the territory of Pakistan or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall not be prevented from conserving the same.

2. "The state shall not discriminate in granting aid to educational institutions, nor discriminate against any educational institution merely on the ground that it is mainly maintained by a religious minority.

3. "There shall be a Minister for minority affairs both at the centre and in the provinces to look after the interests of the minorities and to see that the safeguards provided in the Constitution for the minorities are duly observed."¹⁶ The final Constitution has taken a somewhat different stand on these points.

An analysis of the problem of minorities in Pakistan shows that it springs from the fact that majorities and minorities do not fully form a community with one another. This is largely a result of the hold which memories of an unhappy past still have over people's minds. Nationalism is entangled with religious conceptions. The present phase of the problem arises from the persistence of traditional suspicions and resentments. While the minorities complain that rights and safeguards are more on paper than they are actually executed in practice, the majority points out that minorities in Pakistan, particularly the upper class Hindus in East Bengal, never accepted Pakistan as their home. They look upon India as their real homeland; they keep their families there and send their earnings to be invested in India; they have withdrawn their capital from Pakistan. They have not shown interest in Pakistan's difficulties with India such as Kashmir and canal water disputes. They have rather betrayed their concealed sympathies for India on many an occasion. (Of course, these charges are not made against Christians, Parsis, Buddhists, and other minority groups.) The majority points out that the grant of rights to minorities involves the

¹⁶ "Safeguards for Minorities," Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and Matters Relating to Minorities (as adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 1954, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi.

performance of duties by them. The minorities must have the elementary civil and political duties of all citizens. They are citizens of a state which possesses a distinctive national consciousness. They have a duty to act so far as possible as members of the nation or at least not to obstruct the national will. The Hindus in East Bengal have failed miserably to win the confidence of the majority which is the surest guarantee for any minority in a country. In the long run, there is only one way in which the problem of minorities can be solved in Pakistan or elsewhere. Majority and minorities must form a community with one another, must learn to respect and trust one another, and on the basis of trust and respect, learn to work together for common ends. There must be 'fellowship' between them. This does not mean that the differences between them will completely disappear, for unity does not imply uniformity, nor does it mean that minorities cannot retain their own organization and loyalties for certain purposes. It means that both majority and minorities must be conscious that their loyalties and duties do not end with their racial or religious group and that every human community must make itself the servant of something higher than itself.

The Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, elected in 1955, has now completed the task of writing a Constitution for Pakistan. After nine years of effort, Pakistan became successful in producing a Constitution widely welcome in the country.

There have been certain changes, though not very fundamental, with regard to the rights and safeguards of the minorities in the final Constitution. It abandons the *special* safeguards adopted by the First Constituent Assembly, and prefers to make no discrimination. There will be, for instance, no Ministry either at the centre or at the provinces for minority affairs. This is in response to the wishes of the minority representatives themselves who objected to being treated on a different level. They opposed the idea of any special "protection;" they wanted to be treated on an equal footing with the Muslim citizens. The scope of the fundamental rights has been widened to include all essential rights, applicable to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

In other respects, the Constitution differs little from the draft. Its Islamic character as defined by the First Constituent Assembly has been retained. The Head of the State shall be a Muslim. But otherwise there is no discrimination between the Muslim or non-Muslim citizens. The concept of *Dhimmis* has been emphatically repudiated. Like the draft constitution, the Constitution also includes in its Directive Principles of State Policy emphasis on "the legitimate rights and interests of the minorities including their due representation in the federal and provincial services." It would seem that successful constitutional embodiment, at least, has been given to the principles, vis-à-vis minority elements, by which Islam at its best has been traditionally guided.

SIR SAYYID AḤMAD KHĀN'S PRINCIPLES OF EXEGESIS — II

TRANSLATED FROM HIS TAḤRĪR FĪ UṢŪL AL-TAFSĪR

THE THIRTEENTH PRINCIPLE

The glorious Qur^ʿān was not sent down all at once, but came down piecemeal. God the exalted says: "And a Qur^ʿān which We have divided, that thou mayest read it to mankind leisurely, and we sent it down, sending it down." (Surah xvii, 107.) The occurrence of events brought about the revelatory impulse (inbi^ʿāth) of the Holy Spirit i.e. the faculty of prophecy and so revelation came down because of it. Therefore, it is a collection of speeches belonging to different times, which God has sent down from time to time to suit the demands of occasions, and it is not a book composed (to execute a pre-conceived plan), whose contents the author sets together according to a certain (pre-conceived) arrangement, by first making a division of chapters and sections.

Shāh Walī Ullāh says in his *Al-Fauz al-Kabīr*: "The Qur^ʿān is not composed in the form of texts arranged chapter-wise and section-wise, that you may find every subject in it. Rather believe the Qur^ʿān as a collection of epistles. Just as kings write an allegory for their subjects according to the requirements of a situation and after a time another allegory and so on, so that a large number of allegories accumulate and a man collects these into an arrangement and form, even so the absolute Sovereign sent down Surah after Surah on His Apostle, according to the requirements of situations and in the lifetime of the Prophet the verses of every Surah were preserved and recorded (in true order). But the Surahs themselves they did not arrange in his lifetime. In the times of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar they collected all the Surahs in one volume in a certain arrangement and this collection was called the *Muṣḥaf*." (*Al-Fauz al-Kabīr*, p. 73.)

The piecemeal (najman-najman) coming down of the Qur^ʿān and the impulse (inbi^ʿāth) of the faculty of prophecy and the descent of revelation at the occurrence of time-to-time events is a natural phenomenon. In the human mind the faculty (malakah) of numerous arts and knowledges exists, but it does not get stirred without a stimulant (muḥarrik). Hence the fact that the Qur^ʿān is of this manner is an argument to the effect that it is not a compiled book whose contents the author arranges according to a pre-conceived plan and desire. [This is opposed to the idea of God's omniscience, though it may be doubted whether Sayyid Aḥmad Khān was aware of this, or of the possibilities of resolving the inconsistency.]

Another evidence, or argument, of the Qur^ʿān's being (an accumulation of) speech of various occasions is that (it has a quality of repetition) just as, when we talk (about a thing), on various occasions we need to repeat an earlier statement to suit the demands of a new

situation and with the object of a cumulative reminding of men. Some subjects which are important have to be declared repeatedly in speech every time. Sometimes allusion has to be made to a story. Sometimes the narration of only that portion of a story is sufficient which is essential to the speech of that particular time. Sometimes it is required by speech to relate a story briefly; at another time in detail. In short, everything that occurs in speech, made at different times, is found in the glorious Qurʾān and this is sufficient proof of the fact that the Qurʾān is not a compiled book. And when only words of revelation (kalimāt waḥy) are written in it, the preliminaries of speech (mabādī kalām) to which revelation is related are not included in it.

Therefore, there are some places in the Qurʾān where suddenly, after discourse on a theme, discourse on a different theme emerges, which seems new and unfamiliar. But in fact it is not so and only seems so because of the omission of the preliminaries of speech. Sometimes the given context (qarīnah ḥāliyyah) indicates the requirement of a speech and the speaker begins what he has to say without referring to it. If, then, the (actual) utterance of the speaker is written down without reference to that given situational context the signification of what he said, deriving from the situation-context, is not evident in his utterance and the need arises to search for it and determine it.

It is on these grounds that the doctors of Islam have given attention to the investigation of the occasion of revelation (shaʿan nuzūl) But this may be based only on weak testimony. [Here the author is generalizing overmuch.] Therefore, where need arises, the safer way is to look for the occasion of revelation as far as possible within the context of speech of the Qurʾān and its style, having consideration for the fundamentals which are stated in the Qurʾān.

THE FOURTEENTH PRINCIPLE

Whatever God has said in the glorious Qurʾān about the things that exist in the world and the created beings is either absolutely, or in some respect or other, in accordance with reality. It is not possible that what He declares be opposed to what He has created, or vice-versa. In some places we have called the speech of God: vūrd af Gād (i.e. 'word of God') and have called what He has created: Vūrk of Gād (i.e. 'work of God') and have said that agreement between the word and work of God is essential. If the word is not according to the work, then such word cannot be the word of God. [Here the author uses the transliterated English words.]

THE FIFTEENTH PRINCIPLE

We believe that the glorious Qurʾān in its actual words (bilughatihi) is the speech of God. But when it is sent down in Arabic and in human language, i.e. in language understood by men, its meanings will be

derived exactly as the meanings of (the speech of) an extremely eloquent speaker in Arabic. And just as men use trope, metaphor, allusions, similes, allegory, syllogistic argument, argumenta ad homines (dalīl iqnāʿī?), rhetorical argument, inductive argument and reductio ad absurdum (ilzāmī) in the same way we find these in the Qurʾān.

Besides we have to ponder on those verbal and procedural (ʿamalī) promises which God has laid down and have to look into that style of speech and manner of the use of words peculiar to the Qurʾān, and for which we have to seek the help of one verse to explain another.

In determining the meanings of any speech, whether of God or man, the ascertainment of the following things is necessary:

(1) We must know that the word whose meanings we have determined was coined to yield the same meanings.

(2) We must determine whether that word is used ¹ in the sense for which it was originally coined or not.

(3) If that word has more than one meaning, then we must determine in which of the alternative senses it is used. Pronouns with interchangeable references too belong to this category of words.

(4) It is necessary to determine whether the word is used in its original sense which hastens from it, or in a metaphorical sense.

(5) It is to be determined if there is something hidden (or implicit) in the speech.

(6) It is necessary to determine if there is any particularisation (takhṣīṣ) in the meanings which the word indicates.

(7) It is necessary to see if there is any rational contradiction of the meanings determined in the light of reason. If there is, then the meanings are not correct. And there is nothing new in this. In fact all the doctors of Islam have followed this (principle) on hundreds of occasions, for example in the matter of God's sitting on the throne, of His having hands and legs, and many other words of this kind whose original meanings have not been adopted, because the rational argument was opposed to them. So there is no reason why we should not adopt some meanings of the words other than those which are impossible in the light of rational argument or are opposed to that law of nature which God Himself has declared or are opposed to (our) experience.

There is no doubt that in the times of the Apostle of God the meaning of words was definite and current, and if we admit that the same meanings have been transmitted to us by succession, then the decision of only the first problem (of the above seven) is accomplished. But not the decision as to whether the word is not used in any other sense, and if it has more than one meaning, in which particular sense it is used, and whether it is used metaphorically and so on. Hence, so long as the seventh idea, which has been followed by the doctors

¹ This statement is vague: — We do not know whether the author means: "Whether in a text of the Qurʾān in question that word is used" or "...Whether in the language and literature other than Qurʾānic text in question."

of Islam in so many places is not followed, the meanings of no speech can be determined correctly whether the speech of a man, or of God.

In determining the meanings of the Qur'ān, we are confronted by one other difficulty, and that is, that very little of the speech of the Arabs of the Jāhiliyyah has come down to us, and there is no doubt that a very big part of it is lost and doctors of literature themselves admit this. So it is not possible to believe firmly that there were no meanings or metaphorical usages of words current in the times of Jāhiliyyah and the literature of the Prophet himself, other than the meanings and idiomatic and metaphorical usages registered by lexicographers and doctors of literature in lexical works.

No doubt we have no choice but to turn to the existing lexical and literary works when determining the meanings of the Qur'ān. But supposing it is firmly proved that a certain word in the Qur'ān is used in a way or in a sense not registered in lexical works or literature, we find no reason for hesitation in adopting that (usage or meaning). In so doing we shall not be treating the Qur'ān with anything more than that which is involved by our treatment of the speech of the Jāhiliyyah (i.e. in that we regard the speech of the Jāhiliyyah as an authority in these matters.) If we treat the Qur'ān as an authority in these matters it is just as well, for the criterion by which (the language in) the lexical and literary works stands (i.e. has claims to authenticity) is that they have adopted such and such meaning or idiom from the speech of the Jāhiliyyah.

(8) In determining the meanings of the Qur'ān another question also must be settled, namely, whether the speech upon which we found our argumentation is the real end of what is said (*kalām maqṣūd*) or just the means of the speech (*ghair maqṣūd*). For if it is the latter then argumentation cannot be based upon it. 'Not-end' speech (*kalām ghair maqṣūd*) is found in the Qur'ān in many places and in human speech too it occurs. And argument cannot be based upon it. For example God says: "Verily, those who say our signs are lies and are too big with pride for them, for these the doors of heaven shall not be opened and they shall not enter Paradise until a camel shall pass into a needle's eye." (Surah vii, 38.)

From this one cannot argue that at some time in the future a camel will pass through the hole of a needle, because this is not the intention of what is said. It is meant to express the impossibility of the entry of those people into Paradise who belied God's signs. Likewise one cannot argue upon this verse that heaven has doors, for these words are not said with that intent, but are intended to express the idea that they will be deprived of God's mercy. There are very many instances of 'not-meant' speech in the Qur'ān and no arguments can be built upon their literal meaning.

Involved in this is the large question of *Ta'wil*, which is adopting another meaning to make valid what a speaker says when the actual

meaning of the words does not fit. But I do not regard *Taʿwīl* in this sense as permissible in the Qurʾān. I hold that *Taʿwīl is Taʿwīl* when it is ascertained that the speaker intended such and such a particular meaning and finding this meaning unsound we adopt another meaning to render what is said valid. If the intended meaning of the speech is already that which in *Taʿwīl* we determine, then that is not *Taʿwīl*, but the demonstration of the real meanings intended by the speaker. For example, if someone says: "Zaid is a lion" and by the word 'lion' actually means that wellknown animal so called, then it is that (in this sense) the word is not applicable to Zaid, then contrary to what the speaker intended, if someone takes this word to mean 'brave', this, in reality, is *Taʿwīl*. But if the speaker himself meant 'brave' by the word 'lion', then understanding it as 'brave' is not *Taʿwīl*. Rather it is the exposition of the original meanings intended by the speaker. Similarly, when we accept a word of the Qurʾān not in its basic sense, but in its metaphorical sense we do not call it *Taʿwīl*, because according to our capability, we understand that God (Himself) has used this word in this very metaphorical sense.

In the exposition of the meanings of the Qurʾān the most common deception one falls into is where the stories of bygone prophets are narrated. The stories of bygone prophets have occurred in the writings of the Old Testament too, and Jewish doctors have written down the stories of prophets in lengthy books which contain lots of things far-removed from rationality and opposed to the law of nature. These stories were well-known and familiar to our scholars as well, and the wonders opposed to the law of nature which were described in them, they accepted as miracles. The same stories are narrated in the Qurʾān as well, and these narratives in the Qurʾān are (in many respects) similar to those narrated (in earlier scriptures)

But the words of the Qurʾān in these narratives are of a nature that no evidence is to be found (in them) of the irrational and unnatural things which were well-known as part of these stories. Early doctors of Islam did not pay attention to this aspect. On the contrary, they have tried to make the words of the Qurʾān exactly congruent with those stories, and there were many causes of their doing so:-

First, their minds were so taken in by the popular forms of these stories that they did not pay attention to the words of the Qurʾān.

Secondly, they had the easy method of attributing any fantastic thing, however contrary it might have been to the law of nature, to the Omnipotence of God, and therefore their minds never inclined towards pondering on the real significance of these words.

Thirdly, the Natural Sciences had not progressed and there was nothing to draw their attention to the law of nature and to make them aware of their mistakes.

For example in those times it was not yet established that the world-wideness of the Deluge (Ṭūfān-i-Nūh) and rising of water higher

than the peaks of the loftiest of mountains is an impossibility and contrary to actuality. Therefore, it never occurred to them that the (definite article) *al* in the word *al-arḍ* (= the earth) is not the *al* of exhaustiveness (*al* of *istighrāq*) but is the determinative *al* (*al* of *ʿahd*). In the account of Abraham there is no decisively evident text, proving that he was actually cast into fire. But they (i.e. scholars of early times) did not give thought to this matter.

Similarly there is no decisively evident text in the Qurʾān on the birth of Masīḥ (Jesus) establishing that He was born without a (natural) father.

Similarly in the story of Yūnus, (Jonah) in the Qurʾān there is no decisively evident text proving that a fish actually devoured him. The word: *ibtalaʿa* (swallow) is not used in the Qurʾān. Instead *iltaqama* is used which only means 'to hold in the mouth.' For when there is no word of emphasis with *iltaqama*, as in *iltaqama fa laqimahā*, *iltaqama* cannot mean *ibtalaʿa*. And supposing that *iltaqama*, even without the word of emphasis, does mean *ibtalaʿa*, the words *iltaqama* and *laqama* mean two things. One is quickness of eating and the other is hastening towards it. From neither of these is devouring proven. So they did not give thought to other meanings which were in agreement with the law of nature. In the verse: "And had it not been that he was of those who celebrated God's praises he would surely have tarried in the belly thereof to the day when men shall be raised," (Surah xxxvii, 143-144.) they did not pay any attention to the fact that the negation of ("he tarried in the belly") can be ascertained in two ways: first by bringing home that the fish never swallowed him and second by holding that if it did swallow him, he did not stay in the stomach... There are very many instances of this kind in the Qurʾān. We must keep ourselves governed by the words of the Qurʾān alone in our interpretations and not by the stories that are popular among Jews and Christians.

