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لَنْ يَسْتَكْفِرَ الْمَسِيحُ أَنْ يَكُونَ عَبْدًا لِلَّهِ

## THE SERVANT AND THE SON.

“Messiah will never scorn to be a slave for God.” (Surah iv.171) But, if the question is reverent, why should he? For service to God is, on any Quranic, or Biblical, hypothesis, the highest honor. Yet there the comment stands. The sense of the context seems to be that Messiah’s never refusing the role of servant corroborates the conviction that he would never approve the imputed role of Son. Thus his being gladly “slave to God” is understood as the surest indication that men err in attributing to him any ‘higher’ status. Messiah must be assessed in terms of his own humility. He who would never despise to be slave would manifestly never pretend to be Son.

If this be the intention of the passage in Surah iv, it is moving, from a widely different premise, in the same realm as a pivotal passage in the New Testament. As so often when we try to pursue a Quranic-Biblical parallel we discover the common element leading into quite distinctive and even contrasted conclusions. But we must begin with what is common if we would penetrate what is not. When St. Paul writes to the Philippians about the self-humiliation of the Divine Son, he employs this same term ‘*abd*’ and insists, like the Qur’ān, that Jesus, the slave of God, never flinches from the cost of such service and never scorns the lowly status in which the redemptive purpose is fulfilled. “The Messiah,” for St. Paul and the whole New Testament faith, “will never scorn to be a slave for God.” Indeed this status is His supreme glory. But the self-abnegation through which Jesus fulfills the Divine will is far from being a ground for the disavowal of His Sonship. It is, indeed, that Sonship most evidently ope-

rative and so most eloquently proclaimed. To find Christ so gladly the servant is not thereby to find Him *not* the Son. It is *as* the Son that He does not scorn to be the slave. Here is the amazing wonder: not the repudiation of the improperly pretentious but the obedience of the properly Divine.

So at least the Christians at Philippi understood the matter as they listened, and all the Christian centuries with them, to the tremendous summary of St. Paul:

“Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus Who, being in the form of God, did not consider that status a prerogative to cling to, but made Himself of no reputation, and taking the form of a servant was made in the likeness of men. And being found in fashion as a man, He became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. Wherefore God has highly exalted Him and given Him the name which is above every name.” (Phil. ii, 5-9).

Here, as throughout the New Testament, the conviction is that the role of Messiahship means suffering and death and that in these the Divine quality of the love that bears them is unmistakably disclosed. But that Divine quality is so demonstrated because it was always present. Messiahship, we may say, becomes, in the New Testament view of what it entails, so costly and great an enterprise as to be capable of fulfillment by God alone. But God active for our forgiveness and the remaking of our humanity is necessarily — as the Messianic hope always knew — God here within the human scene. Man's salvation is a task for God and God undertakes it. These are the two sides of the Christian assurance. When God, in Christ, undertakes the task of which only He is capable, it brings Him, by its very nature as redemptive, into the situation that shapes it. This is the mission which Messiah does not scorn. His obedience sets the context for the full disclosure of His identity. The Cross is the place where He is most sublimely Himself, where we know Him for Who He is. Truly, “Messiah never scorns to be slave unto God,” since by this very status God is known to sinful humanity as self-consistent Love.

'*Abd Allāh*, then, that name so profound and in Islam so frequent, is the locus of transcendent truths. The affinity of idea between the Qur'ān and the New Testament is one, which, however limited the likeness, we must reverently pursue. What should we think and believe that God's work in the world involves and demands? Is it such that a gulf of otherness must remain between the two doers—God in heavenly intent and the '*Abd* in earthly deed? Or does its nature mean that God is Himself the Doer in both spheres, so that the distinction is operative, not essential, as the Bible has always proclaimed? Is the Messianic intention of God outside the Divine being, though within the Divine will? Is there no '*Abd Allah*, no servant, Who, by the very nature of His service, must also be the Son?

These questions are not abstruse, but vital. Yet they are not properly controversial because only by beginning in worship can we move towards their answer. For they must turn, in the end, upon the nature of God Himself. If He truly intends the education of mankind will not that purpose, as it culminates into completion, require His own revelatory participation? Will it take less than God to reveal God? Will not His very intention, in this sense, require Himself? Or in Biblical language, may not the Son be the only finally sufficient servant, preceded though He may well be by teachers and prophets of God? And in that educative purpose will not the Divine service enlist the human into partnership? For it is in terms of what is temporal that the eternal may be known. In the Servant-Son, God not only proclaims His own nature but gives us to know what human life is meant to be when it is perfectly the vehicle of the Divine. Or, in the words of Thomas Traherne: "I had never known the dignity of my nature, hadst Thou not esteemed it; I had never seen or understood its glory, hadst Thou not assumed it." When the Word is made flesh we understand what it is saying, and that, both as to God and as to ourselves.

But this education is at the same time the discovery of our

sinfulness. The quality of that humanity in which God is revealed inevitably reproaches ours. This in fact is part of its purpose. For out of this awareness of our wrongness comes the will to be forgiven and restored. And in that same context where we learn to know and forsake our selfishness, God accomplishes the pardon He brings us to seek. The point of our conviction of need is also the place of our reconciliation. If such be the intent of grace we can see how the service of that end should culminate in the Cross. For the restoration of wrongdoing, the retrieval of evil, are always costly. In any evil situation love suffers. Only indifference escapes cost: and love is the repudiation of indifference. It is precisely such a Divine repudiation of indifference, and that on a total scale, which the Cross proclaims. May we not then see there the crown and climax of a worthily Divine service of a truly Divine enterprise? Will not the supreme '*Abd Allāh*' be, by the same token, a supreme sufferer? And thus may not the tasks He achieves as servant demand the competence that only the Son can bring? If so, shall we truly understand, still less honor, the servant, by disallowing the Son?

It is hard, no doubt, to do justly by these questions from the Muslim viewpoint that the idea of God in Christ is anathema. Yet they are worth facing if we treasure the thought of the Messiah as the servant and if we take seriously His refusal to scorn the role. For then we are confronted by a purpose for which only God suffices, both as author and actor, as He Who wills and He Who accomplishes. But is not this what St. Paul meant when he spoke of "God in Christ?" In learning of the servant who never scorns do we not discern the Son Who ever loves? It is in this discovery that the Christian finds life and peace.

"Praise to the Holiest in the height,  
And in the depth be praise:  
In all His words most wonderful,  
Most sure in all His ways."

# THE LANGUAGE OF MUSLIM DEVOTION: I.

## I. THE CALLING DOWN OF BLESSING UPON MUḤAMMAD

A rich and often neglected source of knowledge of the intimate, spiritual life and meanings of Islam lies in the numerous manuals of Ṣūfī devotion which abound, in simple editions, throughout the Arabic-speaking world. The purpose of this and three following articles is to present some aspects of this devotional literature as an index to the heart of worshipping Islam. At the very least, one third of the manuals on which this study is built, consist of variations on a single sentence: "May God call down blessing on our Lord Muḥammad and on the family of our Lord Muḥammad and greet them with peace."

Here is the *Taṣliyah*, the commonest of phrases on Muslim lips and in Muslim books. Some form of it follows every mention of the Prophet of Islam and has done so since the days of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. It is the commonest of phrases in Muslim devotion, whether as the sole and sufficing subject of whole books, or as the conclusion applied to prayers and praises of the most varied character, since all prayers should both begin and end with *Tahmid* and *Taṣliyah* (*Adhkār al-Nawawī*, p. 56). There is no end to its uses. A member of the Mālīkī school said:

"The calling down of blessing on the Prophet is an ordinance of Islam to which no numerical limit has been set and no fixed time has been allotted." (Al-Suyūṭī: *Al-Ḥirz al-Manīʿ*.)

The *Taṣliyah* rings down from the mināret in the muezzin's call. At what moment in Muslim history it was inserted there it is hard to decide. An oft-quoted tradition may mark a stage at which the *Ṣalāt ʿalā-l-Nabī* was known as a response to the *ādhān*, but was not yet part of the *ādhān* itself.<sup>1</sup> "When you hear the call to prayer, say after him what the muezzin says, then call down blessing on me, for whoso calls down one blessing on me, God shall call down on him ten blessings." (Muslim, from ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar: also Aḥmad, Abū Dawūd, Al-Tirmidhī, Al-Nasāʿī.) Many variants of this tradition of ten-fold reward are quoted in the manuals. It is said to be based on the Quranic text: "He who does a good deed shall have attributed to him ten more" (Surah vi, 160.) "For there is no doubt that to bless the Prophet is one of the most important of good deeds." (*Faṭḥ-al-Karīm al-Khālīq*, p. 11, — a commentary by ʿAlī al-Makkī on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī.) He adds: "What work can arrive at such a result? What power or means can attain it? How could it come about that the Mighty King should call down blessing on his poor and lowly

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<sup>1</sup> As was the case, Tor Andrae points out, as late as Al-Bukhārī, d. 256/870, whose whole section on the *Adhān* shows no sign of the *Taṣliyah*.

servant, but for his care to obey the Prophet, and the greatness of that Prophet's influence with the Almighty?" (Ibid. p. 8. quoting from Al-Fāsī, *Mutālī' al-Musarrāt li Sharḥ Dalā'il al-Khairāt*.)

One of the manuals, an abridgment by Al-Suyūṭī of a work on *Taṣliyah* by Shams al-Din Al-Sakhāwī, d. 902/1496 would even place the insertion of the *Taṣliyah* in the *ādhān* as early as the end of the first Islamic century. It declares that the *ṣalāt* began in Sha'bān of the year 91, when Al-Najm ibn al-Ṭandī, the *Muḥtasib*, ordered that they should call down blessings on the Prophet at every call to prayer except that of sunset when time did not permit of it. (no source given) (*Al-Ḥirz al-Manī' p. 104*)<sup>2</sup>).

There is silence in the manuals as to the time when the *Taṣliyah* became obligatory also in the prayer rite itself,<sup>3</sup> an obligation on which the devout conscience could still suspend judgment as late as Al-Sha'rānī. (d 973/1565).

As for the position of those who do not make the *Ṣalāt 'alā-l-Nabī* obligatory in the last *tashahhud* they hold that the preoccupation of (the man engaged in) the prayer rite is continuously with the presence of God himself, and perhaps the awe of that presence may so strongly dominate the heart of the worshipper that he may be unable to turn from the greatness of the Divine interview to the thought of anyone else. (One of the divines has said that in such a case the calling down of blessing on the Prophet is an approved but not an obligatory practice.) Such men differ from those great ones whose vision includes both God, High in majesty, and His creatures, and whose vision of God Most High does not preclude the vision of created beings. Nor should it, for the calling down of blessing on the Prophet in the presence of God only means that the Prophet is their *imām* in that worship.

We have a saying of Junaid that for the perfect man neither does the vision of God preclude the vision of his creatures nor *vice versa*, but to each is given his rights. He, then, who said that the calling down of blessing on the Prophet was not obligatory, did not do so from any belittling of the Prophet's rank, but only because of the overwhelming greatness of the Divine irradiation in the heart of the worshipper. Al-Qushairī quoted from Abū Bakr al-Shiblī that he once gave the call to prayer and when he reached the *shahādatain* he stood and said: "By Thy might and Thy majesty hadst Thou not commanded me to make mention of Thy Prophet, I should not have been able to mention

<sup>2</sup> The *Muḥtasib*, though not a mosque official, had to see that the *ādhān* was duly given. The date 91 A. H. was perhaps suggested by the fact that that year (the year of the donation of the first golden waterspout) was one of changes and enlargements in the mosque.

<sup>3</sup> For references supporting a 10th century date see Louis Massignon, *Al-Hallāj*, p. 745, notes 4-7.

him!" Possibly this happened to Al-Shiblī before he had reached perfection. <sup>4</sup> (*Ḥaṭāʾif al-Minan*, p. 127)

The prayer manuals now in popular use, even though much of their material goes back to a date earlier than that of Al-Shaʿrānī, show no such suspension of judgment. For them the *Ṣalāt ʿalā-l-Nabī* is both primitive and of overwhelming importance: "Know that the command to call down blessing on the Prophet was given in the second year of the Hijrah and it is said that it was on the night of the *Isrāʾ*; there is a tradition, without *isnād*, in *Faḍlu Shaʿbān* by Ibn Abi-l-Saif, that the month of Shaʿbān is the month of calling down blessing on the chosen Prophet because the verse commanding it was sent down in that month. (i.e. Surah xxxiii, 56) (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ* p. 16.)