Shāh Walī Ullāh says: "The transmission of the stories of Banī Isrāʾīl has abundantly entered our religion in spite of the fact that the principle is: 'Do not accept the people of the Book as true-speaking and do not belie them.' Two things follow of necessity from this. One is that so long as the exposition of the Qurʾān is available in the Ḥadīth of the Prophet, the people of the Book should not be followed. For example, when the bearing of the verse: 'And we did try Solomon and threw upon his throne a form, then he turned repentant.' (Surah xxxviii, 33.) is found in the tradition of the Prophet (his being called to account for the omission of 'if God wills,' why should we engage in (an alternative view). [The author's meaning here is unclear].

Secondly, we should have regard to the principle that necessity itself is the measure of necessity and so determine the amount of exposition by the internal evidence of the Qurʾān itself and restrain our tongues in exposition." (*Al-Fauz al-Kabīr*. pp. 97-98.)

We are told that it is necessary to determine the meanings of the

Qur^{ān} as an illiterate man would understand, for the Bedouin and all the tribes were illiterate people. So the simple and straightforward way in which the Arabs of those times understood the apparent meanings of the words of the Qur^{ān}, should be adopted by us when explaining the meanings of the Qur^{ān}. We say that we do precisely the same for we accept the same meanings of words which the Arabs of the Jāhiliyyah did. Lexical and grammatical works which we consult for help are founded on the speech of Jāhiliyyah. The existing (or present) literature of the Arabic language is based on the speech of the Bedouins and Arabs. But then the question arises: What happens when we ponder on the Qur^{ān} with regards to sciences which were utterly unknown to the Arabs? The answer is: We do not put forth anything new even in that case (i.e. when we explain these sciences from the words of the Qur^{ān}). Rather in (complete) accordance with the language of the Arabs itself we turn to those meanings of the words of the Qur^{ān} which do not seem sound and correct to us in the light of the progress of sciences.

For example the Arabs called that upon which they lived *ard* (earth) and the bluish dome-like thing which was above them they called *samā*² (sky), and they were completely ignorant of the problems relating to these two things in sciences. And yet that result of guidance, spiritual teaching and (belief in) the unity and power of the Creating Essence, which was intended by the Qur^{ān}, was gained by them. But when the words of the Qur^{ān} are discussed with regard to (modern) sciences, they ask us: "Why do you disregard those meanings of the Qur^{ān} which are according to the language of the Arabs and to those literary discussions?, and why are meanings not adduced according to the law of nature which God Himself has declared (as understood) in accordance with the (spoken?) language of the Arabs?"

We consider it as the greatest miracle of the Qur^{ān} that it is sent down in a style of speech which may be understood by the illiterate and the learned, the ignorant and the philosopher, whichever way they may (understand), simple or philosophical, and yet in the end all these men get united (متحد، هوجاق هيبى). There is no speech other than the Qur^{ān} which makes the ignorant and utterly illiterate men arrive at the same results to which it may bring a learned philosopher. Everyone arrives at a goal (intended station) by benefiting from it according to one's knowledge and capability (or equipment).

It is said to us sarcastically (or tauntingly): "When the Greek wisdom, astronomy and philosophy spread among Muslims, then considered in agreement with actual reality, the doctors of Islam (علمائى اسلام) confirmed these portions of the Qur^{ān} which seemed in agreement with those sciences, and tried to work out corroboration of those portions (of the Qur^{ān}) which seemed opposed to these sciences. Today when it is known that those sciences were founded on wrong first-

principles, that their astronomy was absolutely opposed to reality, and when natural sciences have made more progress, you contradict those meanings which earlier doctors determined according to Greek sciences and adopt other meanings which agree with the sciences of the present day. It will be no wonder if in the future these sciences advance further and the things which today appear fully ascertained may be proven wrong. Then need will arise of establishing other meanings of the words of the Qur^ʿān and so on. So the Qur^ʿān will be a toy in the hands of people."

We receive this taunt as glad tidings for it is our conviction that the Qur^ʿān is in accordance with the reality of affairs. For it is the vurd āf Gād (word of God) and is perfectly in agreement with the vurd āf Gād (work of God). But the great miracle in it is that at every level of knowledge of ours, it guides uniformly and effectively in matters for which it (the Qur^ʿān) is sent down. Its words have come down in a miraculous manner so that as the sciences continue to advance and as we ponder over it with regard to these advanced sciences, it will become known that its words are in agreement with reality in the light of these (newer sciences too), and it will be proved to us that the meanings we determined earlier, and which were proved wrong now, were a fault of our knowledge, and not of the words of the Qur^ʿān. Hence if in the future, sciences advance to a point where the things ascertained today are disproved, then we shall turn to the Qur^ʿān again and will certainly find it in agreement with reality. It will become known to us that the meanings we had determined earlier were a shortcoming of our knowledge, and that the Qur^ʿān was free of all short-comings.

For example, suppose we had understood from the Qur^ʿān that the sun revolves around the earth to cause the sunrise and the sunset. Now it becomes known that the sun is stationary, and the earth revolves around the sun. We ponder the Qur^ʿān and it becomes apparent that the revolving of the sun is not stated in the Qur^ʿān as an actuality. Rather it is stated in terms of what men understand or see. So regarded, the statement is true. Hence, when we understood it as in accordance with actual reality it was our mistake, not that of the Qur^ʿān. What we mean is that, due to the advancement of sciences, our turning away from the ideas which we had determined regarding the Qur^ʿān and finding the Qur^ʿān is in accordance with the ideas which we had recourse to after the advancement of sciences, establish the shortcoming of our previous knowledge. They are a proof of the perfection of the Qur^ʿān. Certainly it is no good reason for shooting any sarcasm at us.

Such discussions relate only to those things which have connection with sciences and physics. As for the affairs which relate to spiritual teachings they stand (as true) at all times and in all circumstances.

They have neither been nor will be subjected to change, nor will the need of change in them arise. What is said in the noble verse:

“To-day is perfected for you your religion, and fulfilled upon you is my favour, and I am pleased for you to have Islam for a religion...” (Surah v, 5.) is a balanced evidence to that effect.

Now we close the discourse saying that these are a few of the principles upon which we have based the *Tafsīr* of the Qurʾān and we shall offer an exposition of all the principles another time, if God, the Exalted, wills.

The foregoing fifteen Principles of Exegesis translated from Sayyid Aḥmad's *Tahrīr* (see the earlier section in *The Muslim World* of April last, Vol. xlvī, 2, pp. 104-112) are prefaced in pages 1-18 of the Urdu original by an illuminating exchange of letters between Sayyid Aḥmad and his friend “Muḥsin al-Mulk.” Reasons of space make it impossible to reproduce the full translation of this intriguing epistolary debate, but the main points of each writer are here summarized as an appendage to the translation of the Principles. It should be emphasized that the whole translation is offered as being subject to further revision where ambiguity remains to be clarified. There is little doubt, however, as to the main import of Aḥmad Khān's work and his effort to discover paths of reconciliation between the Quranic meanings and the science of the new age.

Sayyid Aḥmad describes in the first letter how he became concerned after the Mutiny for the reform of his community, which he saw to be impossible apart from their education in the modern sciences and the English language. Despairing of existing commentaries with their pre-occupation on trivia, he “deliberated on the Qurʾān itself and tried to understand from the Qurʾān itself the principles on which its composition is based...I found that if the principles yielded by the Qurʾān itself were adopted there remained no opposition between the modern sciences and Islam.”

“Muḥsin al-Mulk” made himself the spokesman of misgivings about Aḥmad Khān's approach, which he communicated to him in a long letter, upbraiding him for dismissing Jewish (Biblical?) sources of interpretation and following the ways of religionless (European) people. He suggested that the exposition did not please the speaker i.e. God. Aḥmad Khan, in reply, asked where “Muḥsin al Mulk” found this assurance that the principles displeased God. Perhaps he was in toils of the very *taqlīd*, or traditionalism, he professed to agree in deploring. He warned him of testing truth by the repute of people rather than the repute of people by the truth. If a godly man insists that two and two are five, he is wrong. If a religionless person avers that two and two are four he is right, irreligious or not. The reply ends with a brief summary of some of the foregoing principles of *Tafsīr*. “Muḥsin al Mulk” received the answer in good part assuring Aḥmad Khan that:

“Although in your opinion I am stuck in the marsh of adherence to ancestral beliefs, please be sure that I am ready to struggle out of it, provided you prove to me that I am really stuck in a marsh of this kind and that, having struggled out of it, there are no risks of falling into a deep and dark cave full of fire, to which I certainly prefer remaining stuck in a marsh.”

To this task of persuasion Aḥmad Khān addressed himself with spirit and confidence. It was a large task. For “Muḥsin al Mulk” reproached him for casting away the great traditions of Islamic exegesis and pointed out that the view he had of his opponents as hide-bound was an easy gibe. Moreover, many ‘naturalists’ such as those to whom Aḥmad Khān appealed, had abandoned religion altogether. Not one of the fundamental principles of religion was really conformable to the law of nature. To the query whether he, “Muḥsin al-Mulk” had received some revelation from God by which he could authoritatively devalidate the Sayyid’s commentary, the former wrote:

“But you certainly have, in some places, told such meanings of the Qurʾān as can neither be adduced from the actual words, nor accord with the idiom of the Arabs, nor agree with the context of Quranic discourse. Nay! On the contrary, they are opposed to the aim of Islam, the object of the Qurʾān and the real intent of the guidance of the Prophet. So there was no necessity of a revelation coming to me for such an evident and manifest thing and it was not unfair to give the remark... “that which does not please the speaker...” Now if you ask for the proof of it, that I shall provide thoroughly after citing some passages from your *Tafsīr*.”

“However, please do not think that I am unaware of that exigency which compelled you to write the *Tafsīr*, or that I am incognisant of that battle of religion and Knowledge (science) which is being waged so violently in these times, or that I minimise the attack of Knowledge which it is making on religion by new methods and with newly invented weapons, or that I consider the existing books we possess as sufficient to meet the needs of these times, or that I am an opponent of new ideas and modes of thought”. (p. 12.)

He reproached Aḥmad Khan, further, for propounding a view of the Qurʾān which neither God, nor Gabriel, nor Muḥammad, nor his Companions, nor his people, nor ordinary Muslim folk, accepted. “You considered miracles and supernatural phenomena as impossible and categorized as myths of the people of the Book the fatherless birth of the Lord Jesus Christ, the events of His childhood and his revivication from the dead.” The science of the day really leads to the notion that the work of God, the word of God, even God Himself, are all idle fiction. The reply of Sayyid Aḥmad may perhaps be quoted here in full, for its flavor and vigor are worth preserving and it may serve

as an index to the whole correspondence here baldly summarized. It is addressed to 'Mahdi,' for "Muḥsin al-Mulk" was doubtless an honorific title, not a name. With this letter (belonging like its predecessors to the autumn of 1892) the preface to the *Tafsīr* ends.

My honoured friend Mahdī,

I received your very long letter which was extremely interesting, eloquent, powerful, and charming, and full of the power of faith and tempered with godly nature. The excellence of style and eloquence which are accepted as your speciality are found in all your writings whether it be a writing addressed to me, or a lecture on the propagation of Islam or on another subject. But pardon me, I must say that the only slight lack is in the depth of insight. And in my opinion this is thy case.

The fact is: I myself want that there be a friend and a man of understanding who may give attention to my *Tafsīr* and make me aware of its errors. And perhaps you are (already) sure that nothing can give me greater happiness than that this awareness should come to me from you. But the manner in which you have written this letter, or might write about any discourse in the *Tafsīr* in the future, can not be of any benefit, because the state in which I believe you are will incline me to think that (you) have not given fully intent thought and have not understood the real matter.

Derivatives are always derived from fundamentals, and therefore discussion on derivatives is not useful unless the fundamental from which that derivative is derived is determined as right or wrong. If that fundamental is determined as correct, then it is necessary that derivatives be governed by it; and the correctness of the fundamental alone will be the decisive evidence of the correctness of that thing which has been established as a derivative of that fundamental.

The difficulty is that it is not decided between us what the Principles of *Tafsīr* are, or what they should be. When these Principles are fixed, discussion on a particular verse (of the Qur^{ān}) is possible. Without all this, it is ineffective to say that this *Tafsīr* is according neither to the idiom of the Arabs, nor the context of Quranic discourse and that in fact it is opposed to the purpose of Islam and the intents of the Qur^{ān} and the real object of the guidance brought by the Prophet. It is no use saying such absurd things.

It is my desire to exchange letters with you exclusively on the subject of *Tafsīr* and that they be collected as a pamphlet entitled:-

"The Correspondence of friends concerning the Principles of Quranic Exegesis and Sciences of the Qur^{ān}."

The correspondence may commence thus: I should send you each Principle of *Tafsīr* at intervals. If a Principle is sound in your opinion, you may write on it that this Principle is sound. Then that will be an accepted principle between us, whether we have adopted it as part of the creed of our fathers or through exerting our own discernment.

And a Principle which you consider as wrong, you may repudiate. After exchanging letters about it, there will follow one of the three positions regarding it: (1) Either you will accept it, in which case it will become a Principle accepted by the two parties; (2) or I shall accept your repudiation of it, in which case no derivation of the meanings of the Qurʾān will be based on it; (3) or the difference of opinion between us will continue, in which case that Principle will not be an argument to be brought before you.

When these Principles are thus decided, I shall permit you then to write on whatever portion of my *Tafsīr* you might consider wrong. But so long as Principles are not agreed upon in the manner I have described, objections and writings and questions and answers seem simply futile, and this is waste of precious time. If a pamphlet on the ascertainment of the Principles of *Tafsīr* is compiled this way by collecting my letters and yours, no doubt it will be extremely useful and profitable. So if you accept my proposals, I may begin to send these Principles to you from time to time. Whatever writing is to be done on the *Tafsīr* (itself) may come after this (initial correspondence).

Towards the end of the letter you have written that you will show that in the light of modern ideas there is neither God, nor *vurk āf Gād* (work of God); and that in fact man is but an advanced monkey who will perish. All these subjects have nothing to do with the discussion of the *Tafsīr*. When you discuss the soundness or the unsoundness of the *Tafsīr*, belief in the Qurʾān is necessary, and having believed it, the discussion remains confined to the soundness or unsoundness of (a given) meaning of it. So this letter (of yours) is outside the limits within which you wrote your first letter which I answered. And when there is such overstepping of the real subject of discourse, writings about it seem vain.

Peace be upon you.

From Allāhābād
8th October, 1892.

Yours humbly,
Sayyid Aḥmad.

I did not get any answer to the above letter because of my correspondent's being too busy. I had intended to write the Preface to the *Tafsīr* after completing the *Tafsīr* and finishing a thorough study of the Qurʾān and to state in it all those Principles which I have adopted in the composition of the *Tafsīr*. But as a long time was needed for that, I thought I might write the more primary Principles I have adopted in the Composition of the *Tafsīr* and leave (the statement of) the remaining *uṣūl* until I complete the *Tafsīr* and if it be God's pleasure that I write them. So here are a few primary principles on which my *Tafsīr* is based, and which have been written in the form of a pamphlet; and therefore I have called the pamphlet: *A Writing on the Principles of Tafsīr*. Now I start on these Principles.

Faculty of Languages, History and
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Translation:

MUḤAMMAD DAUD RAHBAR.

SOME NOTES ON AFRICANS IN MUSLIM HISTORY

In the matter of inter-racial and inter-cultural relations, Islam enjoys a reputation which, whether justified or not, today stands as a major asset in its position in the world. In view of these circumstances, it is interesting to study the receptivity of Muslim societies to individuals of African descent and culture and the place of these immigrants in their new communities. Here are some notes on relevant cases mentioned in general Muslim history. ¹

ARABIA BEFORE AND AFTER THE HIJRAH.

Modern Ethiopia, as is well known, originated as a Himyarite colony, circa 115 B.C. Trade relations, including the slave trade, developed early not only between these two countries but also between Ḥaḍramaut and East Africa, described in the Greek Periplus, as traditionally controlled by whoever ruler reigned supreme in southern Arabia. ² These early contacts resulted in the presence of Africans all over the peninsula. The Quraish, in particular, had black guards (*aḥābīsh*) to protect their houses and caravans, ³ a practice which today stands as one of the oldest existing institutions in the world. Some slaves had their military and intellectual talents duly recognized. Among them, ʿAntarah ibn Shaddād (c. 525-615 A.D.) is best known, but in his days, Thābit ibn Jābir al-Fahmī's fame as a poet equalled that of ʿAntarah, and the surname of Shanbara (the man with thick lips) borne by a third poet seems to indicate the same African origins. ⁴

The Ethiopian occupations of the Yaman, in 340-378 A.D., and in 525-575, confirmed the position of this country as a bridge between the two continents, and as they built up Ṣanʿā as a place of pilgrimage, rival to that of Mecca, their African brand of the Christian religion is likely to have been the one best known to the Prophet Muḥammad. Such influence, coupled with the experience of the ninety-four early Muslim families, who turned to Ethiopia for refuge at the time of the Quraishī persecution, in 615, is reflected in the Ethiopic origin of important words of the Islamic creed and ritual listed by Hitti.

The Prophet himself, though often fighting the black guard of the Quraish, displayed a definite interest in Ethiopians, and contacted a brother of the Negus, in the hope of converting his nation, which

¹ P. K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs*, general basic source: Arabic sources were consulted in the editions available at the New York Public Library. For a brief comparison with other cultures, see my "Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire des Peuples africains et afro-américains", *Zaire*, Brussels, July 1953, pp. 687-706, and December 1953, pp. 1027-1051.

² Schoff, W. H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, London, 1912.

³ Lammens, H., *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut, 1928.

⁴ Huart, C., *Littérature arabe*, Paris, 1931, basic source for literature.

ever since has stood as a major thorn in the flesh of the Muslim body. When he decided that the human voice, rather than bells and gongs, would call the faithful to prayer, Bilāl, a black man from Medina, whose tomb still stands at Damascus, became the first muezzin. This recognition of the beauty of African voices has a literary counterpart in the poems of Al-A^ḥsha on his black slave-maid Huraya, and reminds of the contemporary success of American Negro singers.

MECCA AND THE ḤAJJ ⁵

The Ḥajj of itself constitutes a powerful agency of interracial and cross-cultural contact. ⁶ It added to the importance of the black guard of the sharīfs, which was resented by the Turks who protected the caravans from Iraq, so that the pilgrimage often degenerated into a fight between the two forces. In 1185, Saladin, who had already massacred the black troops in Cairo, ordered the execution of their leaders in Mecca, but the rulers of the Holy City soon regained their independence, and reorganized their black bodyguard. The most famous warrior among them came to power in 1241. Named Abū Sa^ʿd al Ḥassān ibn ʿAlī ibn Qitada, he was the son of an Ethiopian mother, who told him on the eve of his first fight: "Behave yourself, my boy. If you prove to be courageous people will say, 'Look at this descendant of the Prophet'. If you are not they will say that it is because his mother is a slave." Abū Sa^ʿd's son, Muḥammad Abū Nomai I, ruled Mecca with unusual distinction during most years from 1255 through 1301.

African pilgrims in the Middle Ages usually called at Cairo. In 1325, Mansa Musa, the emperor of Mali (Mandingo) traveled that way with a retinue of 15,000, spending so much money that it upset the price system in both Cairo and Mecca. He was followed, in 1495, by Askia Muḥammad, the emperor of Songhai, who had only 800 persons with him but who left lasting trace of his visit by opening a home for Sudanese pilgrims. At that time, unfortunately, the Osmanlis were about to bring an end to the medieval era in the story of Mecca.

UMAYYADS AND ʿABBĀSIDS

Under the Umayyads, the East was conquered mostly with the help of Asiatic troops, but in Africa and in Spain, the Nubians, or Sudanese, became conspicuous for their numbers, courage, and loyal behavior. In Damascus, the caliphs patronized the arts, and an Ethiopian from Mecca, Sa^ʿīd ibn Misjah (died c. 714) formulated the rules of Arabic music, according to Asiatic rather than to African traditions. Another popular figure of these days was Ma^ʿbad, a travelling musician, and a mulatto from Medina.

⁵ De Gaury, G., *Rulers of Mecca*, New York, n.d.

⁶ Appraised in Rathjens, C., *Die Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka*, Hamburg, 1948.

The ʿAbbasids carried an extensive trade in Zanj slaves, from East Africa, who became a conspicuous feature in the town of Basra, and all over Lower Iraq. This development was almost fatal to the dynasty, as in 869, the Zanj working in the saltpetre mines revolted at the call of ʿAlī ibn-Muḥammad. An interesting aspect of their revolt, was that it revealed how the Zanj had been won over to Khārijite doctrine, so that the question of African participation in early Muslim sectarianism arises. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868), a noted Muʿtazilite leader of partly Nubian descent, wrote a laudatory essay on the African race entitled *Fahr al Sūdān ʿalā al-Bidan*.⁷

At the same time, African good humor helped to relieve the austerity of ʿAbbasid society. Al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 789), of Yamanite Negro and Khārijī descent, was a drunkard but after his conversion to the Shīʿah, he certainly became the most distinguished poet of that sect. Abū Dulāmah (d. 780), a black poet and court jester, contributed significantly to the Arabian Nights, and Maḥbūbah, a black poetess from Basra, entered the harem of Al-Mutawakkil, becoming a legendary figure on account of her faithfulness to his memory, which angered Al-Muntaṣir, his successor and son by Al-Khayzurān, of mixed Greek and Ethiopian descent.

Popular Arabic literature looked at Africans with sympathy, sometimes respect, taking its lead from the Qurʾān itself, which describes Luqmān (Aesopus?) as the wisest of all men. ʿAntarah became the hero of an epos so well known in the West that it needs no further comment. Another epos, popular in Egypt, celebrates Abū Zaid, who is described as the son of a princess, rejected by his father on account of his negroid appearance, who became the hero of the Zaḥlān Arab tribe. At a more sophisticated level, an opposite trend is represented by Al-Mutanabbī (905-965), who sought the favors of Kāfūr, the black king of Egypt and who, being disappointed, wrote insulting verse that made him a paragon of racial prejudice.⁸ The same state of mind may have been that of Al-Namī al-Missīsī (d. circa 1000), Al-Mutanabbī's successor as court poet in Aleppo, who is known for a piece where he said, "A black wife from Africa will not stay long in a house where the second wife is a white woman." Another devastating little work later on was written by Ibn-Ḥubaira (d. 1165), seeking the dismissal of Masʿūd al-Bilālī, a black police commissioner in Baghdad.

SECTARIANISM

Persian influence usually is mentioned as the reason why the city of Basra was a hotbed of sectarianism, and this certainly applies to the Shīʿah, in spite of the case of Al-Ḥimyarī, but the Zanj (East

⁷ Pellat, C., *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ghazi*, Paris, 1953.

⁸ Blachère, R., *Un poète arabe du IV^e siècle de l'Hégire (Xe siècle de J. C.), About -Tayyib al-Motanebbi*, Paris, 1935.

African) community in town should not be dismissed when it comes to other sects. In direct line of succession from the Khārijites and opposing the Shī'ah as well as orthodoxy, the Qarmaṭians, or "Bolsheviks of Islam", all through the 9th century ran an independent state in Al-Ḥasa, where the population was overwhelmingly Negro. Today, Khārijism survives in ʿUmān, which always had close African connections, and in some parts of Africa (Algeria, Libya, Zanzibar).

But the movements which attracted the greatest numbers of adherents of African descent were of a less violent nature. The whole concept of Muslim sainthood reminds of Africa, to say the least, as much as of Christian hagiology. Rābi'ah al-ʿAdawiyah (d. 801), the "saint par excellence", was a Basra slave-woman of undetermined origins⁹, in close touch with the Nubian Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. Ghizah, 860). Dhū al-Nūn is regarded as the originator of the Ṣūfī order, and he was responsible for the formulation of the doctrine of ecstasy (*wajd*) as the only way to the knowledge of God, a doctrine in accordance with African tribal philosophy. The cult of saints and the propensity to join into fraternal orders, both characteristic of Sufism, met with particular success in North and West Africa.

SCHOLARSHIP

It may be no sheer coincidence that North and West Africa were eventually won over to the law of Mālik ibn-Anas, which is founded on the *ijmāʿ* of Medina. The Mālikite School has an extraordinary power of assimilation of exotic concepts, such as the tribal African dowry, paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family.¹⁰ Authorities from Timbuctoo and from other places in inner Africa have been frequently cited in North African judgments and Abū ʿAlī Aberkan, "the Black", was qāḍī at Tlemcen, Algeria, where he died in 1453.¹¹

In Cairo, according to Al-Maqrīzī, the black emperor of Kanem-Bornu opened, in 1242 or 1243, the Ibn-Rāshīq medersa for students from his country. The West African scholars, on their way to Mecca, were welcomed by such great scholars as Al-Suyūṭī and Muḥammad al-Bakrī, a noted Cairo Ṣūfī, completed the initiation of Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar, a scion of the most scholarly family in Timbuctoo, in 1549. Scholars from Ethiopia also were frequent visitors and occasionally residents in Egypt. Let us mention Shaikh Yāqūt, who died in Alexandria, aged 80, in the early 14th century. The interest in the subject was such that Abū-Ḥayyān (1256-1344) wrote a treatise on the Ethiopic language.

⁹ Smith, M., *Rabi'a the mystic*, Cambridge, 1928.

¹⁰ Phillips, A., *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, London, 1953, pp. 232 sq.

¹¹ Ben Cheneb, M., "Etude sur les Personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjaza du Cheikh Abd El Qādir El Fāsi", *XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1907.

EGYPT

A big surprise brought to Cyrus, the patriarch of Alexandria; by the Arab conquest of Egypt, was that he had to negotiate peace with a black ambassador, ʿUbādah ibn-al-Sāmit. The Sudanese fought with distinction everywhere in the Western Muslim world, and all the early Muslim dynasties of Egypt maintained black regiments, for which the Ṭūlūnids, starting in 868, built a suburb situated west of the citadel of modern Cairo.¹² This, though applying to people of other origins, in accordance to Oriental usage, was no unmixed blessing, as it helped malcontents to single out the ever loyal blacks as the bulwark of any ruler they wanted to overthrow. In 905, the Sudanese sacrificed themselves to the point of almost complete destruction, in fighting the army sent by the ʿAbbāsids to occupy the Egyptian capital.

The Baghdad Caliphs were not allowed to enjoy their conquest for a long time, as Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijāz became a kingdom run by the Turkish Ikhshīdīd dynasty. The fourth ruler of this dynasty was an adopted son, the black eunuch Abū al-Misk Kāfūr (died 968), who was given the throne after twenty years of distinguished service as vizir. Kāfūr was a prominent figure in the history of Egypt, well noted as a patron of arts and sciences. He was the first to build a palace on the site of modern Cairo, where his memory is preserved in the Kāfūr's Gardens.

More black troops came from Tunisia with the Fāṭimids, the heretical Caliphs who founded modern Cairo, in 969. They alone remained loyal to Al-Ḥākim, when he claimed to be God himself, in 1018, and on his order performed massacres which were stopped by the rival Turkish and Berber troops. The climax of Sudanese influence in the capital of Egypt coincided with the zenith of her splendor at the time of Al-Mustaṣṣir (1035-1094), the son of a black mother, who advised him all through the first years of his reign, the longest in Muslim history. He was the wealthiest ruler of his time and lived in unequalled glory, his Sudanese corps alone numbering 30,000 men. However, the Turks succeeded in gaining momentary control over his army, and they expelled the blacks, who retreated to Upper Egypt, stopping the fallāḥīn in their work, so that Cairo was threatened with famine until all sections of the army were put under control again, in 1074.

The end of the Sudanese corps, and of the first epoch in the history of Muslim Egypt, came in 1169, when they sacrificed themselves again for the dynasty, whose rule was terminated by Saladin.

NORTH AFRICA, SPAIN, AND SICILY

In the Maghrib also, the black troops remained conspicuous for their loyalty, as exemplified in their stand in Spain behind such a ruler as Al-Ḥakam I (796-822).

¹² Lane-Poole, S., *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1902.

They were also numerous in Sicily, where Ibn Ḥawqal complained that they alternately begged and fought for their living. Though the origins of Al-Idrīsī (died 1156), who was born in Ceuta, are obscure, his geography certainly shows how keen the interest and how close the contacts were between Sicily and Negro Africa. After the loss of the island, the Ḥafṣid dynasty of Tunisia (1228-1534) maintained a black guard and carried a regular trade with Bornu, in Central Sudan.¹³

Morocco sought from across the Sahara the strength needed to maintain independence from the Caliphs.¹⁴ The Almoravides went as far south as Senegal to build such power, and they conquered both Morocco and Spain with the help of so many Sudanese soldiers that three thousand of them could die in one single battle. After them, Arab and European help became the fashion, but trade was still carried with the Sudan, especially in Mansa Mūsā's times, as emperor of Mali.

The Maghribī travellers who gave us the only existing accounts of medieval Sudan were not exempt from religious and cultural prejudices, but Al-Bakrī (d. 1094) praised the wise government of Ghana, and Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (1304-1377) said the same of Mali. The latter, who was extremely sensitive when it came to the faith, displayed rather unusual comprehension of the Sudanese, in spite of the scanty attire of their women, and of their habit of eating prohibited food.

IRAN AND INDIA

In ancient times, Negroid populations of unknown origins already existed in Mukran, on the borders of modern Persia and of Baluchistan, and they seem to have supplied the black regiments mentioned by Herodotus in the army of Xerxes.¹⁵ In the course of the 9th century A.D., Persian residents certainly were numerous in East Africa, as witnessed by the ruins of such cities as Gedi, and two mulatto princes from Shiraz are recorded as the originators of the East African kingdoms of Mombasa and of Qiloa.¹⁶

Leaving Iran for the Muslim conquest of India, black troops distinguished themselves in many ways.¹⁷ Sultan Razīya (1236-1240), the only woman-ruler of Delhi, bestowed exceptional honors upon her Ethiopian master-of-the-horse. The only raid that brought the Muslim standards down to the southernmost tip of India, in 1306, was led by Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr, a eunuch from Cambay, Gujarat, a city noted for its numerous African population. In 1402, Ibrāhīm Shāh, apparently a mulatto (*muwallad*) received the kingdom of Jaunpur-Oudhe, and became a patron of arts and sciences. Black troops, however, were not

¹³ Ibn-Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, Tr. de Slane, Algiers, 1852, Vol. II, p. 109.

¹⁴ Coissac de Chavrebiere, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris, 1931, basic source for Morocco.

¹⁵ Huart, C., *La Perse antique et la civilisation iranienne*, Paris, 1925, p. 74.

¹⁶ Coupland, H., *East Africa and its Invaders*, London, 1938.

¹⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, basic for India.

popular in Northern India, and many of them were massacred together with Deccanis in Delhi, in 1446. A last and brilliant chapter in their story was written in Bengal, where one of them, Nāṣir, or Ḥabash Khān, ran the country under a weak dynasty until his murder, in 1489. After him, another African, Sīdī Badr, was proclaimed king under the name of Shams-al-Dīn Naṣr. The *Ḥabashī* (Ethiopian) dynasty ended with Muẓaffar Shāh (1490-1493), a cruel but efficient king, and the black troops eventually left Bengal for Deccan or Gujarat.

In Deccan, the dark color of the native residents made Africans less evident. They played a conspicuous role in upholding the orthodox Sunnī faith against the Persians and other Shīʿites.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman period in Islamic history usually meant the rule of white mamelukes and janissaries, but in Constantinople, about two hundred black eunuchs were put in charge of the sultan's harem.¹⁸ Their head, styled *Kızlar Ağhasi* (General of the Women) was one of the top officers of the empire, responsible for the education of the princes and drawing a fortune from the administration of the waqfs of the Holy Cities. Under Aḥmed I (1604-1617) he was the true ruler of the state.

There always were Negroes all over the empire, more numerous in Egypt and in Tripolitania, but everywhere present. Of great significance in the former country was the work of ʿAbd āl-Raḥmān al-Jabartī al-ʿAqīlī (1756-1825), of Somalī origin, who kept a diary of the days of the French occupation and of the rise to power of Muḥammad ʿAlī, and whose son was assassinated, apparently with the Pasha's connivance. In Syria, circa 1850, Shaikh Saʿd met so many Negroes that he was able to recruit from among them all the colonists for the village which still bears his name in Ḥauran.¹⁹ In Tunisia, before the French conquest, the bey was in the habit of taking black women into his harem for a few years, before setting them free, to be absorbed in the general population.²⁰

MODERN ARABIA AND INDIA

In the distant Ḥijāz, the sharīfs maintained their black guard, letting the janissaries take care of the sultan's representative. Imperial supervision was erratic and clumsy. In 1640, Bashīr Agā, a black eunuch, was trusted with the mission of strengthening imperial control over Mecca but, on his arrival in the Holy City, was greeted with the news,

¹⁸ Lybyer, A. H., *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass., 1913.