The *Taṣliyah* has become an essential, sometimes, it would seem, *the* essential, of the life of salvation and devotion: If a man brings on the Day of Resurrection of good works as many as those of all the people in the world and does not bring with them the calling down of blessing on the Prophet, his good works are returned to him, unacceptable. (*Faḥ al-Rasūl*, M-ʿUṭhmān al-Mirghānī.) Conversely: One on the Day of Resurrection asked his accuser "Who art thou?" It answered: "I am thy misdeeds" He said: "And how can I be delivered from thee?" It said: "By much calling down of blessing on the Prophet." (*Al-Ḥirz al-Manīʿ*, Al-Suyūṭī, p. 23.)

Muḥammad said: "Gabriel came to me and said: 'O Muḥammad, he who passes Ramaḍān without obtaining forgiveness and enters the Fire shall be banished from God Most High.' And I said, "Amen." Then he said: "He who sees his parents or one of them and behaves without filial piety, when he dies and enters the Fire shall be banished from God Most High." And I said: "Amen." Then he said: "He who when thou art mentioned fails to call down blessing on thee, when he enters the Fire shall be banished from God Most High." And I said, "Amen." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl* M. ʿUṭhmān al-Mirghānī, p. 13.)

And ʿUbayy ibn Kaʿb said: "O Apostle of God, many a time do I call down blessings on you for love of you. How much of my prayer shall I devote to you?" He said: "What you will." ʿUbayy said: "A quarter?" He said: "What you will, but if you do more it will be for your good." He said: "Half?" The Prophet said: "What you will, but if you do more it will be well for you." He said: "Two thirds?" The Prophet said: "What you will, but if you do more it will be for your good." Then Ubayy said: "I will devote my whole prayer to you." The Prophet replied: "Then your anxieties will be met and your sins forgiven." (*Ibid.* p. 12, note).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. The other anecdote in Al-Qushairī concerning Al-Kharrāz (died at Cairo in 286/899) who greeted a night vision of the Prophet with the words: "Pardon me! Loving God makes me forget to love you", and heard the response "Thou blessed one, he who loves God loves me also." *Risālah Qushairiyyah*. Cairo 1319, p. 160.

*Ṣallā ʿalā*, with the general meaning "to pray for," is found in Surah ix, 103, where Muḥammad is told to pray for (perhaps with this is included the sense of praying *over*) misdoers who have at length made application to enter Islam. In Christian Arabic the same phrase is used in the passage in James v, 14 where the sick man is told to send for the elders of the Church and they will pray over him.<sup>5</sup> (Here of course including the sense of for him). It is used in the Qurʾān Surah ix 85, and in tradition for some kind of funeral prayer whether that means praying over, or for, the dead man, or both. Our prayer manuals use it for Muḥammad's prayers for *himself*. "That which the greatest of lords prayed for his noble self." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*. p. 3)

But in the Quranic verse which is basic for the whole of this devotion, the *Ṣalāt ʿala-l-Nabī* is described as the action of God and His angels. "Verily God and His angels call down blessing on (*yusallūna ʿalā*) the Prophet. O ye who have believed, call down blessing on him and greet him with peace". (Surah xxxiii, 56)

Here then is a universal communion in honouring Muḥammad. God Most High informed his worshippers of the rank which his Prophet holds with him in the heavenly host, by praising him in the presence of the angels of access, and by the *Ṣalāt* of those angels for him. Then He commanded *Ṣalāt* and a greeting of peace from the people of the world below, so that the people of both worlds, above and below, might unite in his praise.

The honour with which God Most High honours Muḥammad is fuller and more universal than that with which He honoured Adam when He commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before him, for it is not possible that God Himself took part with the angels in that earlier honouring. (*Al-Hirz-al-Manīʿ* p. 12)

There lies the rub. Some explanation must be given of the word *Ṣalāt ʿalā* which covers an activity in which God Himself takes part. We do not attempt to trace the history of Muslim thought on God's *Ṣalāt* but only to note the explanations in our collection of manuals. The early suggestion that God's *Ṣalāt* means His forgiveness (Al-Baiḍāwī in Surah ii. 152 gives the sense of forgiveness) is quoted but glided over in favour of the more acceptable idea that it means His magnifying of His servant.

It has been transmitted to us from Ibn ʿAbbās that it means that God praises your Prophet and forgives him and commands the angels to ask forgiveness for him. (*Al-Hirz al-Manīʿ*, Al-Suyūṭī p. 114).

Opinions differ as to the meaning of *Ṣalāt*. It is said that from God its meaning is mercy and complaisance, and from angels and men petition and asking forgiveness. And it is said that the *Ṣalāt* of God

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣallā ʿalā* is used here both in the modern versions and also in a 9th or 10th century manuscript in the convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. (Gibson Catalogue, No. 154.)

is His mercy and the *Ṣalāt* of angels is prayer for blessing. And it is said that the *Ṣalāt* of God is His mercy combined with magnifying and that of the angels is asking for forgiveness, and that of men, humble beseeching and petition. And it is said that God's *Ṣalāt* for His prophets is praise and magnifying, while His *Ṣalāt* for others is His mercy.

Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī said: "*Ṣalāt* from God is mercy, and from human beings and others, angels and jinn, it is bowing and prostration and petition and praise, and from birds and owls it is praise. Each creature knows his own *ṣalāt* and *tasbīḥ* — and Al-Halīmī set forth the meaning of God's *Ṣalāt* for His prophet as His magnifying of him. (*Faḥ al-Karīm al-Khāliq*, <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Makkī, p. 15)

This last meaning is preferred because, with the sense of 'magnifying' one meaning can be given to the word *Ṣalāt* whether it is attributed to God or to angels or to the believers who are commanded to it. (*Ibid.* loc. cit.) Perhaps the happiest English translation that can be used alike of God, angels and men is "to call down blessing upon."

One form of the *Ṣalāt* <sup>c</sup>*alā-l-Nabī* asks God to take our place in this blessed action, just as God is frequently asked to reward the Prophet on behalf of his people. "And replace us, with thy pure and generous favour, in calling down blessing on him." *Al-Ṣalāt al-ghaibiyyah*, Aḥmad al-Tijānī.).

But another explanation is felt to be necessary and is found in several of the manuals as follows: If you say, what is the explanation of the fact that although God commands us to call down blessing on the Prophet we yet say: 'O God call down blessing on Muḥammad,' asking God to call down blessing instead of doing so ourselves, I reply that this is because the Prophet is pure, without blemish or failing, while we have both blemishes and failings. How shall one full of blemishes and failings call down blessing on the pure and perfect Prophet? Therefore we ask God to call down blessing on him, that the blessing may be called down by a pure God on a pure Prophet." (*Faḥ al-Karīm al-Khāliq*, <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Makkī).

After all explanations the worshippers feel themselves in the presence of a mystery on which some have loved to ponder, picturing a Divine *Ṣalāt* continuous from before all worlds, in the *miḥrāb* of the essence of the Divine Being. Others have dwelt on it as a communion of love, "the calling down of blessing by the Beloved on His beloved." (Aḥmad al-Tijānī) "Call down blessing on him with that *Ṣalāt*, with which Thou didst call down blessing on him in the *miḥrāb* of thy transcendent holiness and the Ipseity of thine intimacy." (*Al-Ṣalāt al-ghaibiyyah*, Aḥmad al-Tijānī.).

While the overwhelming mass of this devotion is reserved for Muḥammad, its pattern sentence: "O God, call down blessing on our Lord Muḥammad and on his family," opens the door for a wider use. It is extended to other prophets, and by Shī<sup>c</sup>ah books to all the <sup>c</sup>Alīds.

Shī'ah writers prefer the form "On Muḥammad and his family" to "and upon his family," which might place the family in a different category.

May God call down blessing on Muḥammad and on his family and his companions and his wives and his descendants and the members of his house (i.e. his descendants) <sup>6</sup> morning and evening. And bless and greet with peace, O God, him and his father Abraham Thy Friend and David Thy Caliph, and Moses Thine Interlocutor, and 'Isā Thy Spirit, and Isaac Thy Sacrifice and all their brethren the Prophets and Apostles." (*Wird-al-Ashār*. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, p. 61.)

The mention here of Isaac instead of Ishmael is surprising. Such lists of blessings on prophets are common. e.g. *Wird al-Sahṛ* of Aḥmad al Mar'ashī or that which 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī is said to have learnt from Al-Khaḍr (*Majmū'at-al-Aḥzab*, p. 196)

Similar callings down of blessing on Muḥammad's "brother Gabriel" and on all the angels are often found: "O God, call down blessing on Thine angels of access and on Thy purified Prophets and Thine Apostles sent forth as messengers, and on the Bearers of the Throne, and on Gabriel and Michael and the Angel of Death, and Raḍwān treasure of Paradise, and Malik, treasurer of the Fire, and Raumān and Munkar and Nakīr. And call down blessing on the noble recording angels, and call down blessing on all the people of thine obedience, people of heaven and people of earth." (*Salāt Kunūz al-Asrār*, 'Abdallāh al-Fāsī in *Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, p. 51). The Prophet's family, always included in the blessing formula, are spiritualized in *Dalā'il al-Khairāt* in a manner strongly reminiscent of the Gospels. (Mark iii, 33-35)

"It was said to the Apostle of God: 'Who are the family of Muḥammad whom we are enjoined to love and honour and treat with piety?' He said: 'The people who hearken and fulfil their dues, whosoever believes in me and is true to me.'" It was said: "And what are the signs by which they may be known?" He said: "the preference of love for me over all other love, and inward occupation with the remembrance of me, second only to the remembrance of God." (*Dalā'il al-Khairāt*, p. 21.) "The Family" in prayer means the whole community, although there should be a reference of special respect to his relatives. (*Al-Faḥ-al-Rabbān*, M. 'Abdallāh ibn Ḥasanain, p. 66.)

The spiritualizing of Muḥammad's family makes it possible to include all believers in the prayer of blessing, and this blessing of the whole family is a kind of spiritual almsgiving.

Muḥammad said: "If any Muslim has nothing wherewith to give

<sup>6</sup> Evidently a widely used explanation. In *Al-Hirz al-Manī'*, Al-Suyūṭī says that he read this explanation in *Sharḥ muqaddimāt Abi-l-Laith* of al-Imām Muṣṭafā-l-Turkumānī. Goldziher quotes the same passage as from *Al-As'ilah wa-al-Ajwibah* of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī, a 9th-century Egyptian catechiser (*Über die Eulogien der Mohammadaner*, Z.D.M.G., vol. 50, p. 97).

alms, let him say in his petition, O God call down blessing on Muḥammad thy servant and apostle, and call down blessing on the believers, men and women, and the Muslims, men and women. For that (petition) will be to him a giving of the legal alms." (*Fath-al-Rasūl*, p. 32, M. ʿUthmān al-Mīrghani.)

## THE WORTH OF TAṢLIYAH

No part of Muslim devotion is more redolent of the people, more full of popular anecdote and traditions quoted without the dignified support of *isnād* than the *Taṣliyah*. These may be trite and homely like that which says that the best way of finding a lost object is to say *ṣallā Allāh ʿalā-l-Nabī*. But for the most part they deal with the *Ṣalāt* as a means to forgiveness of sins, and of escape from the terrors of the tomb and the Judgment Day to the joys of Paradise. Here are only a few examples from the lush growth of these popular sayings.

Muḥammad said: "Gabriel came to me one day saying: 'Muḥammad, I have brought you such good news as I never brought to anyone before. It is that God Most High announces to you that any one of your people who calls down blessing upon you three times will have his sins forgiven; if he be standing, ere he sits down; if he be sitting, ere he rises up.'" (*Fath-al-Rasūl*, p. 13.)

"It is said that written on the base of the Throne are the words: 'I have mercy on him that yearns for Me; I give to him that asks of Me; and whoso approaches Me calling down blessing on Muḥammad I forgive him his faults be they as the foam of the sea.'" (*Dalāʾil-al-Khairāt*, p. 17.)

"It is narrated in a tradition that there was in Banū Isrāʾīl a man given to excesses. And when he died they cast out his body. But God said by inspiration to his prophet Moses that he should wash the body and pray over it, (*ṣallī ʿalaihi*) 'for I have forgiven him.' Moses said: 'Why hast Thou so done?' He said: 'The man one day opened the Torah and found in it the name of Muḥammad and he called down blessing on him and for that blessing I have forgiven him his sins.'" (*Al-Ḥirz al-Manīʿ*, p. 73.)