¹⁹ Abel, A., "Note sur la géographie humaine du Hauran", *Bulletin de la Société royale belge d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire*, LXIII (1952), 11-22.

²⁰ Hesse-Warteg, C. de, *Tunis, the Land and the People*, New York, n.d.

unknown to him, of his master's death. In 1670, Sharīf Saʿd let his black men fire on the Turks, killing 200 persons, and wounding 700. He escaped with nothing worse than exile in the Balkans thanks to his personal relations with the Kızlar Aghasi. Backed by his guard, the sharīf often was quite outspoken in his criticisms of imperial policy. In 1700, Sharīf Saʿīd contrasted the sultan's European mother and alliances unfavorably with the more orthodox inter-racial lineage and policy of the ruler of Morocco, and in 1779, Sharīf Sarūr actually married a daughter of the latter sovereign.

All 19th century travellers in Arabia have noted the Negroid appearance of many residents, including among them ʿAbd-al Muṭṭalib ibn-Ghālib, who was ruler of Mecca from 1840 through 1881. In the 1870's, C. M. Doughty met Negroes in all towns of both the Ḥijāz and Najd.²¹ At Khaybar, in the Ḥijāz, they were the whole population and the Ottoman "Kurdish" captain was the son of a black mother. Some residents had fled the town on the recent arrival of a Turkish garrison, and they had founded another all-Negro center at Al-Ḥayat, Najd. At Hayil, a prince son of a Galla mother was most influential, and in the Holy Cities, residents of Galla descent were so numerous that their language, locally known as *ḥabashī*, was spoken from house to house. As they had done well, they were not free of prejudice against the less fortunate slaves from other African tribes.

A new situation was created in India by the Portuguese discoveries and in an attempt to stop them, the Ottoman sultan sent from Egypt a fleet commanded by the black admiral Nāṣir, who fought the Christians valiantly in 1536, and later settled in Gujarat, where he received the title of Ḥabash Khān. Cambay, the main port of Gujarat, had been trading with East Africa for centuries and now was full of residents of African descent.

Another new factor in Indian life was the Mughal invasion, which was effectively stopped for many years at Ahmednagar, where Queen Chand Bibi (1586-1599) had united all races in the fight for independence. An African, Malik Anbar, became chief minister of Ahmednagar and succeeded in stemming the Mughal tide until as late as 1625.

South of Bombay, Janjira Island, 325 square miles in size, had been occupied since the 15th century by Africans known as *Sidis*. They recognized the authority of Bijapur, in 1636, and of the Mughals, in 1670, because they could not stand alone against the challenge of the growing Mahratte power. Aurangzīb conferred upon their head the hereditary title of grand admiral, and entrusted them with the task of defending the coast of his empire. In 1661, the same ruler received an embassy from Ethiopia, and slaves from that country were bought by several of his successors. Janjira survived until the political reorganization of India, in 1948. Jafarabad, a smaller African

²¹ Doughty, C. M., *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London, 1888.

state in Gujarat, 42 square miles in size, still exists today as a member of the Sharaustra Union.

Another form of African presence in India was the guard maintained by the Nizām of Hyderabad, and supplied by the Sultan of Mukallah, in Hadramaut, from his own black troops.²² They made an appearance in New Delhi, in 1950, performing African dances on the occasion of India Independence Day.

MODERN MOROCCO

The Prophet's descendants who took power in Morocco in 1511 sought from inner Africa the power needed to stem the tide of the Ottoman Empire. In 1591, Mulay Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Daḥbī (1578-1603) effected the conquest of the western Sudan and, on this occasion, Aḥmad Baba (1556-1626), the greatest scholar in Timbuctoo, was brought to teach law in Marrakesh. The sultan himself had Sudanese wives, one of whom, Lalla Djuhar, became the mother of Muḥammad al-Shaiḫ (1603) and of Mulay ʿAbdallāh Abū-Fāris (1603-1609) and, through the former, the grandmother of Mulay ʿAbdallāh (1609-1624).

But the true founder of modern Morocco was Mulay Ismāʿīl, (1672-1727), who reorganized the imperial government, putting the Berbers under the control of black power.²³ From his camp at Makar al-Khinak, he is said to have recruited a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers of Sudanese origin. This was resented by the Berbers but one of their leaders found nothing better to do than, going south, to recruit three thousand Bambara men who, after his defeat, were added to the imperial army. Mulay Ismāʿīl also maintained a corps of twelve hundred black eunuchs, headed by Ibn Murjān al-Kabīr.

Between 1727 and 1757, Morocco was regarded as run by the black guardmen, (sing. ʿabīd) which could hardly be a healthy situation, but order was restored and, at the end of the century, a visitor praised the local mulattoes for their industriousness, listing them as an asset to the empire.²⁴ From the point of view of religion, they seem to have contributed to the *jinn*-cult, by adding to their accepted list spirits of Sudanese origin, and the *Gnarwa* fraternity of jinn-worshippers, consisting mostly of Negroes, became a conspicuous feature of Moroccan life, while the Sus province acquired fame for magical practices and exorcisms. Though less obvious than in Morocco, influences from inner Africa also may account for the ceremonies observed in both Egypt and Mecca in relation to the belief in the *zar* spirits, a name of Ethiopian origin.²⁵

South Orange, New Jersey

J. COMHAIRE.

²² Stark, F., *The Southern Gates of Arabia*, London, 1936, p. 51.

²³ Ezziani, A., *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, Tr. O. Houdas, Paris, 1886.

²⁴ Lempriere, W., *Journal of a six months' journey through the Barbary states and residence in the Court of Morocco*, London, 1816.

²⁵ Westermarck, E., *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization*, London, 1933, p. 1459.

MUHAMMAD AND ST. FRANCIS

FOR A MORE CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR BRETHREN THE
MUSLIMS.

When we look at the geographical map revealing the diffusion of Islam, we cannot remain indifferent to the disturbing problem raised by the mysterious presence of a phenomenon so important for the history of Christianity and of humanity. It is our most cherished longing to create in the Christian conscience an interest in these millions of people.

Too often one hears repeated by the very persons who live in the lands of Islam: "There is nothing that can be done!" How many times, in the course of seventeen years spent in Muslim territory, have I heard my own confrères enunciate this sad conclusion as the final lesson of their practical experience. However, the more I meditate, the more the verdict strikes me as unacceptable. It appears to me that the contrary must be said: "There is everything that can be done with Muslims." Without contesting the merit and the honor due to those who in the past, at the price of their lives, have preached the Gospel to our Muslim brothers, we must realize that, from the failure of so many attempts, it is not to be concluded that grace has been denied to so many people who likewise are called to salvation.

We are, therefore, convinced that to arrive at a more Christian understanding of our brothers in Islam, it is important for us to adopt the attitude adopted by St. Francis of Assisi and meditate on a phase of his life which has perhaps escaped a number of biographers and admirers, namely the mysterious bonds which united the Poverello to the founder of Islam, the Arab prophet Muḥammad.

THE PROPHETIC MISSION OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

No one disputes that in the 13th century Divine Providence sent St. Francis to His Church to bring the world back to fidelity to the Gospel. The vision of Innocent III expressed that mission of the Poor Man, who, as a prophet, spoke to the people the language of God.

We shall especially discover that St. Francis approached Islam with an entirely new spirit, with spiritual attitudes completely unknown to medieval Christendom. In this we are once again led to think that St. Francis received the prophetic mission to bring the Christian conscience back to a more just and more evangelical understanding of its relations with Muslims.

For the medieval conscience, Muslims were the "unbelieving profaners of the Holy Places." The papal documents themselves designate them in terms which could not fail to create a strong impression on the

imagination of the faithful: "enemies of the Cross of Christ," "dogs," "the most wicked lot of warriors," "a wicked people," and so forth. Islam was presented not only as a politico-military power against which it was necessary to defend oneself, but above all as the most diabolically anti-Christian force. The Popes and Bishops many a time stirred the zeal of the faithful by the ideal of the Crusade.

It is in this environment of anti-Muslim reaction that St. Francis appeared, as the inspired prophet, sent by God to His Church in order that Christians might regard the followers of Islam with a more evangelical outlook. Continual meditation on the Passion of Christ made St. Francis understand that God brought about the salvation of man through annihilation and affliction, through the death of His Divine Son, and not through violence and the deployment of material power. The Christian attitude towards Islam ought to conform itself to that evangelical outlook.

Consequently Francis discovered in Muslims not the terrible enemies against whom it had to be a question of taking up swords, because they themselves took up the sword, but alienated brothers who had to be led to their Father's house through kindness and goodness. Jesus treated men with love and saved them by giving Himself on the Cross. The Church, which is His Mystical Body, cannot pursue another way; she must treat Muslims with charity and understanding and save them by prayer and suffering.

In the redaction of his first rule, St. Francis gave to his friars, — "those who wish to go among the Saracens," — a program so far removed from the mentality of that time, that it could not have been impressed upon his mind without an inspiration from above. It was impossible for him to look upon Muslims as "enemies of the Cross of Christ," profaners of the Holy Sepulchre. He sees in them only brothers of God; redeemed by the blood of Jesus; called to share in the Kingdom of God; more precious than the mounds of earth covered with the blood of the Son and still more precious than the stone of the Sepulchre.

But let us hear St. Francis as he proposed his program of apostolic conquest. He divided it into two periods. The first period (which, we add, could eventually last for centuries, since in the eyes of God a thousand years are as yesterday already passed), is that in which the evangelical message is announced in the land of Islam by the practice of Christian virtues. The brothers (who go among the Saracens) must not take action against them, nor cause disputes, but must submit themselves to all (and therefore even to the Muslim authorities). It was considered to be humanly impossible to live in the Orient without taking such action: in the light of this the value of the attitude prescribed by the Franciscan precept is more clearly apparent. After an assiduous practice had shown that humility, poverty, and gentleness were the superior spiritual values, the ground would be well prepared.

It would be easier for Islam to accept and understand the humiliation of the Son of God.

If the testimony which they tried for centuries to render to Christ in the lands of Islam has not produced the expected result, that derives precisely from being preoccupied in looking for immediate results.

The second period, that of external manifestation and preaching, is determined by the choice of God. In this respect we should heed the words of Jesus to His Apostles: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority." (Acts 1, 7).

The hour for action is determined by Divine mercy. The Apostle must be ready to execute that second part of his mission. To announce the word of God pre-supposes, besides the spiritual preparation required for the first period, a serious intellectual preparation: the Lord is in no way bound to give to all messengers of His Word the gift of tongues. On the other hand, no one can pretend to announce the Gospel to a people, without first knowing the language and the mentality of that people in order to be able, according to the teaching of St. Paul, to become all things to all men — a Jew among Jews, a Greek among Greeks, and so an Arab among the Arabs, in order to draw all to Christ. No one before St. Francis understood the apostolate among Muslims in this way. He remained unique among his contemporaries, the rest of whom viewed the problem of Islam in a pessimistic light.

It is necessary here to underline an important eventual consequence of the attitude encouraged for the first period of the apostolic mission: the testimony of blood realized in union with the sacrifice of the Savior for the redemption of our brothers the Muslims. That supreme expression of Charity taught by Christ will manifest to the world that we consider Muslims as true brothers. St. Francis affirmed in his rule that it is precisely because Muslims make us suffer and because they inflict suffering and death upon us, that they must be considered as our dearest friends. In these words is embodied the answer to be given to all those who invoke the malice of the Saracens and their obstinacy in refusing the teachings of the Gospel. Nothing can belittle for St. Francis the value of the words of Christ which He repeated to His sons: "Behold I send you as sheep among wolves."

It was in that spirit that he was able to see in Muslims his own brothers. He would not have dared to consider himself a friend of Christ if he had not felt himself animated with zeal for the salvation of all those whose brother Christ had become before the Father. For St. Francis and for whoever wishes to remain faithful to the Seraphic spirit, Muslims must be the object of a constant love, even if in return they hate us. Did not Christ go even further, He who loved Judas?

St. Francis, by a special illumination which conferred upon him a prophetic mission, understood that Islam could not be won over by contempt, still less by threats and violence. One of his most ardent

preoccupations had been to make the Gospel known to Muslims. He devoted his life to that ideal; he offered it to God as a living sacrifice for his Muslim brethren in union with the dying Christ, in order to redeem humanity. To this end, he set out three times to seek martyrdom among them.

The prophetic character of the mission of St. Francis for Islam was confirmed by the connection — evident to us — between certain events in the history of Muḥammad and two events in the life of the Seraphic Father. By relating them we are able to acquire a full understanding of them. In so doing, we discover the particular vocation of the Franciscan apostolate in Islam. It is only with the heart and spirit of a Francis of Assisi or of a Charles de Foucauld that one can understand the mind of Muslims and draw near to them.

MUḤAMMAD AND THE CHRISTIANS OF NAJRĀN

It is impossible to understand the profound and supernatural meaning of the apostolate of St. Francis at Damietta, the reaction of the Sultān Malik-al-Kāmil and the Muslim doctors to the proposition of the saint, if one does not compare the happening at Damietta with that which occurred at Medina, in the tenth year of Hijrah.

At that time Muḥammad had practically extended his authority over all of Arabia: numbers of tribes had spontaneously submitted. Although he was still far from knowing the true Christianity, Muḥammad manifested more sympathy for the Christians than for the Jews. The official meeting with a delegation of the Christians of Najrān and their conduct strongly modified his personal judgment on Christianity, and, afterwards, the personal judgment of all Muslims who saw in the conduct of Muḥammad the rule to be observed before every Christian desirous of engaging in a religious discussion.

The Christian delegation was led by the Bishop Abū-l-Hārith ibn Aqāmah. Muḥammad summoned the delegation to the burialground at Medina; and there, in the presence of the dead, after a discussion on the Passion of Jesus, asked the Christians to prove the truth of the Incarnation, inviting them to invoke together with him and his five companions the malediction of God on those who would be wrong, by means of the *mubāhalah* or ordeal, consisting of passing through fire.

These Christians did not accept the challenge and did not wish to recognize the prophetic mission. However, they declared themselves ready to negotiate a compromise with Muḥammad who then conceded the first "capitulation of Islam." The faithful of the two Abrahamic monotheisms, Jews and Christians, because of their holy books (the Bible), should have the right to refuse to embrace Islam) by paying a tribute (the *jizyah*), by which means their life, property and entire communal autonomy would be guaranteed them.

This event is very important for many reasons. In the first place it is a manifestation of the complete faith of Muḥammad in his mission;

it likewise shows that the prophet did not admit the manifestation of God in His creation except by the thunder which strikes the guilty, as previously on Mt. Carmel in the presence of Elijah (II Kings I, 10-12, St. Luke ix, 54).

In addition, this event truly reveals a particular attitude of Muhammad and of Islam toward the mystery of the Incarnation. Perhaps the refusal of the Christians to give him that which he demanded in all sincerity of faith, namely, the proof of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, barred the prophet's way to the Christian faith.

In this first and solemn meeting of Islam and the Christians, the latter incurred a heavy responsibility in lacking courage to bear witness to the truth and to the sincerity of their faith, in failing in charity, by their contempt of that non-baptized person who pretended "foolishly" to make himself recognized as the messenger of Allāh, while they themselves judged him excluded from that privileged participation: the adoration of the Son of God. That pusillanimity and, at the same time, that pride of believing themselves the only privileged ones scandalized Muhammad who, having retired to pray, should have been strengthened by the word of God: the desired answer was remitted to the day of last judgment. And Islam still waits!

The ordeal asked for in vain by Muhammad was proposed by St. Francis at Damietta, since he had wished to repair and to make up for the unfortunate behavior of the Christians of Najrān.

The action of St. Francis, brought closer and placed in direct relation with the happening at Medina, takes on a profound meaning which biographers have habitually failed to perceive. While it gives an estimation of the greatness of the soul of St. Francis, it announces at the same time the new attitude which the Lord demands of Christians toward Islam: reparation in a suffering which, in life and death, bears witness to the faith: Christian charity which condemns no one, leaves the judgment of intention to God, knows how to discover and recognize in all, even in the greatest sinners, the gifts of God and incites the apostle to love the brother in whom he sees the image and likeness of Christ, even as far as immolating himself for his salvation and substituting himself for him before the Savior.

Muhammad, animated with a deep and sincere faith in the living God of Abraham, believed in the original equality of the three Abrahamic religions: Israel, Christianity and Islam, and knew that, referring all to the same God the Creator, God-Truth, the pure souls (ṭāhirāt) of the Jews or of the Christians could also be for him the instrument through which God communicated truth to him.

The refusal of the Christians of Najrān to bear witness to Christ, while scandalizing Muhammad, demanded for many centuries a reparation on the part of the Christians: St. Francis of Assisi gave it, providentially, in the name of true Christianity.

THE MUBĀHALAH OF ST. FRANCIS AT DAMIETTA

In July of 1219, St. Francis landed in Egypt. It was the third time that he had resolved to go among the Saracens, driven by the ardent desire of sacrificing his life for them.

The sincerity with which St. Francis presented himself to the Sultan Malik-al-Kāmil to announce to him his mission as the envoy of God, could not but elicit and win sympathy and respect. The religious conscience of Malik-al-Kāmil, a just and pious man, did not refuse *à priori* the testimony of any member of the "people of the Book," bringing to him the words of God. A frank, humble and courageous affirmation of the Christian faith, without any offense to the Muslim conscience, is respectfully heard in the Muslim circle. According to the biographers of the saint, it seems that the Sultan was personally aware of the fervor of spirit and of the sanctity of Francis, who had no word of contempt for Muḥammad, nor for the Islamic faith, but only professed himself ready to remain among Muslims for the love of Christ, prepared to preclude their every hesitation by means of the ordeal of fire.

The ordeal — like the *Mubāhalah* which Muḥammad had asked of the Christians of Najrān — would have to show the intervention of God Who would declare which is the truest and holiest faith.

In conformity with the rule of action prescribed by the Qurʾān, the Muslims refused the challenge. St. Francis then declared himself ready to enter the fire alone. Humbly he forewarned them that if the Lord did not assist him, those present should attribute that to his sins, and not to consider it as a Divine condemnation of Christianity. If, on the contrary, the power of God should be miraculously manifested, by leaving him unharmed in the midst of the flames, he asked the Sultan and his people to hear the message of God.

The conduct of the Sultan and the attitude of the doctors of the Qurʾān who, upon declining the first proposition, had backed out, must be interpreted in the light of psychology and the Muslim law. After the incident which occurred between Muḥammad and the Christians of Najrān, especially after the answer which the prophet received from the Lord (Surah iii, 48/55), the Muslim was not able to accept anticipating the judgment which God had reserved to Himself to give to the angels and to men in the presence of Jesus Christ, when, on the last day, He will judge both angels and men.

Taking into account these characteristics of the Muslim conscience, we must, of necessity, evaluate both the response of the Sultan as well as the conduct of the doctors differently. The refusal did not signify contempt, neither of St. Francis nor of the Christian religion. On the contrary, the Sultan, in conformity with his faith, professed publicly the Divine origin of Christianity: "I believe that your Faith is good and true."

Islam at Damietta did not accept the proof that St. Francis, in order

to make reparation for the refusal of the Christians of Najrān, desired to give of the belief in the Divinity of Christ and in the Trinity. It would appear that at Damietta, Islam refused the absolute gift of love which St. Francis was ready to make, in exposing his life in the hope of martyrdom. But this interior disposition of sublime charity toward his Muslim brothers did not diminish in the heart of the Seraphic Father; on the contrary, the attitude of the Sultan, one that was most generous and courteous, incited in his soul the great suffering of the Apostolate; it verified the difficulties which men oppose to the triumph of grace. Then St. Francis returned to Italy.

The hour of God had not yet arrived. A long maturing of suffering and of immolation impelled by the love of Christ was necessary, the presence of which he recognized even in his distant brothers.

We do not believe that St. Francis, after that experience, was convinced that there was nothing that could be done with Muslims. On the contrary, that direct and personal experience made him understand more clearly with the aid of grace, that Islam is a mystery. Even more than before, that thought became one of the profoundest themes of his interior life. Henceforth, those distant brothers could no longer be excluded from his prayers: they, who continued to be looked upon as enemies, remained for him true friends. The first Rule, redacted after that first apostolic experience, is the best proof of all that is said. Now, more than ever, St. Francis substituted himself for thousands of Muslim souls. That supreme immolation, which continued during the years, received the answer and the seal on Mt. Alverna. Thus, the stigmata of St. Francis were intimately related to the mystery of Islam and in particular with an important event in the religious experience of the prophet Muḥammad.

THE "NOCTURNAL ASCENSION" OF MUHAMMAD

Prompted and guided by a deep sense of the Divine transcendence, Muḥammad gathered in his "conversion" the spiritual and personal character of his relation with the living God of Abraham, understood as the sovereign freedom and absolute will, to Whom we must respond by the total abandonment of self. (*Islam*. Surah iii. 77.)

The fact of the nocturnal ascension of Muḥammad or ecstasy to which the Qurʾān alludes twice, was in his calling a central event which ruled the entire legislative activity of Medina. It was to this that for centuries fervent Muslims, preoccupied in finding once again, for the purpose of reviving them, the dispositions of the heart of Muḥammad in his search for God, gave their concentrated thought.

When the angel to whom the prophet was entrusted had transported him from Mecca first on to the esplanade of the Temple of the destroyed Jerusalem, then from there to the inaccessible Holy City, the heavenly Jerusalem, where the glory of God resides, Muḥammad rea-

ched beyond the "supreme horizon," up to the "lotus of delay" close to where was found the garden of eternal sojourn, while a host of angels covered the tree. (Surah iii. 14-16.) Behind that mystical tree at an interval of two bowshots God was hidden. Muḥammad desired and attempted to reach God through the mystery, but his angelic guide was unable to introduce him into the embracing union, for the completely naked angelic nature, which his guide had assumed, did not normally represent the type of intimate union with God which is only possible through the crucified humanity of Christ.

Ignorant of the true meaning and purpose of the mystery of the Incarnation, Muḥammad remained excluded from the Divine union reserved to the adoration of sons. In all sincerity he asked the Divinity to manifest Himself to him, at least under the appearance of an angel: but under the features of the angel who guided him, he could only discover and proclaim the inaccessibility of the Divine essence. Thus he remained on the threshold, and did not try to advance into the eternity of Divine fire, thus renouncing the knowledge "ab intra" of the personal life of God through the only Mediator, Christ, Who would have sanctified him.

There was in that outpouring of the faith of Muḥammad the expression of a desperate desire which he kept during his whole life: "to contemplate God, at least under the form of an angel." This desire will remain during the centuries unsatisfied. The complete sacrifice of himself made by St Francis at Damietta for the salvation of all Muslims will bring about, thanks to his merits, the most unexpected answer to the prayer and desire of Muḥammad. It was not Israel (where Jesus was crucified), but Islam, which occasioned the appearance of stigmatization in the Church.

THE MIRACLE OF ALVERNA AND MUḤAMMAD

The unfolding event which took place on Alverna towards the middle of September 1224 is well-known. Franciscan tradition, from the very beginning, has meditated on the mystery of the stigmata of St. Francis, confining itself to the consideration of what it signified for the person of the saint, but it seems to us that it has neglected the problem raised by the mysterious significance of the apparition of the Crucified under the features of a seraph. St. Francis himself had been left confused. All the biographers of St. Francis see in the stigmata the answer to that desire of martyrdom which had driven St. Francis on to offer himself in the land of Islam. St Bonaventura, in particular, established the relation between the two events: the preaching before the Sultan from whom he awaited martyrdom and the stigmatization.

The offering of self, made by the saint at Damietta, for the salvation of the Muslims, had been accepted by the Lord, but the martyrdom which he desired to undergo in the land of Islam had to receive a new

and deeper meaning. While it was St. Francis' desire to make reparation by his courage and charity for the refusal on the part of the Christians of Najrān to Muḥammad, the Lord reserved for him a more extraordinary martyrdom on Mt. Alverna.

That generous offer of intercession and of substitution for the Muslims echoed in the heart of God. St. Francis, therefore, was recognized by God as the greatest aspirant for the salvation of Islam. Thanks to him, the expression "brothers and friends" is found in the Church, an expression to which Muslims have a right. But it was especially in the person of St. Francis that the Lord willed to satisfy Muḥammad's sincere and ardent desire to see God manifested under the form of an angel. In the miracle of Mt. Alverna, the stigmata of St. Francis, uniting in some way the angelic nature to the crucifixion, appeared precisely as a supernatural compensation for that which was wanting in Muḥammad.

The Arab race, excluded in Ishmael its father from the offering of Abraham, remains to this day in an almost invincible ignorance of the crucifixion and its sad reality. For Muḥammad and Islam, Jesus Christ the Holy One of God, could not suffer in such an ignominious manner; the "Judge" could not submit to a condemnation inflicted by men, because all that appeared as a defeat inflicted upon God.

To that protestation of earthly wisdom, scandalized by the foolishness of the Cross, namely, the annihilation of a God, St. Francis himself was the answer: he offered himself at Damietta to bear witness to the sufferings of Christ and his Divinity, and obtained on Mt. Alverna, for the descendants of Ishmael, the visible sign of Divine mercy.

While all Christianity was wont to see in Muslims the worst enemies of the Cross of Christ, St. Francis, through his love for them, was permitted by the Lord to be the first to suffer visibly with the Crucified. Thus was the prophetic mission accomplished by him in some way authenticated and consecrated when he showed what the evangelical attitude should be toward Islam and condemned by his own action the bellicose violence of the crusades. Through the five wounds imprinted on the body of Francis in fulfillment of his desire for the offering of his life for Islam, Islam will be able one day to recognize the value of the five wounds of Christ, the only source of Redemption.

For a more Christian understanding of our Muslim brothers — more imperative and more urgent than ever — it remains for us to meditate upon the example left by St. Francis and to enter into his spirit.

When Christians, especially those who live in direct contact with Muslims, nurture on their part such a love that they can even desire to immolate themselves for them in a spirit of substitution, then will Islam perceive the call to grace.

BOOK REVIEWS

Islam and Christian Theology. A study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the two Religions. By J. Windrow Sweetman, Lutterworth Press, London, 1955 Part II, vol. I. pp. x and 354.

This, the third volume of Dr. Sweetman's studies of Islam in its relation to Christianity, makes a most valuable contribution to the subject. In it the author traces the way in which the Christian looked at Islam and the Muslim at Christianity from the earliest days down to the 15th century. So far as I know there is no book which deals so competently with this subject, as important to the world at large as to Arabists in particular.

Here the reader will be able to trace the rise of Arabic studies in the mediaeval west and will be glad to see that justice is done to contemporary Byzantine scholars who went on writing until the fatal year of 1453. For the Christian East a disaster, for the Christian West the fall of Constantinople was a blessing in that it brought Greek scholars to Italy. The author has been careful to point out the independence of the Latin world in the translation of the Aristotelian corpus. Undoubtedly Avicenna and Algazel and Averroes exercised an enormous influence on Latin scholasticism as Professor Sweetman says. But it was their influence as commentators and interpreters that was significant.

Arab accounts of the appalling ignorance of the Crusaders from the west and the stories of Arab geographers and traders make it abundantly clear that for some centuries the Christian West was culturally inferior to the Muslim East. It was not until the balance was partially redressed that any thought of missionary activity was possible. Dr. Sweetman traces the literary history of Christian apologetic from Peter the Venerable, 1138, down to Nicholas of Cusa, 1464. Here we may follow the arguments of Raymond of Pinnaforte, Raymund Martin, Pierre Dubois, Raymund Lull, and Ricoldo of Montecruce. The last named made a particularly useful contribution to the subject.

The author has performed a signal service in giving a clear account of these works. He then turns to the Muslim side of the picture and summarizes the bitter but scholarly attack which Ibn Ḥazm made on the Bible. (It is worth mentioning that this acute critic anticipated many of the points made by Higher Critics of the Graf-Wellhausen school). In days when it was held that every word in the Bible was inspired, and that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, Ibn Ḥazm's criticism must have been devastating. Even today Islam is not alive to the truth that it is men and not books that are inspired, and that no tenable theory of inspiration guarantees the infallibility of the speaker or writer. It may be said that Ibn Ḥazm had never heard of the saying about the pot calling the kettle black! He condemns as blasphemous and ridiculous statements in the Old Testament which are counterbalanced by similar expressions in the Qur'ān.

A far more congenial figure was Al-Ghazālī who in many respects anticipates the arguments of modern Unitarians. Unlike Ibn Ḥazm he assumes that the Gospels are genuine. After a full exposition of

Al-Ghazālī's polemic the author concludes by saying "the pattern of the polemic persists today. One wonders whether the time has not come to close some chapters for ever."

This book deserves close study by all who long to bridge the gulf that divides Christian and Muslim. For them it is indispensable. After reading it one comes to the conclusion that the essential message of the Gospel has never been put clearly to the Muslim world. It has been obscured by tedious discussions of Christological problems which have always been shattered on the fundamental premise of Islam (and in a lesser degree of Judaism also) that it is impossible for the Godhead to dwell in man.

A few misprints should be corrected in future editions. On p. 26 we read: "But this killing did not happen to the [divine part: it happened to the] human part." The words in square brackets have dropped out through haplography. P. 9 read "Arwad"; 17 *falasifa*; 32 two hypostases only; 243 Banu al-Najjār, Qatada, 264 *munāsaba*.

The next volume, which will trace the development of systematic theology in Islam and its influence on Christian thought, will be eagerly awaited.

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ALFRED GUILLAUME

The Modern Arabic Short Story. Its Emergence, Development and Form. By Abdel-Aziz Abdel-Maguid. Al-Maare Press, Cairo, n.d. pp. 402.

Recommended for publication by the Editorial Board of the University of Manchester, this book, which is partly in English and partly in Arabic, is based on the doctoral thesis submitted by the author at that university. The thesis was written under the guidance of Professor James Robson whose articles on Tradition in Islam, in the 1951 volume of this Quarterly, will be remembered by our readers.

The first part of the book, occupying 149 pages, constitutes the English text. This is followed by an Arabic Supplement of 253 pages consisting entirely of thirty-four short stories, chronologically arranged, beginning with one by Ṣalīm Bustānī, published in Beirut in 1870 and ending with a story by Victoria Naguib, dated 1953. Reference is made in the first part of the book to some of these stories but no translation into English is provided.

Subdivisions of the text, after a Foreword and Introduction by the author, are headed as follows:

1. Survey of the Terms used in Arabic for "Narrative" and "Story."
2. General Survey of the Story-literature in Arabic from before Islam to the middle of the 19th Century.
3. The Impact of Western Culture and Civilization on the Arab World.
4. The Emergence of the Modern Short Story in Arabic.
5. The Form of the Arabic Short Story.
6. Bibliography. (Source material used by the author is classified as (a) Books, (b) General References, and (c) Journals and newspapers.

The author's style is lucid and readable. His subject matter is for the most part historical but deals to some extent with criteria for the

classification of narratives as short-stories and the degree to which specified Arabic authors have complied with these criteria. He also evaluates the present form of Arabic short stories in general, saying that they deal more with character and situation than with plot and complicated action. This fact may be due, he thinks, to the influence of the continental — French and Russian — short story, "which deals, in the main, with psychological analysis of character and situation." The modern Arabic short story, he states, "has been born, but it is still in the formative stage."

Apart from this book's contribution of information about Arabic short stories, the Bibliography presented by the author should be of value to those interested in various forms of Arabic literature. The Arabic short stories of the Supplement might, with benefit, be used as reading matter for language students in Arabic-speaking countries.

The type employed for this volume is fairly large and clear. A considerable number of typographical errors in the present edition will need to be corrected in future re-printings.

Hartford, Conn.

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

Social Forces in the Middle East. Edited by S. N. Fisher, Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1955.

The present volume is a composite of chapters based on especially prepared papers given before a conference sponsored by the Committee on the Near and Middle East of the Social Science Research Council. This conference, under the title; "The Near East — Social Dynamics and Cultural Setting" met in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1952. Although the book suffers from the usual fault of conference reporting — lack of unity — nevertheless, the individual papers merit careful attention.

We have here a book which will be of particular interest to three types of reader: to the American layman whose will to understand is still not satisfied after listening to commentators and reading newspaper headlines; to the professional person who is working, or intends to work, in the Middle East; and, most of all, to the social scientist who is concerned with the achievement of accurate conceptualization of social phenomena as well as with the statement of fruitful propositions.

The authors whose thoughts have been pooled in this book are a group of well-known Middle East specialists who have focussed their skill and knowledge on an attempt to state, and to probe, basic factors and processes at work *within* the Middle East as a social "system," as well as to evaluate "consequences." For the sake of fulness of coverage, it is a pity that so little attention was given to the North Africa part of this system. The writers would be the last ones to claim that they had arrived at definitive results; but this reviewer feels that they have produced a stimulating challenge for further functional social research in depth. Almost every chapter is loaded with explicit and implicit hypotheses calling for testing.