And, though dignified as a tradition, a real folk-story:

"I heard a man in the Ḥaram at Makkah most abundant in his calling down of blessing on the Prophet, wherever he was, in the Ḥaram, or at Mount ʿArafāt, or at Mīna. I said: 'O man, every prayer station has its appointed form of words. How is it that you do not employ yourself in petitions or offer performances of the prayer-rite to the extent that you call down blessing on the Prophet?' And he said: 'I came as a pilgrim from Khurasān to this House, my father travelling with me. And when we reached Kūfā he fell ill, and his sickness increased. He died, and I covered his face with a veil and

left him for a time. When I came back I unveiled his face that I might look on it and lo! it had taken on the form of a donkey's face. When I saw that, I was deeply impressed and disturbed and terribly grieved. And I said to myself: 'How can I display my father to the people (at the funeral prayers) in this condition which has come over him? And I sat down beside him full of care. And sleep overcame me, and while I slept, behold I saw what seemed to me a man entering our room; and, coming to where my father lay, he uncovered his face and gazed at him, then covered it again. Then he said to me: 'Why so greatly troubled?' And I said: 'How should I not be concerned when this trial has come upon my father?' Then he drew back the cover from my father's face and behold it was like the rising moon."

"And I said to that man: 'By God, who art thou whose coming was thus blessed?' He said: 'I am the Chosen One' and when he said that I rejoiced greatly and caught hold of the hem of his garment and raised it on my hand saying: 'By God's truth, my Lord the Apostle of God, wilt Thou not explain to me this story?'"

"He said: 'Your father used to take usury, and by God's command usurers shall have their faces changed to asses' faces at death, either in this world or the next. But it was your father's custom to call down blessing on me a hundred every night before he lay down on his bed.

And when he was exposed to this trial for his usury, the angel came to me who exposes the doings of my people and informed me of what had happened to him and I besought God who gave me the right to intercede for him.'"

"Then I awoke and uncovered my father's face, and there it was like the moon when it is full, and I praised and thanked God and made my father ready and buried him and sat down by his grave for an hour. And as I was half asleep and half awake I heard a voice calling: 'Dost thou know the cause of this grace done to thy father?' I said: 'No!' The voice said: 'Its cause was his *Ṣalāt* and *salām* on the Apostle of God' and he enjoined me never to forsake the calling down of blessing on the Apostle of God under any condition or in any place." (*Al-Hirz al-Manī*, Al-Suyūṭī, pp. 120, 121.)

Also among the fruits of the devout use of the *Taṣḥiyah* is the hope of escape from the dark terrors of the tomb. "A calling down of blessing which widens the narrowness of the tomb and solaces for me its loneliness and which will be companionable to me in my grave." (*Faḥ al-Rasūl*, M. 'Uthmān al-Mirghānī, p. 130.)

"And in the niche of the tomb there will be spaciousness for thee, and a garden of rest a creation within it. The pleasaunces of that garden are freedom and it is lofty, inspired by the calling down of blessing on Muḥammad." (*Taṣḥīr al-qaṣīdat al-Ḥadramiyyah*, anon.)

A curious thought about the after-death efficacy of the *Ṣalāt* 'alā

*al-Nabī* is that it will create a passage between the believer's tomb and the Tomb of the Prophet. "A calling down of blessing by which there may be for me a road from my grave to the Prophet's Tomb." (*Fath al-Rasūl*, p. 130.)

Muḥammad said: "When a man is ordered to the Fire I shall say: 'Bring him back to the scales,' and I shall add to the scale (of his good deeds) something small as a finger tip, and that is his calling down of blessing on me. And the scale will be balanced and the cry will go up; 'Happy is so and so.'" (*Al-Hirz al-Manīʿ*, p. 94.)

"It is related that after the death of Al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Maṣṣūr, a man of Shirāz saw him standing in the miḥrāb of the mosque of that city, clad in a robe of honour and crowned with a jewelled diadem. And the man said to Al-ʿAbbās: 'What did God do with you?' He said: 'He forgave me and honoured me and crowned me and gave me entrance to Paradise.' He said: 'And why?' Al-ʿAbbās replied: 'Because I was so abundant in blessing the Prophet of God.'" (*Fath al-Rasūl*, p. 72.)

"And God Most High will say: 'O My angels, here is one of My servants who abounded in calling down blessing on My Beloved. By My might and majesty and generosity and glory and exaltedness, We will give him for every letter of his *ṣalāt* a palace in Paradise, and he shall come to Me on the Resurrection Day under the banner of Muḥammad, the light of his face like the shining of the moon when it is full, and his hand in the hand of Muḥammad my Beloved' (*Dalāʾil al-Khairāt*, p. 124.)

But the worshippers have seen in this devotion other and more inward values. That double *Ṣalāt* of heaven and earth announced in the basic Quranic verse, gives to the believers *Ṣalāt* a semi-sacramental character. For it is an earthly and audible sign of a heavenly and potent activity. The humble, little act of the earthly *Ṣalāt* is believed, as we have seen, to set in motion the heavenly forces "and move the Hand that moves the world to bring salvation down." A phrase of such potency is felt, in popular religion, to be more full than the mysterious half-magical *barakah*. But more spiritual minds see it as an inward purification and education, even a stepping-stone to the very presence of God. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī refers to it as: "a calling down of blessing which disciplines our (lower) self with the best of discipline;" "a calling down of blessing which saves us from pleasures and lusts;" a calling down of blessing which helps us to perform the prescribed ritual." (*al-Durr al-fāʿiq*) Elsewhere we find: "a calling down of blessing, the light of which irradiates our hearts and spirits and minds, and of which the secrets are intermingled in our total being and our inmost life." (*Yāqūt al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, Aḥmad al-Tijānī.) "And make our calling down of blessing on him a key, and by it open to us O Lord, the veil of acceptance and accept, by the blessing of my Beloved, the

litanies and invocations which I now recite, and my love and magnifying of Thyself." (*Tashtīr al-qasīdat-al-Ḥaḍramiyyah.*)

But the most characteristic thought about this Muḥammad-centred devotion is that it is a sovereign means to vision of the Prophet and communion with him. His people rest assured that he appreciates each individual calling down of blessing upon him. Muhammad said: "No one greets me with peace without God returning my spirit to (my body) that I may respond to his greeting." (*Adhkār al-Nawawī.*)

"It was said to the Apostle of God: 'Wilt thou see the blessing of those who call down blessing on thee, even though they are absent from thee or live after thy time? What is their standing with thee?' He said: 'I hear the blessing of the company of my lovers and I know them, and the blessing of those who come after me is all made known to me.'" (*Dalā'il-al-Khairāt.*)

"He busies himself in calling down blessing on the Prophet until the Prophet's greatness masters his heart and pervades his inmost being. So that he is stirred by emotion at the mention of him, and the Prophet's graces are abundantly poured on him outwardly and inwardly, and he receives favours from no created being save the Prophet, and he sees him waking and sleeping and asks him concerning what he will." (*Al-Durrat-al-Fardiyyah*, Aḥmad Sayyid al-Sanūsī.)

#### FORMS OF THE TASLIYAH

The forms of the *Tasliyah* are an endless, intricate embroidery on the one short basic phrase, ever seeking greater intensity, greater inclusiveness, greater duration. And when the worshipper has piled up all that his tongue can frame of extent and duration, he will ask God to double this! "My God, make every one of these blessings of the Prophet to exceed and excel the blessing of him by all and every the people of the heavens and of the earths who have ever blessed him, — exceed and excel these as he excels all the rest mankind through the excellence with which Thou hast favoured him. (*Wird-al-Ṣalāt-al-Kubrā*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.)

Whole books are devoted to the embroidering of this one short sentence, many of them famous in Muslim devotion. Of these *Dalā'il-al-Khairāt*, the work of the Berber saint, Al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), is the most famous of all. It is known and recited from Morocco to Malaya, much as the *Imitation of Christ* is known in the Western Church. In Egypt its litanies are often sung by the *fuqahā'* as the dead are carried to the grave.

Second only to it in fame are the *Ṣalawāt-al-mashīhiyyah*, the work of 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh (d. circa 625/1227) the Moroccan saint whose tomb on Jabal 'Alam attracts a huge annual pilgrimage. Like *Dalā'il-al-Khairāt* these *Ṣalawāt* have had special commentaries devoted to them, and are used today by men of many types of piety.

Thus after morning and sunset prayer, the beginners in the *Shādhiliyyah* order are told to gather together in a circle for the orderly recitation "with attention of heart" of these *Ṣalawāt*, after which follows the daily *dhikr*.<sup>7</sup> Similarly Aḥmad ibn Idrīs, (d. 1253/1837), founder of the Qādiriyyah-Tarīsiyyah order and inspirer of the founders of the yet more popular Saṅūsī and Mīrghānī orders, said that nothing equals the *Ṣalawāt* of Ibn Mashīsh except the prayers that were used by the Prophet or prayers that have a similar meaning.<sup>8</sup>

Shorter forms (*Ṣignah*) of the *Ṣalāt-cālā-l-nabī* are innumerable. Many are connected with the names of great saints of Islam. Thus ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, when he called down blessing on his grandfather, is held responsible for the much-used form: "O God, call down blessing on Muḥammad to the satisfaction of Thine own good pleasure, to the weight of Thy throne, to the inexhaustible supply of Thine imperishable words." Or again, Maʿrūf al-Karkhī, the famous saint of Baghdad, is said to have invented another much-used form: "O God, call down blessing on Muḥammad to the fullness of this world and the fullness of the next." Many famous forms have their own names. A few examples follow.

*The kamāliyyah*, beloved of the Bakriyyah order, runs: "O God, bless and greet with peace and benediction our Lord Muḥammad and his family, as befits his status and his great position."

*The Fātiḥiyyah* (recommended above all other forms by Aḥmad al-Tijānī): "O God, call down blessing on our Lord Muḥammad, the Opener of what was closed, the Seal of that which went before, the Succourer of truth with truth, the Guide to the straight path, and on his family, as befits his status and his great position."

*Al-Kalāmiyyah* (said to have been learnt by al-Shaʿrānī from Al-Khaḍr) pleads: "O God bless Muḥammad at the beginning of our

speech,  
O god bless Muḥammad in the course of our speech,  
O God bless Muḥammad at the close of our speech,"

*Al-ʿAzīmiyyah* (best-loved form of the Saṅūsī order): "My God, I ask Thee by that light of the Face of the great God which filled the bases of the Great Throne, and by which arose the worlds of the Great God, to call down blessing on our Lord Muhammad the great in rank, and on the family of the Prophet of the Great God etc."

But most characteristic of this devotion is the great number of forms for which a prophetic blessing (generally given in a vision) is claimed by the author. It is interesting to note that these visions continue into modern times. Space forbids our quoting more than one of these accounts of prophetic sanction: "It is narrated from Al-Tabarānī in the *Duʿāʾ* that in sleep he saw the Prophet as he was when he was

<sup>7</sup> See *Al-Silsilāt al-dhahabīyyah*, Muḥammad Aḥmad Al-Madani.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *Fath al-Rasūl*, p. 24.

among us and said to him 'Peace be to thee O Prophet and the mercy and blessing of God. God has inspired me with some words to say.' And he said: 'What are they!' 'They are: O God...bless Muḥammad to the number of those who have called down blessing on him and to the number of those who have not called down blessing on him. And bless Muḥammad even as Thou desirest that he shall be blessed.' And the Apostle of God smiled a smile that revealed his teeth, and light could be seen issuing from the spaces between his front teeth." (*Fath-al-Rasūl*, p. 24.)

#### NOTE ON CHRISTIAN EQUIVALENTS

In countries where the *Taşliyah* is on every lip from morning to night, the Christian Church should probably hearten herself by greater use, at least in her services, of ejaculations of praise to her Prophet, Priest and King. The Urdu-speaking Church has a great popular cry for festivals, *melas*, processions and moments of emotion, *Jai Yishu*, Victory to Jesus! The common greeting of Christians in Chota Nagpur is *Yishu sahay*, "Jesus be your Helper!" Should the Arabic Church in her services return to the fundamental affirmation of the primitive Church: "Jesus is Lord?" Or should she, not only in her services, but in all moments of gladness, make fuller use of the old Hebrew joy-cry which is the closest equivalent to the *Taşliyah*: *Hosanna*?

For indeed the *Taşliyah* is the *Hosanna* of the Muslim world, with an almost parallel history. Like *Hosanna* (Save now!) the *Taşliyah* is in form a prayer, but has taken to itself the value of an acclamation, a cry of praise, just as "God save the King!" in English hovers between the two meanings.

At what time in its history *Hosanna* became a popular acclamation is not clear, though the transition would be easy enough, from the fact of its use (with its context in Psalm cxviii, 25, 26) at an exultant moment in the joyful Feast of Tabernacles. We do not know whether "the people of the Hebrews" were consciously quoting that Psalm or only using a customary acclamation on the day when "the multitudes that went before, and that followed cried, saying: 'Hosanna to the Son of David'" (Matt. xxi, 9), but the doings of that day consecrated *Hosanna* for ever to the Christ.

#### 2. THE CALLING DOWN OF BLESSING ON ABRAHAM AND ALL THE PROPHETS.

##### AL-SALĀT-AL-IBRAHĪMIYYAH.

The form in almost universal use for the calling down of blessing on Abraham in the prayer-rite is that known as "The Abrahamic Blessings" (*Al-Şalawāt-al-Ibrahimiyyah*. It runs: "O God call down blessing on Muḥammad and on the family of Muḥammad as Thou

didst call down blessing on Abraham and on the family of Abraham. And bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad as Thou didst bless Abraham and the family of Abraham, throughout the universe. Verily Thou art praiseworthy, glorious.”

Two, or sometimes three, other lines are often added to these blessings, though not as a rule in the prayer-rite: “Show mercy...as Thou didst show mercy. Be compassionate... as Thou wast compassionate. Greet with peace...as Thou didst greet with peace.” The Shī‘ah breviary extends it in one case beyond its traditional form: “As Thou didst call down blessing on Idrīs and on Noah and on Elijah.” (*Al-Ṣahīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah* p. 413)

This introduction of the name of another Prophet into the sacred prayer-rite is based on Surah xxvi, 84, and still more for our writers on the traditional command of Muḥammad to use this particular form (traced to his orders in Aḥmad ibi Habbān, Al-Darqatnī, Al-Buhaiqī.) The command links with the traditional morning prayer:

“I come this morning, a conformer to the religious practice of our Prophet Muḥammad and to the Church of our father Abraham, a monotheist, a Muslim.” (*Al-Wird-al Shāfi*, Yūsuf al-Nabhānī.) This morning prayer is closely connected with the *Du‘ā’ al-Tawajjuh* in the prayer-rite. It raises the whole question of the position of Abraham and the other prophets in the devotional life of Islam.

Two trends are noticeable in the prayers in our manuals. The one, based on all the Quranic stories of prophets, is to make list-prayers, naming them in a series, especially as exemplars in worship. Fuller meditations are found concerning a few of the prophets, especially Moses, which unfortunately, space forbids us to reproduce. There is singularly little, considering the high place allotted to him in the Qur‘ān, concerning ‘Isā, and the list-prayers tend to break off before reaching Him — possibly a conscious or unconscious reaction against Christian claims.

The second trend is towards a type of prayer or meditation based on the high doctrine of Muḥammad’s personality and position, glorifying him by placing all other prophets far beneath him, and in a state of dependence on him.

This again leads to questionings as to the singling out of Abraham for mention in the prayer-rite together with one so exalted as Muḥammad. Various answers are given.

The list-prayers envisage Muḥammad as one of a family of prophets. “Call down blessing on our Lord Muḥammad the Beloved, and on his father Abraham the Friend, and on his brother Moses the Interlocutor, and on the Spirit of God ‘Isā the Faithful.” (*Al-Ṣahīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 481.) (Shī‘ah.) Their names are recited in prayers. Thus in the favourite and endlessly re-printed devotion of Indian Muslims, *Du‘ā’ Ganj al-‘Arsh*:

“Adam the Chosen One of God.  
 Noah the Delivered One of God.  
 Abraham the Friend of God.  
 Ishmael the Sacrifice of God.  
 Moses the Confidant of God.  
 David the Caliph of God.  
 ‘Isā the Spirit of God.  
 Muḥammad the Apostle of God.”

Each Prophet has his special endowment (*ḥaṣṣ*) of virtue.

Liberality belongs to the Prophet of God, Abraham.

Satisfied acceptance (of God and His givings), belongs to the Prophet of God, Isaac.

Patient Endurance belongs to the Prophet of God, Job.

The making of signs belongs to the Prophet of God, Zachariah.

Expatriation to the Prophet of God, Joseph.

The wearing of wool (the Sūfī garb) belongs to the Prophet of God, Yahyā.

Wandering as a pilgrim belongs to the Prophet of God, ‘Isā.

Poverty belongs to the Prophet and Apostle of God, our Beloved and Mediator. (*Waṣīyyah* of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī in *Al-Fuyūḍāt-al-Rabbāniyyah*.)

In the above list the virtues are strongly Šūfī. The *ishārah* of Zachariah refers to a state of soul when it receives inward Divine guidances, and the *ghurbah* of Joseph to a state of separation from outward and inner possessions. The list is unusual in replacing Ishmael by Isaac.

Though no one may aspire to the office of prophethood these virtues are imitable. “I ask Thee to form me on the fair pattern of Abraham and his companions when they said to their people: “We are clear of you and of what you worship.” (*Tahārat-al-Qulūb*, p. 97 *Al-Dīrīnī*.) “We may pray, too, to be their companions.” “Make us, O Lord, the comrades of Muḥammad and Abraham Thy Friend and ‘Isā Thy Spirit.” (*Majmū‘at Tabaraka Dhu-l-‘Alā*, p. 3.)

In our manuals the prophets are often mentioned as examples of trials suffered and of God’s deliverance, of prayers offered and answered. “Consider and understand the trials given to the prophets through the contradictions of their followers; as in the story of Adam with his sons; and Seth with his people; and Noah, when he said: ‘Oh my people, if my abode with you and my reminding of you through God’s signs is heavy upon you, then in God do I trust, put together your case then and gather your associates,’ (Surah x, 71) and Hūd and Šālīḥ with their people, and Abraham with Nimrod and with his father, and Jacob with his brother, and Joseph with his brethren, and Job with his trial, and Moses with the Children of Israel after they were saved from the sea.” (*Al-‘Atīyyat-al-Haniyyah*, ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās, p. 73.)

They are examples of prayer. “Abraham used to hear the throbbing and boiling of his heart during his prayers. This is the fear of the Beloved, the Friend, in spite of all that has been given to him of honourable rank. Oh the wonder then that the heart of a man whose back is burdened with sin can ever be at rest!” (*Tahārat-al-Qulūb*, *Al-Dīrīnī*, p. 147.)

But most of all are they patterns of answered prayer and of God's deliverance. "Thou who didst heal the plague of Job, Thou who didst ease the anxiety of Jacob, Thou who didst save Noah from the people of wrongdoing, Thou who didst save Lot from the people of vice, Thou who didst save Hūd from the people of °Ad, Thou who didst save Muḥammad from the people of scorn." (*Shī'ah prayer of Nuṣfī Sha'cān.*)

"An answer! an answer O my God! Thou who didst answer Noah when he called, Thou who didst succour Abraham against his foes, Thou who didst restore Joseph to Jacob, Thou who didst heal the plague of Job, Thou who didst grant the petition of Zachariah, and accept the praise of Dhū al-Nūn the son of Maṭṭā." (*Majmū'ah ahzāb wa aurād wa ad'iyah*, p. 108.)

"Thou who didst cleave the sea for Moses and give life to the dead for °Isā, who didst make the fire coolness and comfort for Abraham, call down blessing on our Lord Muḥammad, and grant me from my affair relief and a happy issue." (*Wird-yaum-al-Sabt* in *ibid.* p. 108.)

So in Al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb-al-Baḥr* the unofficial but widely used *Itinerarium* of Islam: "Subdue to us this sea as Thou didst subdue the sea to Moses, the fire to Abraham, the mountains and iron to David, the wind and the devils and jinn to Solomon. And subdue to us every sea of Thine in earth and Heaven, in the Kingdom of this world and the Kingdom supernal, the sea of this world and the sea of the other. And give us a favourable wind according to Thy knowledge, and be to us our Travel-Companion and replace us in the care of our families."

In the second type of prayer, Muḥammad is made to gather up into his own person the privileges of all the other prophets. He, Muḥammad, is the Law of the Torah of Moses and the Lexicon of the Injīl of °Isā. (*Wird al-Ṣalāt-al-Kubrā*, °Abd-al-Qādir al-Tilānī, p. 131.)

"He was Thy Friend before (Abraham) the Friend. He had converse with Thee before Moses the glorious." (*Al-Jawāhir-al-Mustazhatah*. M. °Uthmān al-Mirghanī, p. 150.)

"Adam knew him and made petition through him, and he (M) took a covenant from all the Prophets to himself. He took the purity of Adam, the lamentation of Noah. A part of his teaching contains the knowledge of Idrīs. Included in his ecstatic experiences is the grief of Jacob. Within the mystery of his ecstasy is the endurance of Job. Enfolded in his bosom is the weeping of David. A part only of the riches of his soul exceeds the wealth of Solomon. He gathered into himself Abraham's friendship with God. He attained the converse of Moses, God's Interlocutor, and was more exalted than the highest Kings. He excels the Prophets as the sun excels the Moon, the drop the ocean." (*Ṭahārat al-Qulūb*, Al-Dīrīnī, p. 40.)

So he is seen as supreme over prophet and saint alike; and all their

excellence is said to come by way of him, "Call down blessing on him whom Thou didst create from Thy light, and didst make his speech from Thy speech, and preferredst him over Thy prophets and Thy saints, and didst cause the perfection of all Thy saints to have its course from Thee to him and from him to them." (*Wird-al-Ṣalāt-al-kubrā*, 'Abd al-Qādir al Jīlānī, p. 101.)

"Thou (Muḥammad) art he through whom, after his fall, Adam made successful petition, and he who was Thy father! And through Thee the Friend made supplication and his fire was made coolness, dying away in the light of Thy splendour, ... and through Thee the Christ came, bringing good news, announcing the attributes of Thy beauty, praising Thy exaltation" (*Al-qasīdat-al-Ni'māniyyah*. Author unknown)

"And all of them in comparison with the Apostle of God are as a spoonful of the ocean, a single spear of the rain, standing before him with the limitation of their drop of knowledge, their (spear) point of wisdom. And he it is who perfects its meaning and its form." (*Al-Burdah*, Al-Būsīrī.)

To western readers, aware of the constant preoccupation of the Qur'ān with Abraham and of Muḥammad's earnest endeavour to vindicate his faith as the true faith of Abraham, there is little of surprise in a request that Abraham's blessings should be his. But for those to whom Muḥammad is the "unique Beloved," eclipsing all other prophets, who are but his spiritual dependents, the question arises as to whether the request that God shall bless Muḥammad and his family as He blessed Abraham and his family is not demeaning to the former?

To these questions Al-Suyūṭī supplies the answers in *Al-Ḥirz-al-Manī'*, answers which reveal some of the thoughts of Muslim worshippers concerning Abraham. "(The question stated) By common consent the thing compared is less than that to which it is compared and yet here the reverse is the case, for Muḥammad alone is greater than the whole family of Abraham and than Abraham — even more so when the family of Muḥammad is added! (A suggested answer). Muḥammad said this (i.e. ordered this form of blessing) before he knew that he was greater than Abraham; for Muslim traced a tradition from Anas that a man said to the Prophet: 'O Best of Creation,' and he replied, 'That is Abraham.' Ibn 'Arabī, in reference to this question, said that Muḥammad asked for equality with Abraham and commanded his community to ask for this. And God, unasked, granted him more — that his excellence should exceed that of Abraham. (*Objection to this answer*). It is objected that had this been the case Muḥammad would have altered the form of the prayer when he knew that he was greater than Abraham."

"Further suggested answer. The singling out of these two (Abraham and Muḥammad) in the Ṣalāt is because Abraham is the Friend and

Muhammad the Beloved. Or it is because Abraham was the announcer of the sacred Law, when God Most High said to him: 'And proclaim among men the pilgrimage, they will come to thee on foot and on every clean-run camel' (Surah xxii, 27) while Muhammad was the announcer of the whole practice of religion, according to the word of God Most High, 'Our Lord, we have heard a caller calling to faith' (Surah xxxiv, 192) Or because of Abraham's petition to God, mighty and majestic, when in a dream he saw Paradise, and on its trees written *la ilāha illā Allāh wa Muḥammad Rasūl-Allah* and he asked Gabriel the significance of that 'Muhammad,' and was informed by him concerning Muhammad and his spiritual position. Then Abraham said: 'O Lord make my name current on the tongues of the community of Muhammad,' as He said 'And give me a goodly mention among them that come after'. (Surah xxvi, 84) Or because Abraham was of a higher excellence than the rest of the prophets. Or because God named him the Father of Believers, in His word 'The nation of your Father Abraham.' (Surah xxii, 78)

Or because of the command of the Prophet to follow Abraham, especially in the elements of the Pilgrimage.

Or because when he built the House (the Meccan sanctuary) Abraham prayed saying: 'O Lord, whosoever of the old men of the community of Muhammad shall make pilgrimage to this House, bestow on him (a bestowal) from me and from my household'

Then Ishmael prayed (similarly) for the full-grown men; then Isaac for the youths; then Sarah for the free-women; then Hagar for the bond-women. And for this reason Abraham and his household are singled out for mention." (But after all the two prophets are not compared). The comparison is only concerned with the calling down of blessing in the two cases, there is no comparison of the rank of the two prophets. *Al-Hirz al-Manīʿ*, pp. 36, 37.