The particular posture adopted is that of examining a set of typical "actors" in the Middle East system: i.e. the nomad, the villager, the Israeli, the industrial worker, the merchant, the entrepreneur, the economic planner, the army officer, the religious leader, the intellectual,

the member of a minority and the refugee. It is not explained, however, just why this particular group was chosen out of all possible actors. The only departure from this formula is found in the first chapter where Speiser proposes his provocative concept of Ethnemes, and in the last chapter where Young outlines the nature of the acute social crisis being faced by the people of the Middle East as they seek mature independence and modernization.

Perhaps it is not out of place to mention some of the intriguing hypotheses to which reference was made above. Crary suggests (p. 59) that "It is through the peasant that permanent gains will be made and maintained." Coon considers, at the other hand, (p. 42) that, "The place where Western (i.e. modern?) culture can be most easily accepted and assimilated is ... the home of the nomads." Speiser proposes (p. 72) that "Egypt would seem to be most amenable in the long run to a totalitarian solution (Communism?), Iran less so, and the Fertile Crescent scarcely at all." Stauffer suggests (p. 98) that, "Western influence, in so far as it has been constructive has been as a morally neutral technology rather than as a system of social and ideal values." Potter proposes (p. 110) two ideal types in the economic life of the area, "the active entrepreneur" and "the passive chandler." Franck considers (p. 140) that at the root of the misconception that "merely subsidizing new plans or branches of industrial or agricultural production in the vague hope that experience and the training of workers will eventually put them on a sound economic basis" lies "the profound gap between appallingly primitive methods of production and a cultural heritage which includes science and other achievements without which modern technology would have been impossible." And so one might range through the whole book and find many others. It is when one tries to document such propositions as these that one realizes the paucity of reliable field data on the Middle East.

Admirable though they are, however, even these carefully disciplined studies have not achieved the degree of objectivity which is necessary for the gaining of true insight. Too many of the writers show a subtle tendency to "slant" their material toward the current American anxiety to keep the Middle East in the Western camp in the "Cold War." (Cp. Coon p. 42; Stauffer p. 97; Speiser p. 22). One has an uncomfortable feeling that here is another form of political strategy instead of a scientific search for the truth. (Or perhaps this reviewer has just been too long in the Middle East!) This, if true, is perhaps inevitable, since only three or four of the seventeen people involved are themselves Middle Easterners.

With notable exceptions, there is also a regrettable tendency to equate "modernization" with "Westernization", which in turn leads to the too easy assumption stated by G. E. Cameron that: "Year by year it (The Middle East) becomes mere intimately a part of Western existence." This reviewer suggests that the contrary may in fact be true, i.e. that the people of the Middle East may be slowly working their way out from under a hundred and fifty years of overpowering Western cultural influence toward a form of society more truly in keeping with their own "genius". It is particularly at this point that the perspective suggested in E. A. Speiser's article takes on special significance.

In other words, with all compliments to the admirable efforts of Dr. Fisher and his colleagues, we must still seek deeper for a comprehension of the "inner logic" of Middle East society.

American University at Cairo,

GEORGE H. GARDNER

Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. An Extension of the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Editor in Chief. Lefferts A. Loetscher, Professor of American Church History, Princeton Theological Seminary, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1955, two vols. pp. 1205.

Two new volumes are added to this already well-known work, bringing the knowledge up to date, since the purpose is to cover the "field of religion to the early years of the twentieth century." It is of course in the realm of "impertinence" for anyone to "review" volumes of this kind. Here is something for the student interested in Old Testament Archaeology equally with the one desirous of knowing what "Existentialism" is all about. Here is Christian terminology in all its ramifications, missionary geography (including articles on interesting countries in this regard from Afghanistan to the Kurdish Yazidis), brief biographies of leaders still with us or recently passed away (with bibliography in some cases for those who would know more). Some articles are unexpected, from "Annotated Bibles" through "Social Security" to "Theological Libraries" (in the U.S.A. Drew heads the list). It is hard however to be interested in "everything", even everything religious, but the present reviewer quickly noted that the main concerns of missionary life in the Near East are given full consideration through the scattered pages devoted to New Testament problems and the variegated relationship of Christendom with the Islamic World. Here too was the added interest of numbering many of the contributors in the circle of friendship. Material provided by Thomson of Harvard, Hitti of Princeton, Calverley of Hartford (and other places) must be rewarding and enlightening. There is useful information available in comparatively small compass for those who have to "get up" talks at short notice, when some of the essential facts (or figures) have slipped. (We wonder why the Editors did not adopt *Qurʾān*, as well as *Muslim* and *Muḥammad*). But how grateful we are for the articles on Bible Versions, where Arabic is really brought into the area of New Testament studies.

The contributors to the volumes are not confined to the United States. There are writers from European countries and Britain. Some of the shorter paragraphs may not be as useful as the longer articles and it might be suggested that in any reprinting a leaf be taken out of "Hastings" and these longer articles be noted under the name in the list of contributors, e.g., Thomson and Jeffery, Metzger and Filson. But the Professor of American Church History has kept his finger on the pulse of the Oecumenical Movement. If you do not find just what you want here, you can probably be told where to find it. You have to remember that something you do not find was probably dealt with adequately in the predecessors of these volumes, which like other books from across the Atlantic *stay open*. It would be a good thing if arrangements were made to present copies to the libraries of Mission Sta-

tions, where in these days funds are low. We repeat the conclusion that almost everything is here from the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Four-square Gospel, from Sufism and the Ophites back to the Conviction of sin and the Brahma Samaj.

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ERIC F. F. BISHOP

South-East Asia between two Worlds. By Tibor Mende, New York, Library Publishers, 11955.

Mr. Tibor Mende claims to deal with the basic problems which confront six hundred million people of South-East Asia as a result of the disappearance of the British, the French, and the Dutch Empires in this area. His aim is "to describe how the peoples of these new countries live, what their problems are and how they are trying to solve them" and "to investigate whether the new South-East Asian states are or are not able to fill the vacuum created by the end of several centuries of Western domination." It is, however, doubtful if the author has succeeded in achieving his object, because he seems to have no clearly conceived system of collecting his data or processing it.

The term South-East Asia as used by Mr. Mende includes Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indochina, and Indonesia. The author has not treated all of these countries but only three: Indonesia, Burma, and Pakistan. In one section of the book he discusses the general problem facing the whole region. For the most part the book presents a pessimistic outlook. Mr. Mende is of the opinion that the very social and political setting within which economic development ought to operate is still vague in this area. People, he points out, are trying to seek a new creed and they hesitate between return to the remnants of their old civilizations and the adoption of a totally new social structure and scale of values.

Turning to the political institutions, Mr. Mende makes the hasty conclusion that "notwithstanding superficial parliamentary trapping," the peoples of South-East Asia still live under authoritarian governments. One may wonder if the author has properly appreciated the fact that the evolution of democracy in the East need not be identical with that in the West.

Stressing the great need of the economic development of South-East Asia, the author expresses the view that the economic development projects sponsored by the West such as the Colombo Plan, Point-Four Program, Technical Assistance and others have either proved to be insignificant in their effects or have shown a tendency to degenerate into what he terms "mere auxiliaries of Western strategic pre-occupations." These projects may not have performed miracles and there is enough room to improve on them; yet it is difficult to accept the author's pessimistic conclusions. These projects are proving useful and are appreciated by the people. The author finds fault with what he calls "the utopia of dollar injection" and severely criticizes American policy in South-East Asia. In his opinion, "the United States is generally regarded in Asia not merely as the heir of the former colonizers' role but...as a much more formidable opponent of the Asian peoples' rightful aspirations than any of the Western powers who ever ruled over them" (p. 296). This is gross exaggeration and over-simplification.

American policies are criticized, in some of the neutralist countries, but the United States have also friends in the area.

When one turns from discussion of the general problems of South-East Asia to Mr. Mende's descriptions of the particular countries of the region, one finds them inadequate and in some cases unfair. The most unbalanced, even prejudiced, part of the book is the section which deals with Pakistan. The author has taken no note of the most unfavourable circumstances under which Pakistan began its life as an independent nation, nor has he taken into consideration its remarkable progress, especially in building up the economy.

A book which professes to discuss the fundamental problems of the contemporary South-East Asia need not have devoted so much space to the lack of amenities and comforts in a Pakistani bus or a hotel. Surely the author did not hope to find another Paris or New York in Karachi. Some of his account is palpably erroneous. He says, for instance: "In colleges all over the country, girl students are separated in wooden cages fitted with lattices through which they peep at the professor giving the lecture." (p. 201). The writer of this review has been a teacher at a Pakistani university since 1950 and has never had any occasion to see the "girl students peeping through a wooden cage." Mr. Mende contradicts himself by mentioning in the same chapter how he had lively conversations with the college girl students at Lahore.

Then, in Mr. Mende's opinion, the central theme of Pakistani politics is the conflict between the orthodox Muslims who wish to apply Quranic prescriptions to every day life and the 'Secularists' who would like to harmonize Quranic injunctions with the social requirements of the 20th century. The enthusiasm with which the new constitution has been received belies that diagnosis. In a free democracy there is ample discussion of the relationship between religion and politics, but the country has not been ruled on narrow religious lines. The political difficulties, which confronted the country in 1954 and have now been surmounted, arose from a clash of personal and regional interests, rather than of religious ideas.

Mr. Mende has spoken of the "virtual relegation of the country's non-Muslim minorities to a position of second-class citizenship", but he has failed to give any substantial or concrete facts in support of his contention. This view is supported neither by the law of the land nor by facts.

The author dislikes Pakistan's military alliance with the West, discusses at great length Mr. Nehru's objection to the United States' military aid to Pakistan and finally gives the advice: "Pakistan's participation in any alliance which would hinder her rapprochement with India would be against her national interest" (p. 265). Mr. Mende predicts four alternatives for Pakistan — (1) War with India "encouraged by foreign interest or under the influence of religious fanatics." (2) One day Pakistan may succumb to Communism. (3) Pakistan may return into a static mould advocated by the orthodox Muslims and follow the example of Afghanistan or Yemen. (4) It may happen that men with ideas for the good of the country will arise and lead Pakistan along the road taken by Kemal Ataturk. But Mr. Mende sees scant likelihood of any salvation for Pakistan. This sort of prediction is

not new to Pakistanis but Pakistan has survived many such forebodings.

Dacca University

G. W. CHOUDHURY

The Prince and I. By Marvine Howe, The John Day Company, New York, 1956, \$ 3.50.

This is the story of an American woman who spent several years as a journalist and radio commentator in Morocco. Upon arrival she knew little of the hopes, the fears, the dreams, and the struggles of the Moroccan people for freedom. But she was determined to understand this struggle. She left no stone unturned to cultivate friendships among Moroccans, to win their confidence, to share their aspirations, to feel as real a part of their life as possible. She had unusual opportunities for contacts with Moroccans through her friendship with the Crown Prince and his family and friends. Miss Howe was sensitive, too, to the need for Europeans and Americans, who also are a part of the struggle in Morocco, to understand the undercurrents, cross currents and counter currents in a situation that has wide international consequences.

One has the feeling in reading the book that Miss Howe knows much more about the political situation than she is willing to reveal. One often wishes she would go a step further and lift the curtain a bit higher. On the other hand, we cannot fail to sense the author's love and genuine interest in the Moroccan people.

New York, N.Y.

GLORA M. WYSNER

Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization. Edited by G. E. von Grünebaum, University of Chicago Press, 1955. pp. ix + 385. \$ 6.00.

This is one of the most important books of recent years on the history and analysis of Islamic culture. Its fifteen essays by as many hands are all to a greater or less degree focussed on a central problem: the relation between the classical orthodox Muslim tradition and the local cultures in the regions over which it extended or still extends. The first three chapters (by the Editor, F. Meier and R. Brunschvig) raise questions of terminology and method, and the third in particular (the French original of which has already appeared in *Studia Islamica*, vol. I) is a paper which is likely to serve for many years as a fundamental document in Islamic research. Too tightly argued to be readily summarized, Brunschvig poses the problem of discovering and ranking hierarchically the criteria by which the specific quality of the various "Muslim civilizations" can be defined and delimited. The four following papers are devoted to four aspects of "Unity", in the sense that certain dominant Islamic tendencies have moulded and integrated non-Islamic elements into a definable and distinctive common structure, despite the survival or influence of special regional features. J. Schacht contributes the chapter on Law, F. Gabrieli that on Literature, R. Ettinghausen a particularly illuminating chapter on Art, and C. Cahen traces the common development of the "orthodox State" in Eastern and Western Islam, although maintaining that in their political character the mediaeval Muslim States were "mediaeval" rather than distinctively Muslim.

Of the eight remaining chapters, seven analyze the distinctive features of diverse "local cultures": B. Spuler and V. Minorsky that

of Persia, R. Le Tourneau of the Maghreb, J. N. D. Anderson of Tropical Africa (another paper to be starred), G. W. J. Dreves of Indonesia, B. Lewis of Modern Turkey. A concluding chapter on "Western Impact and Islamic Civilization" is contributed by Werner Caskel.

The association of such a brilliant team of scholars — who, even so, are far from covering the whole area of the Islamic world in time and space — to illustrate a particular topic is in itself an indication of the extent to which Islamic studies have outgrown the range of the individual student. But the individual essays themselves do more. Even within the range of each specialization (as the summarized discussions which follow each chapter show) a vast amount has still to be done before the methodological problems formulated by Brunschvig can begin to be answered. Consequently, in spite of the high quality of the contributions in general, the general impression which they left on this reviewer was tinged with some disappointment, and this disappointment seems to arise precisely from the insufficiency or inadequacy of some of the basic data on which such comparative studies must be founded. To cite specific examples may be invidious; but for the sake of illustration it may be suggested that until the demographic history of Iran has been thoroughly investigated any identification of a specific "Persian psychology" must rest on a very insecure basis. Even in the modern world much more needs to be done (partially on the lines of Le Tourneau's extensive note to the last chapter) before the constituent elements of or divisions within "Muslim society" can be determined, or even, indeed, whether such an organism still exists. The ultimate advantage of such gatherings is that, provided the general themes are well chosen, they focus attention on such points of obscurity, and show where and how further study should be directed within the relevant fields.

Harvard University.

H. A. R. GIBB.

Moslems in China. Edited by the China Islamic Association, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1953-1372, pp. 118.

This fascinating book containing 88 pictures, eight of these in colors, starts with a picture of Mao Tse-Tung and ends with one of the Iskhakbek Club in Ili, Sin-Kiang. A little more than a third of these can be construed as pertaining to China Proper, the rest are pictures of the border areas, Manchuria, Mongolia and Sin-Kiang. The whole tone of the book is directed toward Islam as a minority race though the religious aspect is treated briefly.

The book is written in three languages, Chinese, Arabic and English. It is mainly pictorial, giving an accurate story of how Islam has co-operated with the Peoples' Republic of China. The only substantially written section contains excerpts of the common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference dealing with freedom of religion, regional autonomy, equality of all minorities. There is also a speech by Burhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, who, before the change of government, was governor of Sin-Kiang. In this address, Burhan points out the evils of the old Kuomingtang rule and the virtues of the new. He makes the

startling statement that there are ten million Muslims in China. For the past twenty years the Muslims have been writing fifty million.

The book is excellently produced. To one with many memories of visits to a large number of these mosques and Muslims, this book has a nostalgic character.

New York, N.Y.

CLAUDE L. PICKENS, JR,

Jesus of Palestine. By Eric F. F. Bishop, Lutterworth Press, London, 1955, pp. 328, 30 shillings.

Few authors pay their readers the compliment of expecting them to know both Arabic and Greek as well as English, to be generally familiar with the geography of the Holy Land and to be at home with 'L' 'M' and 'Q' and all the detail lying behind a study of the documents of the New Testament. When French, Hebrew or Latin appear in words or phrases, the author usually supplies an explanation of the meaning. Yet this is not at all a pedantic book. Rather it is living spring of ideas and insights and is full of suggestion for further study. There is vitality and energy in the book to carry along even the novice in such studies. The literary style is compact and vigorous.

The book falls into two parts. The first (270 pages) is based on the sequence of Huck's synopsis of the Gospels: the second carries the reader through the Gospel of St. John with a similar series of illuminating comments which arise from an intimate knowledge of Palestinian life today and from a thorough, reverent study of the Gospel narratives. The author has the courage of his convictions and with his awareness of the local scene is able to stand against the 'authorities' as, for example, in his interpretation of the cleansing of the leper and the mission of the seventy. (St Luke x, 1-20). At the same time there is a discreet refusal to be drawn into theoretical discussion as to the understanding of miracle or of demon possession, by simple reliance on the attitudes prevalent in the time of Jesus and still prevailing today among the rural Palestinians.

There are many nice touches, especially revealing to those who have lived in the East, who can appreciate the depth and range of the author's insight. Newcomers to Palestine or the Near East in general could well take observations in this book as a guide to good manners (pp. 73, 76, 137, 267 et al.). The writer wisely recognizes much that is not Jewish or Christian or Muslim in these matters, but, basically, Near Eastern.