*Istanbul.*

CONSTANCE E. PADWICK

# THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY AT ANKARA II

## LEADERSHIP, STAFF AND GROWTH OF THE FACULTY

On November 29, 1950, Suut Kemal Yetkin, son of a formerly prominent Turkish religious savant, was appointed Professor of the History of Islamic Art. After Dean Arsebuk retired on April 18, 1951, Professor Yetkin became the second Dean of the Faculty on June 13, 1951. Dean Yetkin was followed by Mehmet Karasan, formerly associated with the Faculty of Political Science, who had studied under Bergson. He succeeded Professor Buddha, who died in 1952, as professor of the history of religions, and became dean in the Spring of 1953. Professor Karasan and his colleague in this Faculty, the Professor of Philosophy and Logic, Hamdi Ragib Atademir, were both elected Democratic deputies, on May 2, 1954, so resigned their professorships. In June, 1954 Bedi Ziya Egemen, formerly in the Faculty of Letters, then Professor of the Psychology of Religion and Pedagogy was elected Dean for the remainder of former Dean Karasan's term. Sabri Şakir Ansay, Ordinarius Professor in the Faculty of Law and Professor of Islamic Law, became the fifth and present Dean in the spring of 1955. <sup>1</sup>

The Faculty soon got involved in the issues of religious education and reaction. Students of the Faculty of Divinity on February 3, 1951, issued a summons inviting Turks to struggle against religious reaction. On the 19th Professor emeritus İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu declared that the Faculty should produce a correct, popular Turkish translation of the Qur'ān and a Quranic philosophy for the enlightenment of all Islamic nations. During the parliamentary debate on the budget for the Presidency of Religious Affairs on the 22nd deputies repeatedly expressed their desire for more and better religious education. One complained about the "ineffective Faculty of Divinity" and suggested that a number of religious colleges be established to train religious savants. This theme was repeated on April 29 at a congress on character-building which recommended the adoption of intensified religious education programs in teachers' normal schools, secondary schools and in the Faculty of Divinity, as an effective means of strengthening morals and combating Communism. On May 3, the Minister of Education, Tevfik İleri, informed a caucus of the Democrat party that an expert committee was examining the question of introducing religious education into the middle (*orta*) school's curriculum, as well as into that of schools of lycée (*lise*) rank preparing students for the Faculty of Divinity. By this he doubtless implied the new İmam-Hatip schools. In fact, it was announced in March, 1956, that such instruction would be given in middle schools starting in the

<sup>1</sup> G.J. 2, pp. 142, 147; and private communications from staff of the Faculty of Divinity, 1954-1956.

academic year 1956-57. These courses are voluntary and are taught by the sociology and philosophy teachers of each school. Religious education classes have been offered in the normal schools since 1953-1954.<sup>2</sup>

Dean Yetkin announced on October 11, 1951, that the Faculty of Divinity occupies itself with the comparative study of the religion of all the territories in which Islam has sway. Nevertheless, he and some of his colleagues also informed me on December 5, 1954 that the Faculty did not wish to study current trends in Islam in Turkey because these were all linked with politics which they sought to avoid. When reminded that the students and teachers in the İmam-Hatip schools, other official and private agencies, and many citizens, were looking to them for contemporary religious leadership they politely declined to become involved in controversial current issues. However, in 1954, the Faculty took the novel step of appointing an able young German orientalist from Marburg University with doctorates in science and religion, as Professor of the History of Comparative Religions. Miss Anne-Marie Schimmel has since been a regular member of their staff, has published two books in Turkish, spoken at the 1954 and 1955 ceremonies commemorating the death of the great mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in Konya, and contributed a number of articles to the Faculty journal. This quarterly journal (*İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*) was authorized in the official gazette (*Resmi Gazete*) No. 7903, on September 6, 1951. It began to appear early in 1952 and resumes the interrupted tradition begun by the Journal of the original Faculty of Theology, produced in Istanbul between 1926 and 1933.<sup>3</sup>

Professors Muḥammad al-Tancî and Mehmet Tayyib Okiç have been drawn from as far afield as Tangier and Yugoslavia respectively. Miss V. Gordon, a Scottish lady, teaches English, Mr. İzzet Hasan from Syria teaches Arabic, Herr H. J. Kornrumpf, a newcomer early in 1956, teaches German, and M. J. Roche of France instructs in French. In spite of the optimistic prognostications about the availability of qualified staff made by the late President of Religions Affairs, Ahmed Hamdi Akseki, in 1949 quoted above, the Faculty of Divinity has had difficulty recruiting professors. There appears to have been a conscious policy of keeping the deanship and control in the hands of professors who were not trained in the traditional *medrese* system. Several lack what might be called formal theological training, and few if any have had experience in practical theology and homi-

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 139, 143-144; "Dear Friends," Weekly Newsletter, No. 483, of the American Board, Istanbul, March 13, 1956; and private communication from the Ministry of Education Staff April 2, 1956; and personal observation.

<sup>3</sup> Personal observation and private communication. The books are listed in the Faculty's publications noted below in table V. Further details on the older journal appear in G.J. 1, p. 121; and on the present journal in my "Revival of Islam in Secular Turkey," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Summer, 1954) pp. 274, 278-279.

letics. As a result, instruction in the Faculty is entirely theoretical. Even in this sphere, lack of adequate, modern textbooks, coupled with the obligation to teach Arabic, Persian, the Ottoman Turkish script and at least one European language, to students with little or no earlier acquaintance with them, severely inhibits the amount and quality of the Faculty's teaching and research. Several professors have informed me that they look forward to the time, two years hence, when some of their entering students are likely to be graduates of the new lyc ee section of the İmam-Hatip schools, already having a good knowledge of Arabic and other basic training in Islamics. With such better prepared students the quality of class work at the Faculty will doubtless improve markedly.

#### AIMS AND CURRICULUM

In 1954, the Faculty published a small, four-page announcement in which it listed its courses and teaching staff, with brief details about its graduates, conditions for enrolment, scholarships, and a list of its publications. In 1955, this notice was expanded into an eleven-page brochure, the most important addition being a three-page statement of the aims and program of the Faculty. As this offers the most authoritative exposition of the objectives of this new institution known to me, I translate it in full below; the translation being closely literal, rather than polished.<sup>4</sup>

#### A. (ANKARA) U. (UNIVERSITY) FACULTY OF DIVINITY

"After a fifteen-year hiatus, the new Faculty of Divinity established at Ankara in 1949 and based upon contemporary trends, the national revolutionary reforms and scientific data, has begun its task. The faculty is proceeding toward the realization of two chief objectives. On the one hand it seeks to train religious men and savants required for our nation, a large part of whose population is Muslim. On the other hand, it wishes to contribute to the development of Islamic thought in the light of modern knowledge.

The teaching methods and curricula of the institutions of learning in Islamic countries during the periods when they remained behind in comparison with contemporary civilizations are manifest evidences of the stagnation and impasse into which Islamic thought had declined. In spite of religious fanaticism, western countries considered it legitimate to adopt every means to work for the development of knowledge and technology. In contrast, the  ulam a [Muslim savants] who had altered Islam from its essence continued to interpret the religion of Islam as opposed to every kind of progress.

The Faculty of Divinity has been established on the basis of profiting from the errors of the past. Therefore, it has sought to proceed in a religious framework in accord with present-day mentality. Alongside the sciences of Qur anic exegesis (*Tefsir*), Tradition (*Hadis*), the study of Qur anic theology, (*Kel m*), and the Islamic schools or sects (*İslam Mezhepleri*), it has undertaken to study all subjects which relate to the various aspects of the religion of Islam according to the scientific method and is working to produce religious savants and well informed men of religion.

<sup>4</sup> Brochures for 1954 and 1955 issued by the Faculty of Divinity, Ankara University. The first has no indication of the publishers or date. The second was printed by G ven Matbaası, Ankara, 1955. The translation reproduces pp. 3-5 of this second brochure.

The educational method of the Faculty is based on the pivot of narrative tradition and reason (*nakil ve akıl*) as understood in the finest Islamic terms. During the first semesters we endeavor to teach students in an introductory manner the essentials of Islam based on the noble verses of the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān and on the holy traditions. We also attach great importance to the teaching of the classical oriental languages such as Persian and especially Arabic which make it possible to proceed more deeply [into Islamic studies]. The teaching of the Arabic languages for eight hours [weekly] in the first year, six hours in the second year, and four hours each in the third and fourth years, will enable men of religion and scientists in future to comprehend ancient and modern Arabic texts with facility.

The study of the spread of Islam occupies an important role alongside these fundamental courses. Instruction in the history of Islam rests on historical documents. We try to avoid the classical teaching consisting of the mere chronological listing of events. We study events in relation to the conditions of their time and place. At the same time we endeavor to derive instructive examples from these which will be comparable to our contemporary and future situations. Islamic manifestations in Arab, Persian and Turkish territories and comparisons between them are basic topics of the two year course in Islamic history. The course on Islamic schools or sects offered in the final two years is a continuation of this instruction.

Islam provides the most generous example of tolerance and the attitude which it has adopted in regard to the heavenly scriptural religions [i.e.: Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity] is well known. Our religion, which also acknowledges thousands of other prophets, recognizes the need to study other religions as well as these four heavenly scriptural ones.

The course on the history of comparative religions is a branch of knowledge far removed from subjective comparisons and judgments. Its center of gravity revolves around the study of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It also investigates all the religions which have come and gone, beginning with the eras susceptible to our historical knowledge down to the present, from an historical and sociological point of view.

Among the criticisms levelled against Islam by the western world is the assertion that Islam has neglected and even prohibited the fine arts. When it behooved the learned men of Islam to inform this same western world that in fact the opposite was true they merely reciprocated with silence. Islamic works of art which one can assert without hesitation are in some respects superior to those of the west and which even influenced those western works have remained unknown. We have introduced the courses on the history of Islamic Arts, Turkish and Islamic decorative arts, and paleography [including calligraphy] with the thought first of all of acquainting ourselves, and secondarily the world, with the values of our architectural and decorative works of art as expressions of religious feeling and thought. Moreover, work in this field has been broadened by the activities of the Institute for the History of Turkish and Islamic Arts which has become the scene of significant activity and publications in a short space of time.

Another particularity of the Faculty is the inclusion in its curriculum of courses in philosophy, logic, and the psychology and sociology of religion. As we remarked at the beginning, reason is accorded the highest value in Islam and in the commentary and exegesis of Islamic religion it is essential to depend upon the rules of reason and logic. It is not possible to contradict a single point in the glorious Qur<sup>2</sup>ān and holy traditions by means of reason and logic. In fact, the opposite holds true. Every rule relies upon logical bases in the widest and deepest sense and the path of suspersition has been shut off. From this point of view, philosophy and logic are necessary and complementary studies in religious education. These lessons are taught in general outline in the second year and in the third year they continue, passing on to particular problems. They are supplemented in the other years by courses in theology, and on the philosophy and philosophers of Islam.

It is clear that we cannot remain indifferent to the published researches of the western world which gives great importance to the field of Islamic studies. Moreover, studies which do not undergo the control of international public

opinion are condemned to remain sterile. On this account, courses in the three western languages [i.e.: English, French and German] are taught by foreign specialists for two years and one of these must be elected by every student.

Alongside all of these courses it is necessary to point out that the study of Islamic theology plays a central role in the teaching system. The foundation of this system of instruction rests on the teachings of Qur'anic exegesis and the causes of its revelation taught with regard to scientific data and also on the teachings of the holy traditions which offer the best means of understanding and explaining the religion of Islam in its most tolerant forms. Moreover, as a supplementary part of this same instruction, Islamic Law, interpreted from the legal viewpoint of primitive [simple, pure] Islam, together with all of its permutations, is explained in a comparative manner."

The present curriculum of the Faculty is listed on page six of the brochure for 1955, and the ranks, names and specialities of the teaching staff are given on pages seven and eight. Remarks on the number of graduates and the types of work in which they have engaged appear in the lower half of page eight and these comments are summarized below. On page nine there is a list of twelve Faculty publications and the dozen issues of its journal which had appeared by the summer of 1955, together with two additional publications then in the press. Requirements for entrance, registration and enrolment in the Faculty are set forth on page ten, and on the next page there is a brief announcement about various scholarships available to students in the Faculty. The curriculum for 1955-56, with notes indicating minor changes since that of 1954-55, which in turn is considerably different from the original course of study as shown in *Table I*, above, appears below as *Table III*. *Table IV* lists the ranks, names and fields of interest of the teaching staff and includes changes up to the spring of 1956. *Table V* lists the publications of the Faculty to the end of 1955.

TABLE III  
İLÂHİYAT FAKÜLTESİ DERS PROGRAMI  
(Curriculum of the Faculty of Divinity)

<u>Sınıf I</u> (Class I)	<u>Saat</u> (Hours per week)	<u>Sınıf II</u>	<u>Saat</u>
Arapça (Arabic)	8	Arapça	6
Farsça (Persian)	4	Farsça	2
Yabancı dil (Al. Frs. Ing.) (Foreign Lang. German, French, or English)	5	Yabancı dil (Al. Frs. Ing.)	5
Klâsik Dinî Türkçe Metinler (Classical Turkish religious texts)	3	Klâsik Dinî Türkçe Metinler (Hitabet) (Classical Turkish Religious texts — Sermons)	2
Kur'an ve İslâm Dini Esasları (The Qur'ân and the Funda- mentals of Islamic religion)	2	Kur'an ve İslâm Dini Esasları	2

İslâm Tarihi (The history of Islam)	2	İslâm Tarihi Din Psikolojisi The Psychology of religion)	2 1
		Din Sosyolojisi (The Sociology of religion)	3
		Felsefe ve Mantık (Mantık) (Philosophy and Logic — Logic)	1
Total hours weekly	24	Total hours weekly	24

<i>Sınıf III</i>	<i>Saat</i>	<i>Sınıf IV</i>	<i>Saat</i>
Arapça	4	Arapça	4
Tefsir (Qur'ānic Exegesis)	2	Tefsir	4
Hadis (Traditions)	2	Hadis	4
İslâm Dini ve Mezhepleri (Islamic religion, schools and sects)	2	İslâm Dini ve Mezhepleri	2
Kelâm (Theology)	2		
İslâm Felsefesi ve Filozofları Felsefe ve Mantık (Felsefe) (Philosophy & Logic — Philos.)	2	İslâm Felsefesi ve Filozofları (Islamic philosophy & philo- sophers)	2*
Dinler Tarihi	2	Dinler tarihi (History of re- ligions)	2
Din Psikolojisi	2		
İslâm Hukuku (Islamic Law)	2		
İslâm San'atları tarihi (History of Islamic arts)	2	İslâm San'atları tarihi	2
		Terbiye ve öğretim usulleri (Educational & pedagogical methods)	1
		İnkilâp tarihi (History of the [Turkish] Revolution)	2
		Tasavvuf tarihi (The history of mysticism)	2*
Türk ve İslâm Tezyinî San- atları Tarihi ve Paleografi (The history of Turkish & Islamic decorative arts & Paleography [including cal- ligraphy]).	1	Türk ve İslâm Tezyinî San- atları Tarihi ve Paleografi	1
Total hours per week	25	Total hours per week	26*

\* (Note: In 1954-55 the course in Islamic philosophy and philosophers was also required for class III, and the course on the history of mysticism was only one hour weekly. Total IVth year hours are 26 not 25 as printed in brochure.)

## TABLE IV

## İLAHİYAT FAKÜLTESİ (DIVINITY FACULTY)

Dekan (Dean): Ord. Prof. Sabri Şakir Ansay  
Sekreter (Secretary): Şükrü Tolun

## Öğretim üyeleri ([Senior] Teaching staff):

Ord. Prof. Sabri Şakir Ansay	İslâm Hukuku (Islamic Law)
Prof. Suut Kamal Yetkin	İslâm San'atları Tarihi (History of Islamic Arts)
Prof. Dr. Bedi Ziya Egemen	Din Psikolojisi ve Pedagoji (Psychology of Religion and Pedagogy)
Prof. Tayyib Okıç	Hadis (Traditions)
Prof. Muhammad Tanci	İslâm Felsefesi ve Filozofları (Islamic Philosophy and Philosophers)
Prof. Dr. A. Schimmel-Tarı	Mukayeseli Dinler Tarihi (History of Comparative Religions)
*Prof. Hilmi Ziya Ülken	Felsefe ve Mantık (Philosophy and Logic)
Doç. Dr. Neşet Çağatay	İslâm Tarihi (Islamic History)
Doç. Dr. Kâmuran Birand	Felsefe ve Mantık
Doç. Dr. Adnan Erzi	İslâm Tarihi

Öğretim görevlileri (Lecturers, or *Chargé de Cours*):

Hasan Hüsnü Erdem	Tefsir (Qur'anic Exegesis)
Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu	Tasavvuf Tarihi ve İslâm Dini Esasları (History of Mysticism & Fundamentals of Islamic Religion)
Rıfki Melûl Meriç	Klâsik Dinî Türkçe Metinler, Paleografi, Türk ve İslâm Tezini San'atları Tarihi (Classical Turkish Religious Texts, Paleography, History of Turkish and Islamic Decorative Arts)
Nafiz Danişman	Kelâm (Theology)

## Okutmanlar (Instructors):

Uzman (Specialist) İzzet Hasan	Arapça (Arabic)
Okutman Miss V. Gordon	İngilizce (English)
Okutman M. J. Roche	Fransızca (French)
*Okutman H. J. Kornrumpf	Almanca (German)

## Asistanlar (Assistants in Instruction):

Dr Mehmet Taplamacioğlu	Din Sosyolojisi (Sociology of Religion)
Dr. Hüseyin Yurdaydn	İslâm San'atları Tarihi
Dr. Cavit Sunar	İslâm Felsefesi
Dr. Halûk Karamağralı	İslâm San'atları Tarihi
Bahriye Uçok	İslâm Tarihi
Lütfi Doğan	Kelâm (Left in the spring of 1956)
Necati Öner	Felsefe ve Mantık
Esat Kılıcer	İslâm Hukuku
Talât Koçyiğit	Hadis
A. Hamdi Savlu	Tefsir (Left for military service in 1955-56)
İ. Ağah Çubukcu	İslâm Felsefesi
*A. Alpaslan	İslâm Tarihi
*N. F. Sınemoğlu	İslâm San'atları Tarihi

\* Joined staff late in 1955 or early in 1956. List corrected to March, 1956.

## TABLE V.

(Publications of the Faculty of Divinity)

1. A translation of J. Sauvaget's posthumously published *Mémento chronologique d'histoire musulmane*, by Prof. Suut Kemal Yetkin and Faik Reşit Unat, entitled *İslâm dünyası, "Kısa Kronoloji"*, Ankara, 1952, price: 75 kr.
2. A translation of Ernst Kühnel's *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (2d. ed., Berlin, 1922), by Profs. Suut Kemal Yetkin and Melahat Özgü, entitled *Doğu İslâm Memleketlerinde Minyatür*, Ankara, 1952, price 750 kr.
3. Prof. Dr. Bedi Ziya Egemen, *Din Psikolojisi (Saha, Kaynak ve Metod üzerine bir deneme)*, [The Psychology of Religion (An introduction to the field, its sources, and methodology)], Ankara, 1952, 125 kr.
4. Prof. Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, ed. and trs., *İslâm akaidine dair eski metinler. I. Ebu Mansur-i Matürîdî'nin iki eseri: Tevhid kitabı, ve Akaid risalesi*, Ankara, 1953, 100 kr. [Classical texts on the creed of Islam. I. Two works by Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, *The book on (Allah's) Unity*, and *The treatise on the creed.*]
5. Kemal Cığ, *Türk Kitap Kapları [Turkish Book Bindings]*, Ankara, 1953, 250 kr.
6. Rıfki Melül Meriç, *Türk Nakış on the history of the art of Turkish Embroidery I.*, Ankara, 1953, 750 kr.
7. Doç. Dr. Kâmiran Birand, *Dilthey ve Rickert'te Manevî ilimlerin temellendirilmesi [The foundation of the spiritual sciences according to Dilthey and Rickert]*, Ankara, 1954, 250 kr.
8. Prof. Suut Kemal Yetkin, *İslâm Sanatı Tarihi [The History of Islamic Art]*, Ankara, 1954, 2000 kr.
9. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Islamischen Völker und Staaten*, München, 1939, English translation by Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann, entitled, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, with a 'Review of Events, 1939-1947' by Moshe Perlmann, and an expanded bibliography, New York, 1947; translated by Doç. Dr. Neşet Çağatay, *İslâm Milletleri ve Devletleri Tarihi*, Ankara, 1954, 1000 kr.
10. Ord. Prof. Sabri Şakir Ansay, *Hukuk Tarihinde İslâm Hukuku I. [Islamic Law in the history of law]*, Ankara, 1954, 500 kr.
11. Rıfki Melül Meriç, *Türk Cilt Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları II. [Researches on the history of Turkish leathercraft II.]*, Ankara, 1955, 350 kr.
12. Nafiz Danişman, *Kelâm İlmîne Giriş [Introduction to the Science of Theology]*, Ankara, 1955, 500 kr.
13. Prof. Dr. A. Schimmel [-Tari], *Dinler Tarihine Giriş [Introduction to the history of religions]*, Ankara, 1955, 750 kr.
14. Prof. Dr. A. Schimmel-Tari, ed., Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn al-Hafif ash-Shirazi's *Sirat [Traditional Life of the Prophet Muhammad]*, Farsça tercemesi [Persian translation] by Rukn al Din Yahya ibn Junayd ash-Shirazi, with 48 page German and 51 page Turkish introductory essay, notes and bibliography, Ankara, 1955 [released January, 1956], 1200 kr.
15. Nevzat Ayasbeyoğlu, *Ibn Rüşd'ün Felsefesi [Ibn Rushd's [Averroes'] Philosophy]*, in the press in late 1955.

The Journal of the Faculty has also appeared quarterly since 1952.

## STUDENT LIFE AND SCHOLARSHIP

There is a student society (*Talebe Cemiyeti*) organized by the students of the Faculty and the society has a common room in the building. Once or twice a year they give a tea for the staff at which they recite poetry and sing. They also have more frequent meetings themselves. There is no special *mescit* (small mosque) set aside in the Faculty building, but some students pray in the student society's room. Some of the students come so poorly prepared that they have not

learned the *Fātiḥah* or opening chapter of the Qurʾān and prescribed prayers for daily ritual worship by heart before entering the Faculty. and the call to prayer can scarcely be heard in the building. Most of the male students attend the Friday noon congregational prayers in the mosque and fast regularly during *Ramaḍān*. The student body is representative of a wide variety of economic, geographic and cultural backgrounds. Some are villagers, others from towns such as Kayseri, Kastamou, Gaziantep, Manisa, Rize, Boyabat, Sivas, Erzurum, Samsun, Elazig, Nevsehir and Konya. Some hail from cities such as Adana, Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara. Most are from families of modest means.

A large proportion of the student body are granted scholarships of 125 T.L. monthly by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of National Defense, or the General Directorate of Pious Foundations. In 1955-56 fifty out of eighty-three students were on scholarship, and two had outside jobs in the Directory of Public Security and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the Red Crescent Society (*Kızılay*), the Ministry of Education and the Faculty Welfare Fund give financial assistance to deserving and needy students. Scholars supported by the Ministry of National Defense lodge in quarters at the Military Academy and are given pocket money and clothing by the Ministry. Most government scholarships are given on the understanding that the student recipient will pledge a certain number of months of government service in return for each year he or she receives a scholarship. The Faculty offered a scholarship open to students in the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill in 1953 and 1954 but no candidates were available. Entrance to the Faculty is open to: (a) Graduates of a recognized Turkish State *Lise* who have passed the final matriculation or "olgunluk" examination, or its equivalent as certified by the Ministry of Education: or (b) Graduates with diplomas from any higher educational institution which requires from entering students the conditions set forth in (a) above.

On the academic side, it is necessary to repeat that thus far none of the entering students have come with any special linguistic or other preparation prior to entering the Faculty. This has obviously retarded the teaching and research. As better prepared graduates of the *lise* division of the İmam-Hatip schools enter after 1958 the level of instruction and quality of work are bound to improve markedly. The curriculum is also likely to change with less emphasis on the teaching of Arabic and Persian, or on the introductory courses on the history of Islam, and more on advanced courses in which adequate preparation and knowledge on the part of the students can safely be assumed. At present, many students are not able to do any collateral reading in basic reference books and studies written in Arabic, Persian, or European languages until virtually the end of their course. With the ac-

knowledgeed lack of adequate, modern textbooks and literature in Turkish, the Faculty staff have had to improvise and produce their own textbooks as they went along. They teach from four to ten or twelve hours weekly. Even now, virtually all study is conducted by lectures, with little outside reading and few outside written assignments. Members of the staff have done field research or studied in Egypt, Europe and Canada. The Faculty had to create its own library, and has been fortunate in being able to purchase several valuable private libraries, notably that of the late President of Religious Affairs, Ahmed Hamdi Akseki. It still has much to do before it can adequately supply the research needs of its staff and students. Nevertheless, the library has made commendable progress, and possesses a number of fine manuscripts and some exquisite miniatures.