As one intimately and feelingly involved in recent political events, Professor Bishop precludes his authorship here from such involvement. Only in discussion of the parallel situation underlying the writing of the Fourth Gospel do terms like, 'Judah,' 'Israel,' 'Semitic,' and the like provoke searching questions. (pp. 271-272.)

The ordinary, stay-at-home Christian will find this book full of insight and spiritual strength. The more the reader is versed in Biblical scholarship, or archaeology, or language, or sociology, the richer mine of intellectual treasure will he find. For those who have known in Jerusalem the rich fellowship of the home of Eric and Sadie Bishop, this book is sheer delight.

Cambridge, Mass.

ALFORD CARLETON.

Memleketin Sahipleri. By Mahmut Makal, Varlik Yayinevi, Istanbul, 1954, pp. 104, Paper edition.

Mahmut Makal has here produced a book which should be of special interest to all who are aware of the great difference which exists between the official, intellectual formulations of religion and the actual thoughts and practices of religions as they are among the people who belong to them.

Makal caused quite a sensation in Turkey during the elections in 1950 with his two books, *Bizim Köy* (Our Village) and *Köyümden* (From My Village). He is now serving his military service in Eastern Turkey. The title of this present work, in which he paints in straightforward manner the folk customs and superstitions of the villages, is taken from the theme of the first chapter. The phrase *Memleketin Sahipleri*, meaning "The Owners of the Country," was frequently used by Ataturk to indicate that the people, not the old ruling class, were the owners of the country. In the first of these twenty short essays which gives its title to the whole, Makal turns the phrase, so to speak, and affirms that the jinns and demons are the true owners of the country, because they, in turn, 'own' or, better, 'rule' the people.

The author extends the theme of his earlier works, translated into English under one title *A Village in Anatolia* (London, Vallentine Mitchell and Co., 1954), namely the struggle between the old mind, steeped in superstition and the new mind which is based upon reason and builds on the results of science and technology. The essay entitled *Çocuk Isi* (Children's Work) is a moving protest against the methods employed in the villages to train and 'protect' the health of the children. It is eloquent of the revulsion he feels when he tells how children's tongues are cut to train them to speak gently and with a proper respect for their elders. Revulsion is carried further still when he tells of the methods employed by childless couples to obtain children.

The book is valuable not only for its picture of popular Islam but for its significance for those seeking to understand and assess the present resurgence of interest in Islam in Turkey. One should be fair to Islam and point out that the popular practices done in its name often violate its basic principles as formulated by the intellectual and the orthodox. One may suspect that many of the superstitions that Makal depicts go back many centuries. For Anatolia was the home of many mystery religions. Here are interesting questions for social anthropologists, if they are not too tied down by the contemporary concern for quantitative measurement.

Though not as well documented as Bess Allen Donaldson's *The Wild Rue* (London, 1938) on Iranian magic and folklore, *Memleketin Sahipleri* provides an excellent introduction to an understanding of popular Islam in the contemporary Turkish village. Written by one who has come up himself from the village and who is giving his life to help educate the village, it has many qualities that make up for its lack of precise sociological approach. The reader finds an insight into the mind of the villager and, perhaps, more valuable, an insight into the mind of Mahmut Makal, who is one of Turkey's most controversial writers and a new phenomenon in Turkish literature — a son of the soil who is also a man of letters.

Izmir, Turkey

JOHN A. KINGSBURY

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Turkish Opinion and Islam. The growing discussion on religious education in Turkey, which may be expected to increase as the 1958 elections come more nearly on the horizon, is likely to be served by three new Turkish periodicals devoted to Islamic themes. The first and most orthodox bears the title *Islam*. In its first issue it maps out an interesting program. It proposes to offer exegesis, translation and historical articles on the Qur^ʿān; studies on the life and influence of the Prophet; Islamic law and the new conditions it must face; Tradition; Islamic thought, ethics and history; the relation of Islam to humanism, Communism and science; Islam and the atomic age; Islam and women, youth and people's education; recent developments in Islamic thought. The mention of the Shari^ʿah is interesting since Turkey is operating solely under secular law, both in concept and content. The magazine refers to the new interest in Iqbal whose works have been lately translated into Turkish. It may be one consequence of the Baghdad Pact that there is a turning in Turkish Islam to Pakistan and Iran for religious and educational ideas. Iqbal had significant notions to offer in both realms.

Turk Dusuncesi (Turkish Thought) and *Din Yolu* (Religious Road) are concerned to develop a modern orientation for Islam and are dedicated to the project of a fresh Turkish translation of the Qur^ʿān. *Din Yolu* announces this as its major task. They urge the need for the Theological Faculty at Ankara University to stand as an intellectual branch alongside the sciences and liberal arts in the University. These three journals may be taken as a measure of the serious effort being made to renew Islam: they represent in the realm of journalism the same ambition which academically has produced the Theological Faculty. Anent the cultural ties between Turkey and Pakistan, it is interesting to note that our valued contributor, Muhammad Daud Rahbar, has taken up his post in the field of Pakistani and Urdu Studies in the Ankara University.

Pilgrimage Season, 1375 A.H. Intensified medical services are a feature of this year's pilgrimage. Most of the major countries whose subjects participate in the pilgrimage had their hostels and hospitals ready in good time for the arrival of their nationals. The Directorate General of Pilgrim Affairs of the Saudi Arabian Government reports 1,466 deaths during the 1374 pilgrim season. An indication of the improved situation is the cancellation at the World Health Organization's meeting in Geneva of the former quarantine restrictions on pilgrims to Arabia.

Among the new facilities of the Directorate General are the setting up of electric water coolers at Jiddah port and air port, the erection of covered places where food can be served in the shade, the issue of uniforms to personnel related to pilgrim matters such as guides, interpreters and inspectors, and loudspeakers in the port and in the streets to direct the pilgrim traffic. A charitable society has opened an ice factory in Minā to provide cheap, clean ice for the pilgrims during their stay there.

The Prime Minister of Nigeria with several Nigerian Ministers made the pilgrimage, conferring en route in Cairo with the Egyptian President and the Secretary of the Islamic Congress.

Up to July 4th, almost 90,000 pilgrims had arrived in the Hijāz. Jordanian authorities announced that approximately eight thousand pilgrims by land would pass through that territory. From Syria, however, a smaller number of pilgrims than usual was announced and the fourth of four parties was cancelled, those who had planned to travel with it being transferred to the third group. The Egyptian delegation was led by the Ministers of Health and of Waqfs, Nūr al-Dīn al Ṭarrāf and Ahmad al-Bāqūrī.

Saudi Arabian authorities have prohibited the use of water for building purposes during the period of the pilgrimage so as to protect the drinking supplies. They have also reminded companies carrying pilgrims of the obligation to pay Zakāt on their profits and to report their undertakings in accordance with the royal decree.

Anti-Strike Legislation in Saudi Arabia. A royal decree of June last, (Dhū al Qaʿdah, A.H. 1375) as reported by the Mecca journal, *Umm al Qurā*, prohibits employees and workers of concessionaire companies and of private firms, engaged in work of public importance, to strike or otherwise discontinue work. It forbids prior agreement among workers to concert strikes and renders striking punishable by imprisonment whether concerted or spontaneous. Inciting to strike is punishable by not less than a year's imprisonment. Demonstrations with intent to press demands or re-affirm demands made earlier are also subject to sentences of imprisonment. The same decree provides that any employer may discharge any worker who has been penalized under the regulation, and if he does not choose to do so the amir of the province in which the offense occurred may himself compel the dismissal of such a worker. Amirs are also empowered to deport persons responsible for strikes or incitement thereto to any place and for any period of time as they shall deem fit.

The terms of the decree are very inclusive, and cover the employment of force, terror, threat, damage or any other illegal method of violence to incite to strike, as well as any word, deed, sign, writing, drawing or other device, whether or not the incitement to demonstrate or to strike succeeds. It is clear from the terms of the decree that collective bargaining and the right to associate for economic purposes are a long way from realization for the new working class of the Arabian peninsula.

Strikes have, however, taken place in Dhahrān and elsewhere, notably at the time of the June visit of King Saud to the area. The Arab Federation of Labor Unions held a meeting of its Administrative Committee in Amman, when representatives from Syria, Jordan and Lebanon agreed, among other things, on measures to assist oil workers in Kuwait in the securing of proper labor union freedoms.

Education of Women in Saudi Arabia. The two following paragraphs are résumés taken from a June issue of *Al Yamāmah*, a Riyāḍ weekly. No one denies the fact that human relations are based upon cooperation between man and woman. "He it is who created you from

one soul, and made therefrom its mate to dwell therewith" (The Qur^{ān} vii, 189, Palmer's Translation). If either of them is unable to perform his duties properly, the other will suffer accordingly. Ignorance is the chief reason that causes this inability. No one denies the fact that good and useful actions result from useful and good knowledge on the part of both man and woman. If education is good for the one — man — it is good and useful for the other — woman. If it is harmful, it will harm both equally. Ignorance in all its phases is harmful, and the woman who knows her duties and rights is better than the ignorant woman. The mother has the greatest influence on the life of her children, morally and socially. No one can deny all these facts, but you may find some who say that to educate women is wrong; that the more educated a people are the more degenerate they become; that education opens up opportunities for women beyond the scope of the house and the family. These ideas are not completely wrong, nor are they completely correct. Useful knowledge is good, and degeneration originates from ignorance itself. The educated woman is the best housewife, and can best take care of her children, and to say that education causes degeneration is to say that food, or rather the excess of food causes illness, or money earned unlawfully makes human efforts to gain it wrong. Our daughters are part of our society. We want them to be useful members of the community. We want them to know how to be good wives, how to take good care of their children, and how to lead a life based on the teachings of true Islam. We do not want them to be ignorant or to be carried away by the current of vice under the veil of ignorance and tradition. They deserve everything that is good, regardless of the ways and means to achieve it. Shall we be censured for wishing our daughters to achieve such noble aims?

Islam calls for the education of women, and the Prophet used to teach Muslim women. In the Islamic Age, there were woman jurists, writers, and poets. Education for both men and women Muslims is among the principles of Islam. Nowadays, boys are enjoying the fruits of education while their counterparts — the girls, remain ignorant. When these young men reach the age of marriage, they will find it difficult to choose their mates from among the ignorant women. If they do find wives, then there will be more difficulty when the children arrive. The father will try to bring his children up in the modern and enlightened way; the mother will keep the old and conservative systems. There will be no harmony in the family. The men might resort to marrying from outside their country. This again will not solve the problem. Very soon, thousands of young men will be graduating from the secondary schools in the country. It will be difficult to expect these young men to marry ignorant girls.

Oil, the Lebanon and Syria. Interesting negotiations have been proceeding during the last quarter on the subject of the share in oil wealth that ought properly to accrue to the countries over whose territory Iraqi oil is transported, namely Syria and the Lebanon.

The Lebanese Government has charged both the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) and the Trans Arabian Pipeline Company (Tapline) a specific yearly sum of money for the passage of oil through its territory and for the use of Lebanese ports. Lebanese Governments

have always tried to increase this charge while the oil companies have been able to hold Lebanon in check on the question. Last year, however, the Syrian Government was able to obtain from IPC four times as much as Syria received in previous years over and above the crude oil that Syria receives. Syria now gets approximately 65,000,000 Syrian pounds annually.

Earlier this year, IPC opened negotiations with the Lebanese Government for a reconsideration of the oil charges paid to Lebanon. These negotiations, which are still going on, have met with a few difficulties. The basis for the charges has not yet been agreed upon. In the case of Syria, IPC has agreed to pay the Syrian Government a definite rate per mile of distance which the oil crosses Syrian territory from the Iraqi border on the east to the Lebanese border on the west and to the Baniyas terminal, and a charge on the quantity of oil that passes in the pipelines. This distance, which is approximately 300 kilometers in Syria, is only a few kilometers in Lebanon, and naturally the Lebanese Government has refused this basis for its negotiations with IPC.

The Lebanese side of the discussions has insisted on other bases for the talks, such as the right of passage, the right of the use of Lebanese ports, and the price of land in Lebanon compared to the price in other countries. IPC, however, has insisted all the time that oil is like any other commodity, and its transportation charges must depend on its weight and the distance it is transported.

In the meantime, Tapline came forward with a new offer for discussion, that of dividing the profits of oil transportation with the Arab States equally. The Company has left it to the Arabs themselves, through whose countries Tapline oil passes, to agree among themselves on the amount each of them will receive from their combined half of the profits. The Arab States' share has been estimated at \$ 16,000,000 a year.

Islam in Christian Schools. The Egyptian Minister of Education requires compliance before December 4, 1956, with the new law making obligatory the teaching of Islam to Muslim pupils in Christian schools run by foreigners. Any school failing to conform will be taken over by the Egyptian State authorities. It is also required that all foreign schools shall teach Arabic and civics. Some foreign schools have decided to close in rejection of the new requirement. The problem created by the measure calls for farsightedness and patience. One of its more sinister features is the State's claim to over-rule the will of the parents. It has been obligatory for some time that a religion other than that of the students' families shall not be taught them without parental expression of approval. The remarkable fact is that numerous Muslim parents readily gave such consent. While most fair minded people will be ready to concede the State's responsibility to ensure the education of its children within its own cultural patterns, it is to be deplored that the family should at the same time be demoted from its proper position in regard to its own members.

No properly Christian school wishes to work for, or perpetuate, an abeyance of Islamic education. On the contrary, it desires to serve as best it may the spirit of such education. But it inevitably regrets any concept of toleration which would obviate a free and open awareness

of the content of other faiths. A system that conceives of religious education as strictly limited to inherited faiths seems calculated to prevent the kind of mutual knowledge which might lead to fuller toleration. No man is truly a believer in anything merely because he has been permanently shielded from any alternative thoughts or any distinctive theology.

The whole problem is too large for discussion here in a single note. The Church must face the new situation in courage, imaginativeness and hope. It must labor to merit such attitudes on the State's part which will cherish full toleration and recognize the whole dimensions of man as citizen. Some 284 schools, with an enrolment of some ten thousand students, are involved in the new order.

Miscellanea. *Al Bilād al Saʿūdiyyah*, the Meccan daily, reports that listeners to Radio Mecca in Pakistan have requested programs of Quranic exegesis from Mecca in Urdu as an extension of the readings already broadcast.

An Arab Writers' Conference convened in Damascus from August 27 to September 4 under Syrian Government auspices to discuss the encouragement of Arabic literature and the allocation of funds voted for this purpose.

Celebrations for the final evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone by British troops held in Egypt in June last were duplicated in many parts of the Arab world. Even in the Yaman there were public speeches in schools and a national holiday was declared. The Egyptian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and the Yaman addressed a school audience in Ṣanfā. Long articles in the Arabic press hailed Egypt as a leader in resistance to foreign occupation in Africa and Asia.

The Ruler of Kuwait, on a recent tour of Syria, donated a quarter of a million Syrian pounds for the Syrian army.

The Second Muslim Conference of Jerusalem convened in Damascus in June last with delegates from Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Algeria, Morocco, Kuwait, the Sudan, Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Iran and Turkey. The Chief Indonesian delegate, Muḥammad Nāṣir acted as president. The First Muslim Conference of Jerusalem was held in Jerusalem in 1953.

The Bahrain paper *Al Watan* was suspended indefinitely in June supposedly for articles criticizing the present state of affairs and alleging that the Bahrain police had adopted a threatening attitude in an attempt to compel approval of the government.

An Egyptian student delegation, visiting Peking after the Afro-Asian students Conference in Bandung, was warmly welcomed by eight thousand demonstrating Chinese students. The delegation was headed by Dr. Ḥasan al ʿAshmāwī, Professor of Agriculture at Cairo University.

The Editor of *Al Bilād al Saʿūdiyyah*, Ḥasan Jawharjī, raises an interesting point about the call to prayer. He complains that all the shaikhs make their call at the same time, detracting thereby from its spiritual appeal and rendering it less impressive. He suggests that they avoid the simultaneous performance of the *Adhān* so that its impact may be deeper.

Rabbi Elmer Berger's booklet *Who Knows Better Should Say So* has been translated into Arabic and circulated in Saudi Arabia with the Arabic title: *Israel is a Fraud which should be Eradicated*.

The new parliamentary electoral law in Egypt provides for a three hundred and fifty member House of Representatives, each of whom must be an Egyptian national, literate, at least thirty years of age and not belonging to a former ruling family of Egypt.

The Crown Prince of the Yaman made a State visit to Moscow during June, lasting three weeks. He was accompanied by three Yamanī ministers and inspected Moscow University.