#### GRADUATES

A total of seventy eight graduates, sixteen of them women, have received their diplomas from the Faculty. The first class of forty graduated in June, 1953. All nine of the women became teachers in normal schools, where they were responsible for instruction in religion offered to prospective 4th and 5th grade primary school teachers. Twenty-three of the men that year became teachers in the İmam-Hatip schools, two were assigned to the Morale Bureaus of the General Staff, four found jobs in various offices and two became assistants in the Faculty. In 1953-54, five women and eleven men graduated, but the writer has not been able to learn what work they took up. In the spring of 1955, two women and twenty men graduated. Both girls went to normal schools, five of the men to the Ministry of National Defense doubtless for service in the Morale Bureaus. The remaining fifteen men began teaching in İmam-Hatip schools. There were only six men and no women in the fourth year class in 1955-56.

It is important to point out that a substantial number of the male graduates and younger teaching staff often have to leave their work fairly soon after graduation in order to do the compulsory military service from which they received exemption to complete their university studies. It is also worth noting that none of the seventy eight graduates through the summer of 1955 had entered what might be called clerical or pastoral work as a preacher or prayer-leader, although those working for the Ministry of National Defense's Morale Bureaus come close to this traditional Islamic function. One of the 1954 graduates served as an officer in Korea and in 1956 he planned to go to Germany to study for his doctorate. A 1955 graduate also plans to go to Germany. One of his classmates recently received a scholarship in Iraq and plans to become an assistant after completing his study at the *Kulliyat al-Shari'ah* in Baghdad. The first doctorates conferred by the Faculty were earned by Turhan Yörükân, in Psychology, 1954,

Haluk Karamağralı in *Islamic Art*, 1955; and Lütfi Doğan, in *Theology (Kelâm)*, 1956. A study of the new İmam-Tatip schools in 1954, revealed that the principals, staff and students in these institutions were all pleased with the work of the teachers who had graduated from the Faculty of Divinity at Ankara and were eager to have more of them. Several voiced their regret that these valuable teachers had to depart, often on short notice and in the middle of the academic session, in order to perform their military service.

#### CONCLUSION

By the summer of 1955 not more than forty nine graduates of the Faculty had become teachers in the İmam-Hatip Schools. In the academic year 1955-56, however, there were 261 teachers in these schools.<sup>5</sup> As roughly half of the curriculum deals with general knowledge subjects taught by regular teachers, we can assume that the need for qualified instructors in the technical or more Islamic courses amounted to half of this figure or 130 teachers. If we allow for the standard temporary attrition of male Faculty of Divinity graduates assigned to these schools who have to leave for military service, there are probably not over forty of them actively teaching in 1956. Thus, the Faculty is not turning out enough graduates to supply current needs for specialized teachers in the İmam-Hatip schools alone. As the number of students and teachers in these schools is rising rapidly every year as they start additional grades, the Faculty of Divinity will have to graduate far more students even to maintain its present provision of about one-third of the teachers needed for the "religious" courses at the İmam-Hatip schools. This analysis indicates what a large task faces the new Faculty and how inadequately it is now fulfilling its function of training the men of religion and religious savants urgently required for Turkey and for the world. This statement is not made in any criticism, but simply to underline the great needs and the consequent challenge facing the Faculty to provide more well-trained graduates as soon as possible. With the introduction of the proposed courses in religion into the middle schools in the autumn of 1956, the need for teachers of religion, and therefore for graduates of the Faculty of Divinity, became even more acute.

This was clearly brought out by the former Professor of History, Dr. Osman Turan, in a speech before the Democratic party caucus on December 14, 1955 in which he made a severe criticism of the government's educational policies and remarked: "As long as the village imam is an ignorant fanatic (*yobaz*) and the village schoolteacher remains a misbeliever (*zındık*), and until we succeed in establishing western

<sup>5</sup> Figures taken from my article on İmam-Hatip schools referred to above, and brought up to date for April, 1956, by private letter from Şevket Gedikoğlu, Section Chief of the Special Schools Division of the Ministry of Education, Ankara, April 6, 1956.

scientific knowledge it means that we cannot escape our spiritual crisis." <sup>6</sup> The need for greatly improved training and men of better caliber was re-iterated during parliamentary budget debates on January 7, 17, and 24, 1956. Many supporters of more and better formal courses in religious education spoke. Several also pointed out the dangers of religious reaction and the need for more quality and less emphasis on quantity, while other speakers asked who would teach such courses. The Minister of Education, Ahmet Özel, gave a lengthy reply to these questions and sought to defend the sudden announcement that religious education would be introduced into the middle schools made by Premier Menderes in Konya on January 8th, 1956. In the course of his speech he said: "We are attaching the greatest importance to the schools in which religious education is offered. We are sending graduates of the Faculty of Divinity to teach in the İmam-Hatip schools. We have decided to open an İmam-Hatip school in Cyprus and hope that this school may be opened next year. In this respect our preparations are complete." The Minister implied that the present Faculty of Divinity and İmam-Hatip school training programs were adequate for Turkey's current needs. Many of his fellow parliamentarians disagree, and the record thus far seems to corroborate their doubts. <sup>7</sup>

Public reaction to the entire issue of formal religious education in the Faculty of Divinity and other lower rank schools has been varied. But the main weight of opinion is strongly in favor of more religious education. This trend is especially true among the peasants, perhaps least so among the better educated big city dwellers.

The Faculty of Divinity has succeeded in establishing itself and in graduating several classes of students who are performing useful, urgently needed services in Turkey. For a number of reasons it has not yet won universal esteem. One is that it is the newest, most junior Faculty at Ankara University, hence lacks a developed esprit de corps, tradition and prestige. As many of its professors and staff were drawn initially from other Faculties or from abroad, these older sister Faculties tend to look down on their junior member. Because the tradition of theological training was broken for nearly a generation in Turkey, and often long disdained, some of this older contempt still attaches however unjustly, to the present Faculty of Divinity and its members. Finally, as both professors and students have told me repeatedly, they are trying to pioneer in an ancient field of Islamic knowledge, despite a lack of outstanding teachers, adequate materials and properly prepared students. They also face considerable suspicion from certain intellectuals, not wholly offset by the wide popular support they receive.

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<sup>6</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, Dec. 15, 1955 and Jan. 23, 1956. Interview with Dr. Turan, Ankara, December 18, 1955.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, & 25, 1956.

This new Faculty has achieved much since 1949 but it is obvious that its major tasks still lie ahead and that they require the finest possible intellectual and spiritual co-operation and dedication. The Faculty cannot long avoid contemporary Turkish religious issues unless it wishes to abdicate its responsibility and potential leadership. It will have to define more clearly than it has yet done the implications of its announced adherence to reason and the scientific method in relation to study of the text and injunctions of the Qur<sup>ān</sup>, the authenticity of the corpus of the traditions, the history and present situation of Islam, and the Sharī<sup>ah</sup> or canon law, so important to Islamic society. As Professors H.A.R. Gibb and Joseph Schacht have emphasized, neither the revolution wrought in Christian society by the intellectual developments and Biblical textual criticism since the 18th century, nor the contemporary significance of the Sharī<sup>ah</sup> for Islam, have been critically assessed in relation to Islam by Muslims. Although, as Dr. Schacht points out: "the Sharī<sup>ah</sup> will always remain one of the most important, if not the most important, subject of study for the student of Islam,"<sup>8</sup> it receives little attention in the curriculum of the Faculty of Divinity.

Important as the Sharī<sup>ah</sup> is, major groups of Muslims, such as the Berbers of North Africa and the Indonesians have seldom paid much attention to it. This neglect does not seem to have had an adverse effect on their attachment to Islam. For thirty years the Turks have formally renounced the Sharī<sup>ah</sup>. Its effective role in their society had been gradually reduced in scope for at least a century prior to their adoption of European codes of law in 1926. In spite of this, the Turks have not only remained Muslim, but have become openly more pious during the past decade. Throughout the Near East, the range and influence of the Sharī<sup>ah</sup> have been on the wane since 1917, and the trend has been accelerated since 1945. On the other hand, the new Pakistani Constitution establishes an "Islamic Republic" in which legislation is to be based on the Qur<sup>ān</sup>, the traditions and the Sharī<sup>ah</sup>.<sup>9</sup> What is the relation of the Sharī<sup>ah</sup> to Islam today, and what is its role in the resurgence of Islamic sentiment and devotion in contemporary Turkey? What is the meaning of secularism and its relation to Islam? These are more than academic questions, for they

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<sup>8</sup> Prof. Gibb's views appear in his *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago, 1947, Introduction, pp. x-xii; chapter I, and chapter II, esp. pp. 45 ff.; Prof. Schacht's in his *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Droit Musulman*, Paris, 1953; *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950; *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1953, s.v. "Sharī<sup>ah</sup>"; and in his contributions to M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny, jt. eds., *Law in the Middle East*, Vol. I, *Origin and Development of Islamic Law*, Washington, 1955, Chapters II and III, notably pp. 28 and 84, from which the phrase cited is quoted.

<sup>9</sup> An excellent summary on these developments, with further references, appears in J.N.D. Anderson: "Law Reform in the Middle East," *International Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 1. (January, 1956) pp. 43-51.

relate to the faith and social outlook, even the corporate structure, of Muslim society. Hence, they cannot be ignored. On a more subtle plane, what is the role of mysticism in Islam, and its current status among Turkish Muslims? Many Turks are seeking answers to these questions in a variety of ways. Substantial numbers look to the Faculty of Divinity for guidance and enlightenment. Others seek and find more personal, mystical or intuitive solutions.<sup>10</sup> Pious Turks reiterate that "God alone can reveal the ultimate truth," and "without Him any efforts can supply only partial answers." The Faculty of Divinity has set itself high ideals, important tasks and difficult problems. In meeting its responsibilities it will have to examine issues such as those set forth here. On the replies to such questions may well depend the future character of Islam in Turkey. May the Faculty of Divinity continue to develop and improve and successfully attain its objectives.

*Beirut, Lebanon*

HOWARD A. REED

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. my forthcoming article on "The Religious Life of Modern Turkish Muslims," cited in note 21, above; and the very interesting views of Turkish educators on this subject which emerged during their fifth triennial National Education Conference held at Ankara February 5-14, 1953, and reported in the proceedings published recently by the Ministry of Education, T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, *Beşinci Billî Eğitim Şurası 5-14 Şubat 1953, Çalışma esasları, komisyon raporları, konuşmalar*, n.p. (Ankara), 1954 (released late 1955 or early 1956) esp. pp. pp. 318-450.

# CONTEMPORARY EGYPTIAN AUTHORS-III

## MAḤMŪD TAYMŪR AND THE ARABIC SHORT STORY

### *"The Father of the Arabic Short Story"*

The development of the short story in Arabic has been a significant 20th century movement. A key figure in this development has been Maḥmūd Taymūr. He was the first to make extensive use of this literary form and he remains today the recognized master of living short story writers in the Arab world. Within the span of his literary career, and largely through his leadership, the Arabic short story has developed from the mere copying of stories from the west to a stage of excellence wherein this form, new to the Arabic language, may now be compared favorably with the short story art in western culture. For the part which Maḥmūd Taymūr has played in this movement he has rightly been called "the father of the Arabic short story."

Maḥmūd Taymūr is an excellent example of the friendliness and courtesy to be found among contemporary Egyptian authors. Indeed, this may be the appropriate occasion to express appreciation for the helpfulness and cooperation shown by these men of the literary world in Egypt. From their busy lives they have given freely of their time for conferences; always available and generous in their assistance to any one genuinely interested in literary matters. Taymūr's English, for which he apologizes, is adequate for conversation. Mild in speech, courteous in manner, careful in attire, he is in every way the gentleman and scholar the Taymūr family represents.

In contrast to other Egyptian authors who have risen from peasant stock, Maḥmūd Taymūr was born into a family of wealth and position. His father, Aḥmad Taymūr, who held the title of Pasha, was a well known gentleman-scholar of the past generation. He had a keen interest in books and manuscripts and devoted much of his time to reading and research, particularly in such matters as philology, history and literature. He employed his means and his scholarly discernment in the collection of one of the finest private libraries in Egypt. Maḥmūd Taymūr admits that it is to this library and to this father that he owes much of his education and literary interest. It should also be mentioned that ʿĀʾisha al-Taymūriyyah, a poetess of some renown, was his aunt.

Maḥmūd Taymūr was born on June 16, 1894, in the Darb Saʿada section of Cairo. He spent his early childhood there in a large house "which resembled the ruined fortress." While Maḥmūd was yet quite young his father decided, at the doctor's advice, to move to a drier area. ʿAin Shams (a suburb to the north-east of Cairo) was chosen and it was here, in a fine house surrounded by spacious gardens, that he spent the best part of his boyhood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See preface to *Farʿawn al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 7.