Plans are being laid for the King Saud I University in Riyāḍ with the help of Egyptian educational experts. Certain royal palaces are to be converted for the purpose and the Shari'ah colleges in Mecca, Riyāḍ and Al-Ṭā'if will be incorporated into the new institution. There has also been a wide expansion of the Saudi educational budget especially for new schools for boys and girls in the south west of the country.

A widespread dust storm covered over one million square miles during June last. It extended from Baghdad to the west of Oman and from the neighbourhood of Karachi to the Arabian plateau. It stretched to a height of eight thousand feet and was attributed to winter dryness and high winds over Iraq.

The Islamic Congress has sent a cultural delegation to Italian Somaliland, headed by the Egyptian Director of Education and plans the opening of a cultural center there, comprising a mosque with a capacity for a thousand worshippers, a lecture room, library and teachers' training school.

The Iraq Parliament has approved a plan for a University of Baghdad, the first to be established in Iraq.

Imrān ibn Muḥammad al Imrān, reviewing a book on Arab character by Fahd al Mubārak in *Umm al Qurā* commends the stories of the desert Arab but criticizes the author for using classical, rather than dialect, language in his stories. The former gives a ponderous and unreal effect, he declares.

The Cultural Committee of the Arab League has commissioned the following authors to prepare a series of volumes on the Arab world:

Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad:	The Arabian Peninsula
Jasīm al-Khalaf	: Iraq
'Izzat al-Naṣr	: Syria, Lebanon and Palestine
	North Africa
'Izz al-Dīn Farīd	: Egypt, the Sudan and Libya
with Aḥmad Mitwallī Mūsā.	

There are reports of a proposal to hold a second Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, emanating from the Premiers of Indonesia, India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

The Fifth Annual Convention of Arabs students in the U.S.A. met in Oklahoma in September. This venue was arranged in the hope of attracting the large numbers of students located in the south and west of the United States. Last year's convention was held on the campus of the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: comment and chronology. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Winter, 1956. pp. 60-76. Covers September 1-November 30, 1955 and deals particularly with the Baghdad Pact and its relation to Jordan and Israel.
- DOCUMENTS. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Winter, 1956. pp. 77-79. Gives an unofficial translation of the Egyptian-Syrian and Egyptian-Saudi Arabian Mutual Defence Pacts of October, 1955.
- EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO, 1955. Kathleen M. Kenyon. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London. May-October, 1955. pp. 108-117. A well-illustrated account of recent finds with praise and thanks for the assistance and interest of Jordan's Department of Antiquities.
- FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. January, 1956. pp. 22-23; 26. Covers the years 1945-1954 and deals with area, population (about 80 millions), resources, industry, education, etc.
- FIELD NOTES ON THE ARABIC LITERATURE OF THE WESTERN SUDAN. W. E. N. Kensdale. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Part 3-4, 1955. pp. 162-168. Introduces the works of Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio, the Reformer, (1754-1817), 85 of whose writings are listed.
- UN PÈLERINAGE DOMINICAIN INÉDIT DU XIV^e SIÈCLE. Thomas Kaepeliet et Pierre Benoit. *Revue Biblique*, Paris. October, 1955. pp. 513-540. The Latin text, with comment and notes, of the account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land made by Brother Humbert of Dijon, a member of the Monastery of the Preachers of Dijon.
- THE POPULAR VERSE OF THE BAKHTIARI OF SOUTH-WEST PERSIA. D. L. R. Lorimer. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. 1955. pp. 92-100. The second article in a study considering various types of poetry, with translation and notes.
- WHITHER ARABIC? Ladislav Gal. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1955. pp. 32-53. Discusses the rise of colloquial Arabic and gives many examples.

II. ARABIA

- ADMINISTRATION AND LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ARABIA. Herbert J. Liebesny. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Autumn, 1955. pp. 385-396; Winter, 1956. pp. 33-42. Covers conditions in the Crown Colony of Aden, the Aden Protectorate, Bahrein, Kuwait, etc.
- STIRRINGS IN ARABY. Ray Alan. *Commentary*, N.Y. April, 1956. pp. 345-351. Describes the feuds and inter-tribal tensions of Arabia and asserts a pent-up hatred for the powerful Saudi dynasty.

III. QUR'ĀN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

- AL-KINDI AS A THINKER. M. S. H. Al-Masumi. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1955. pp. 54-73. Examines the philosopher's metaphysics and its relation to Aristotelian and Platonic thought.
- LA BARAKA CHEZ LES ARABES, OU L'INFLUENCE BIENFAISANTE DU SACRÉ. Joseph Chelhod. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris. Juillet-Septembre 1955. pp. 68-88. Deals with the spiritual effect of the rite.
- CONSIDERATIONS SOCIOLOGIQUES SUR LE DROIT MUSULMAN ISLAMIQUE. Robert Brunschvig. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. 1955, part 3. pp. 61-73. Studies the differences among various law schools to trace their effects on Muslim society and thought.
- DAKĀ IḲ AL-ḤURŪF BY 'ABD-AL-RA'ŪF OF SINGKEL. A. Johns. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Part 3-4, 1955. pp. 139-158. A continuation of a study of Sumatran Sufism from an orthodox point of view.
- DEVSHIRME AND SHARI'A. P. Wittek. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. Part 2, 1955. pp. 271-278. Explains the legality of the Muslim belief in the forced labour of Christian children because of a statement of Al-Shāfi'ī.
- ISLAM: THE MISUNDERSTOOD RELIGION. James A. Michener. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. January, 1956. pp. 11-14. An outline of the principal Muslim beliefs and practices.
- THE PRINCIPAL SUBJECT OF IBN ṬUFAYL'S ḤAYY IBN YAQZĀN. George F. Hourani. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. January, 1956. pp. 40-46. Analyzes the thought of L. Gauthier in his "Ibn Thofail, sa vie, ses oeuvres" and supplements it with the author's belief in the views of Pococke, an earlier student of the "Ḥayy".
- STAND UND AUFGABEN DER IRANISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. George Widengren. *Numen*, Leiden. January-May, 1955. pp. 47-134. The second installment of a detailed study; this section deals with the after effects of Mithraism.
- THE TRANSMISSION OF NASĀ'Ī'S 'SUNAN'. James Robson. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester, England. January, 1956. pp. 38-59. A discussion of "Al-Sunan al-Kubrā", one of the six books on Tradition revered by the Sunnis, by the great traditionist Al-Nasā'ī, who lived in the 9th century.

IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

- ARETHAS, SON OF JABALAH. 'Irfān Ka'wār. *Journal of the American Society of Oriental Research*, Baltimore. October-December, 1955. pp. 205-216. Tells of the activities of the first Ghassānid client-king of the Romans, who flourished in the 6th century under Justinian and had great influence on Arab-Byzantine relations.
- THE CAIRO GENIZAH AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF MUSLIM CIVILIZATION. S. D. Goitein. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. Part 3, 1955. pp. 75-91. Clarifies the importance of over 100,000 Arabic and Hebrew leaves casting light on mediaeval Islam.

- CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DU DIYĀR BAKR AU XI^{VE} SIÈCLE. Cl. Cahen. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris I, 1955. pp. 65-100. Analyzes the so-called Chronique de Vienne (MXT. 33 in the National Library of Vienna), which describes the life on a frontier seignory from the time of the Ilhāns to that of the Karakoylunlus.
- EARLY VISITORS IN ISLAM. De Lacy O'Leary. *The Islamic Literature*, Karachi. May, 1955. pp. 295-302. Contains observations made by mediaeval Christian travellers during journeys through Muslim lands.
- EXTENSION Y DEMOGRAFIA DE LAS CIUDADES HISPANO-MUSULMANAS. L. Torres Balbas. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. Part 3, 1955. pp. 35-59. Uses primary source material to show the development of several important Spanish cities.
- L'HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DE L'ORIENT MUSULMAN MÉDIÉVAL. Claude Cahen. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. Part 3, 1955. pp. 93-115. Stresses the need for more research on this aspect of mediaeval Islamic thought and civilization.
- THE MORAL DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY. G. Jaschke. *Die Welt des Islams*, Muenster (Westf.). Part I, 1955. pp. 10-14. Describes Ataturk's subtle leading of the Turks away from loyalist leanings to ardent support of the Republic.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- ARABISCHEN BESTATTUNGSBRAEUCHE IN FRUEHISLAMISCHEN ZEIT. Irene Gruetter. *Der Islam*, Stuttgart. June 1955. pp. 79-104. Describes customs relating to the shroud, prayers over the dead and the funeral procession.
- CHANGING ETHIOPIA. Simon D. Messing. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Autumn, 1955. pp. 413-432. Stemming from the enterprising interest of the Emperor, Haile Selassie, a process of centralization and modernization is under way, virtually unopposed by the nobility and the Coptic Church.
- EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND ARAB NATIONALISM IN MANDATORY PALESTINE. A. L. Tibawi. *Die Welt des Islams*, Munster (Westf.). Part I, 1955. pp. 15-29. The nationalistic activities of teachers and students constantly disrupted proceedings.
- FROM TARSUS TO LAKE VAN. Freya Stark. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1956. pp. 7-19. A detailed account, with illustrations, of a motor trip through the region watered by the Tigris and Euphrates.
- IN THE VALLEY OF THE ALMOND BLOSSOM. Kurt A. Vordermaier. *The Islamic Literature*, Karachi. June, 1955. pp. 351-383. Historical and travel descriptions of Cyrenaica.
- THE MARSHES OF SOUTHERN IRAK. Gavin Young. *The Arab World*, London. July, 1955. pp. 11-17. Pictures the life of the Ma^adan Arabs whose marshes may disappear because of drainage projects.
- NEOLITHIC FOLK TO-DAY. Lincoln Barnett. *Life*, N.Y. April 16, 1956. pp. 74-95. The Berbers living in the valley of the Dades in the Atlas Mountains afford the author and the photographer, David D. Duncan, a splendid opportunity for depicting primitive life.
- PERSPECTIVES ISRAÉLIENNES. C. D'Ydewalle. *Études*, Paris. Mars,

1956. pp. 368-380. A vivid description of the various Jewish types met while travelling through Palestine.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AFGHANISTAN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. Charles Duprée. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1956. pp. 52-60. An historical article dealing with the six serious invasions of the country between B.C. 135-1222 A.D.

THE BATTLE OF AZERBAIJAN, 1946. Robert Rossow, Jr. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Winter, 1956. pp. 17-32. Describes in detail the period from March, 1946, to October, 1947, showing how the firmness of Iran and Turkey and the strong reaction of the Western powers defeated the expansionist aims of Russia.

BOOM TOWN OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Hal Lehrman. *New York Times Magazine*, N.Y. April 8, 1956. pp. 18: 42-47. An account of Beirut, a new and prosperous trade centre and a resort for oil-rich Arabs.

THE CASE FOR A FRIEND IN NEED. Clarence B. Randall, *Life*, New York. May 7, 1956. pp. 115-120. Deals with Turkey's industrial development and the aid and encouragement the United States has given and should continue to give.

THE CRISIS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM. Herbert Luety. *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. May, 1956. pp. 60-65. The author criticises the unrealistic position taken by the French in North Africa and especially in Algeria.

L'EXPÉRIENCE BRITANNIQUE EN IRAQ. Pierre Rondot. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. Part 2, 1955. pp. 3-26. Commends British policy and accomplishments in Iraq for the past thirty-five years.

AN EXPERIMENT WITH CIVILIAN DICTATORSHIP IN IRAN. N. M. Efimenko. *Journal of Politics*, Gaines, Florida. August, 1955. pp. 39-406. Analyzes the reasons for the fall of Mossadegh.

IMPACT OF THE OIL INDUSTRY ON THE PERSIAN GULF SHAYKHDOMS. Sir Rupert Hay. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Autumn, 1955. pp. 361-372. The author believes the oil companies should be careful not to arouse anti-Western feeling because at present the situation is serene and the influence of the oil industry beneficial.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF "PAKHTUNISTAN". *World Today*, London. September, 1955. pp. 390-398. The growth of friendly Russian relations with Afghanistan calls for a definite policy for protecting the Durand Line and for considering anew the Treaty of 1921 between Great Britain and Afghanistan.

LES LIGNES DE FORCES DU MAROC MODERNE. *Politique Étrangère*, Paris. Août-Septembre, 1955. pp. 393-424. Analyzes the various political forces struggling for supremacy in the country.

MOROCCO, TUNISIA AND ALGERIA BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS. H. C. Atyes. *Middle Eastern Affairs*. New York. August-September, 1955. pp. 229-248. The U.N. has helped clarify the situation between France and the North African countries through discussion.

LE PACTE DE BAGDAD. M. Ferro. *Études*, Paris. Avril, 1956. pp. 80-87. A critical analysis.

VII. PALESTINE AND EGYPT

THE ARAB-ISRAELI IMPASSE. R. P. Johnson. *Presbyterian Life*, New York. April 14, 1956. pp. 15-17; 32-33. The article urges American Christians to press the State Department to plan for and bring to pass the integration and rehabilitation of the Arab refugees instead of having us aid in the arms race.

ARAB VS. JEW. *Look*, New York. May 29, 1956. pp. 23-32. Contains "Israel in crisis" by Chester Morrison and "Arabs aroused" by William Attwood.

THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. *Community*, New York. March, 1956. pp. 210-229. Contains "Is the Arab-Israeli war inevitable? A challenge to American leadership" by Hal Lehrman and, "Britain's traditional Middle East hold fails surrendering to the trouble-makers" by George Lichtheim.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE JORDAN VALLEY WATERS. Don Peretz. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Autumn, 1955. pp. 397-412. A discussion of the various Johnston plans (1952-1955), the plan of the Arab League and the Cotton Plan together with the social, economic and political changes involved.

L'EXERCISE PAR L'ÉGYPTE DU DROIT DE VISITE, DE RECHERCHES ET DE CAPTURE DANS LE CANAL DE SUEZ ET LE GOLFE D'AKABA. A. M. El-Tanam li. *L'Égypte Contemporain*, Le Caire. Avril, 1955. pp. 1-40. An analysis of Israeli complaints to the U.N. Security Council.

GLUBB TELLS HOW OUR MIDDLE EAST ENEMIES WORK. Gen. Sir John Bagot Glubb. *Life*, New York. April 16, 1956. pp. 145-156. A description of how Arab agitators, abetted by the Russians, imperil the West's position and how the wretchedness of the refugees adds to the general unrest.

NATIONALISM, REVOLUTION AND FANTASY IN EGYPT. George Lichtheim. *Commentary*, N.Y. January, 1956. pp. 33-40. Describes conspicuous activities since September, 1955—such as the Soviet arms deal, the High Dam project and the continuation of efforts at land reform, though at a slower pace than formerly.

LA PAIX ISRAËLO-ARABE, EST-ELLE POSSIBLE? Paul Giniewski. *Politique Étrangère*, Paris, Juillet, 1955. pp. 355-368. The author believes that the Turko-Iraqi Pact and other Arab associations will bring Israel into line.

A RÔLE IN SEARCH OF A HERO. John S. Badeau. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Autumn, 1955. pp. 373-384. "A brief study of the Egyptian Revolution" and the present problems faced by the Revolutionary Command Council.

THE SOVIET THREAT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. *Commentary*, N.Y. May, 1956. pp. 401-417. Consists of two articles—Western self-interest and Israeli self-defence by Hal Lehrman and, The Moscow-Cairo axis by Walter Z. Laqueur.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

L'AVENIR RELIGIEUX DU TCHAD. Paul Dalmais. *Études*, Paris. Janvier, 1956. Presents Roman Catholic and Protestant mission and popula-

tion statistics, describes mission stations and pleads for more Christian ardour in a land beset by Islam and materialism.

THE CASBAH OF ALGIERS. André Tardy. *World Mission*, New York. Winter, 1955. pp. 474-475. Describes the aims and partial successes of four missionaries aided by a few Sisters and nurses, who are trying

so serve a restless, dissatisfied community of nearly 60,000 souls.

CHRÉTIENS EN FACE DE L'ISLAM. A. D'Alverny. *Études*, Paris. Mai, 1956. pp. 161-175. Before the pride of race and accomplishments and the religious devotion of the Muslims, the Christian is urged above all to show forth the love of God and the brotherly compassion of Christ.

THE CHURCH IN INDONESIA. Kenneth G. Glubb. *World Dominion*, London. January, 1956. pp. 51-56. The author gives encouraging statistics, praises the Dutch for a strong missionary foundation, and finds the Javanese and Sundanese Christian communities the greatest in the Muslim world.

THE DIOCESE OF GAMBIA AND THE RIO PONGAS. The Rt. Rev. R. N. Coote. *Pan Anglican*, Hartford, Conn. October, 1955. pp. 18-22. Describes very heartening results in this predominantly Muslim land.