To this house in ʿAin Shams came many distinguished visitors to see the library and to engage in literary discussions with Taymūr Pasha. These included shaiikhs from Al-Azhar, literary figures and foreign scholars. The great Russian Arabist, Kratchkovsky, was one of the acquaintances.<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd Taymūr was naturally impressed and influenced by these visitors. He mentions specifically such men as Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the well-known intellectual leader of the early part of this century.<sup>3</sup>

We should also mention that Maḥmūd Taymūr had an older brother, Muḥammad, who displayed unusual talent in the field of drama and the short story. His early death (born in 1892 and died in 1921) cut short a career of great promise. Even so, the name of Muḥammad Taymūr is one to be reckoned with in the history of the development of modern Arabic literature.<sup>4</sup> Maḥmūd admits to the profound influence which his brother exerted upon him in the formative years of his youth and relates interesting accounts of their association together as boys and as young men venturing into the realm of literature. He attributes to this older brother the initial introduction to authors (e.g., Maupassant) who were to become significant in their influence upon the thought or style of the younger Taymūr's literary work. The awareness of his brother's literary endowment and the realization of the loss which came with his untimely death created in him the urge to take up the Taymūr mantle and to carry on in an attempt to make a contribution with these newer forms of literary expression.

On this estate at the edge of Cairo, there came another association which is of major significance in the writings of Maḥmūd Taymūr. Although an aristocrat by birth, Taymūr's stories are more often concerned with people from the lower classes of Egyptian society. His characters are usually drawn from peasants, poor laborers, small artisans, shop-keepers and the like. Indeed, the excellence of his story telling art often lies in the skillful way in which he pictures the "weals and woes" of these poor people who make the bulk of Egyptian life. Taymūr claims that this love for the common man of Egypt came about through his boyhood associations with the people in the neighborhood of his father's home and on the summer holidays which took the family into the countryside. He speaks with pleasure of the hours of his boyhood which he spent with the peasant boys; playing games with them, singing songs or gathering around certain elders of the community to hear the recitation of folk tales. "My father often took us to the country where we spent the summer holidays. I loved the life there and spent my time with the peasants, attending their gatherings, listening to their conversations, being moved to joy or sadness

<sup>2</sup> Kratchkovsky, *Among Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to *Farʿawn al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Complete works in three volumes: *Wamiḍ al-Rūh*; *Ḥayātunā al-Tamthīliyah*; *Al-Masrah al-Miṣri*.

by their singing and playing ball on their threshing floors.”<sup>5</sup> From these experiences there came much of the interest and material which was later to make the typical Taymūr short story. In the paragraph just quoted, he continues to say that it was in this circumstance that he became acquainted with a personality by the name of Shaikh Gum‘a. It will be seen that Shaikh Gum‘a became the central figure in his first short story.

Maḥmūd Taymūr’s position as the “aristocrat-*fallāḥ*” has been an obvious subject for conversation in literary circles. Kratchkovsky uses the phrase to pay tribute to the fact that “Taymūr the aristocrat retained an unswerving affection for the down-trodden class of the Egyptian people.”<sup>6</sup> He also relates a conversation with one of the peasant boys in the neighborhood which verifies the warmth and sincerity of this association between the Taymūr boys and the *fallāḥīn*. Some critics will contend that this interest in the common man is bound to be, by the very nature of the case, more academic than real; that it is a studied observation from a convenient distance. Cairo literary talk has expressed it this way; Taymūr has observed the common man from the window of his estate, looking out upon him from the vantage point of his clean and well-ordered surroundings. From this position he has shown a remarkable sympathy for the man of the narrow, dirty alleys and has characterized him in stories with unusually fine literary skill. Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, on the other hand, has come a little closer. In the coffee-shops on the edge of the pavement, where he sat in his characteristic pose with the well-known walking stick between his two hands, he observed the common man from closer range. But Al-Ḥakīm is also from the upper class and writes as an observer even if from the closer view of the office of a public official or the side-walk cafe. Neither Taymūr nor Al-Ḥakīm, the younger critics say, were with and of the people and, therefore, cannot write with the realism which is demanded of modern fiction. It is the task of younger writers to make this further narrowing of the gap between author and common man. Whatever may be the validity of these arguments, they are presented here to indicate the direction which short story writing is taking at the present moment, about which we shall have more to say later. In defense of Taymūr, it must be said at this point that, however removed he may have been in his personal status from the sordid experiences of the lower classes, he has succeeded, as no other writer, in his analysis and vivid portrayal of those simple men and women who eke out their meager existence in the poor Egyptian village or in the equally poor but teeming quarters of the city.

Maḥmūd Taymūr received the standard formal education and had begun his higher studies in the field of agriculture. At the age of

<sup>5</sup> Preface to *Far‘awm al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Among Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 46 ff.

twenty he suffered a serious attack of typhoid which made a significant change in his life and thought. During the illness of three months he resolved to engage in a more serious study of literature and related scholarly pursuits. In the years that followed, often in association with his brother Muḥammad who was still living, he turned more and more to reading and study with an interest directed more specifically to literary matters.

At this stage of life he read a modern Arabic masterpiece, *Ḥadīth ʿIsa ibn Hishām* by Al-Muwayliḥī. This book, written in 1907, was one of the first significant efforts at story telling in the modern era of Arabic literature. Taymūr also mentions that he read, in these early years, Haykal's *Zaynab* (1914). He was interested by this early attempt to present a truly Egyptian story in more simple and direct language, rather than the highly classical style which was the mode of that era. Another author to make his impression upon Taymūr at this time was Al-Manfalūṭī. Most western scholars know Al-Manfalūṭī for his essays, especially the volumes *Al-Naẓarāt* and *Al-ʿAbarāt*. They are less aware of the fact that he was a story writer and that his stories have had a strong appeal to Arab youth, particularly those who are now the adult generation. These stories tend to be sad, pessimistic and often strongly religious. But this "melodramatic exaggeration and romantic pessimism" seems to have been just the mood to attract Egyptian young men in their late "teens." Al-Manfalūṭī was a master of the Arabic language and, while his exaggerated and melancholy style is now outmoded, he has had a significant influence upon the writing of the older generation of living Egyptian authors.

Turning to western literature we observe that, through his brother, Maḥmūd Taymūr was introduced to French story writers. The most important of these and the one whom he admits to having the most influence upon his writing was Guy de Maupassant. Taymūr has not hesitated to express his admiration for Maupassant and one does not have to seek far to see the impression of this writer upon his stories, especially in his early career. He also became acquainted with Russian stories, presumably in translation, from such authors as Chekov, Turgenev and Gorky. Taymūr reads French, English and German and knows well the short stories in these languages. French and Russian models have had the most influence upon his method and style.

Possessing independent means, Maḥmūd Taymūr has devoted his time to literary interests. He has traveled widely in Europe and some in America. The result of a trip to America is a book, *Abū al-Ḥaww Yatur (The Sphinx Flies)*, written in the form of a diary addressed to his son. Taymūr became a member of the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in 1950. The welcoming remarks were given by Ṭaha Ḥusayn and may be read in the introduction to *Malāmiḥ wa Ghudūn*, a book of Taymūr essays.

## "THE MAUPASSANT OF EGYPT"

Maḥmūd Taymūr's first book was a collection of short stories entitled *Al-Shaikh Gum'ā wa Aqāṣiṣ Ukhrā* (*Shaikh Gum'ā and other Stories*), first published in 1925. These were stories of Egyptian life, rural and urban. In this first attempt we see the talent of the young author. His power of description is good and his ability to portray character is well displayed. The book was acceptably received and there followed in rapid succession two more volumes of short stories, *ʿAmm Mitwallī wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā*<sup>7</sup> and *Al-Shaikh Sayyid ʿAbī wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā*. These three volumes made a solid beginning to his career as a short story writer.<sup>8</sup> During the years which followed, as the list of works given below will indicate, Taymūr maintained a steady output of stories of a very high standard. It is to be admitted that, in these earlier years, he leaned heavily upon western patterns and was strongly under the influence of such men as Maupassant and Chekov.<sup>9</sup> This imitation of western models is a trait which ran throughout Arabic writing in this early period, as these authors were seeking to discover new forms of literary expression. That it should be so with the short story is not surprising. It may be observed, however, that from the very beginning Taymūr sought to present situations and characters which are typically Egyptian. It is this local color, both in scenes and in personalities, which makes the Taymūr story what it is and, especially as he gained his own confidence of method and style, constitutes the essential originality of his work. In fact, one could hardly find a better source of material for the understanding of the common man of Egypt than stories from the pen of Taymūr. He is a keen observer of human situations and of individual personality. His psychological understanding of the motives of these people is remarkable; and he is able to set down accurately and vividly the individual traits of these men and women whom he found in the common walks of Egyptian town and village life. He portrays them in his stories with all their weaknesses and follies as well as the touch of genuine goodness which is ever present, though often deeply hidden by poverty and despair. These stories, it must be admitted, do not always appeal to western taste. This is often due to the fact that they are studies of situations so thoroughly foreign to our mode of living; but nowhere do we have a better insight into the subtleties of human motives as they apply to the men and women who constitute the main mass of Egyptian society. He shows the rivalries and intrigues, the pettiness and meanness or even the depravation of character which exist in the rough struggle for existence in the less favored districts of the Egypt-

<sup>7</sup> Trans. into Italian by Nallino, *Oriente Moderno*, vol. III, pp. 391-400.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of these see Brockelmann, *supp.* III, 219 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For a statement by Taymūr concerning this see his *Malāmih wa Ghudūn*, p. 189.

tian city. He also pictures the simple beauty and basic integrity which are to be found in this lowly life of the peasant or city laborer.

We may further characterize Maḥmūd Taymūr's short stories by saying that they are less stories of plot than of situation and the portrayal of character. They range over a wide variety of types; the fantastic story, the romantic tale, sketches of social situations and studies of personalities, both peasant and urban.<sup>10</sup> "In a simple and sober style free from all the customary artifices, Maḥmūd Taymūr writes stories inspired by the daily life and customs of his country, creating types of personalities who are full of humor, of sensuality and of depravation, particularly women who remain, as in all Arabic stories, cunning, obstinate and ever lying in wait for a possible act of treachery."<sup>11</sup> "An observer with clinical precision and without any partiality for his compatriots, Taymūr has an affection for ordinary beings and common-place tales, in which he is able to show us, with a certain pessimism attenuated by humor, the petty human sentiments, the common passions and the trifles which vex our human state. In the presence of the humble without defense, he has the tenderness of a Dickens or an Anderson and throws a veil of reverie over the miseries of existence. Before the pompous and the p-roud his analysis grows severe and takes on the precision of a scalpel."<sup>12</sup>

To speak of style and language, Maḥmūd Taymūr writes in a simple and direct manner; a style which is "modern" as compared to the formalism of previous generations. Actually he varies his style somewhat to fit the setting of his story. When the mood demands it his language has a greater degree of dignity and eloquence; but in the average story he employs language which approaches that of simple speech, without the use of the colloquial idiom. Maḥmūd Taymūr is opposed to the present day trend toward the writing of stories, that is, the conversational element of stories, in colloquial.<sup>13</sup> As noted in previous articles, the increasing use of colloquial in literary works is a highly controversial issue. Many of the younger writers are making bold adventures in this direction, with considerable approval from their reading public. This movement is new only in its magnitude<sup>14</sup> and in

<sup>10</sup> *La Revue du Caire*, February 1953, p. 147.

<sup>11</sup> Pellat, *Langue et Littérature Arabes*, p. 201 f.

<sup>12</sup> *La Revue du Caire*, February 1953, p. 148.

<sup>13</sup> See below for the language of drama.

<sup>14</sup> Numerous examples of the use of the colloquial in writing are to be found toward the end of the 19th century. Muḥammad ʿUthmān Galāl translated Moliere's *Tartuffe* and *L'École des Femmes* into colloquial under the titles *Al-Shaykh Matlūf* (1873) and *Al-Nisāʾ al-ʿAlimāh* (1890). In the 1890's following the British occupation, several popular journals employed colloquial to express their anti-European sentiments. In a campaign of criticism by ridicule they were able, by the use of highly colloquial idioms, to express uncomplimentary feelings which would be understood by the general public but would be less easily comprehended by the British. For example, the name "Egypt" might not be mentioned as such but rather alluded to as *ḥumārāt munyatī* (the she-ass of

the possibility of a literary development which would make the spoken dialect an accepted medium for more general writing.

## WORKS OF MAḤMUD TAYMUR

<i>Collections of Short Stories</i>		Zāmir al-Hayy . . . . .	1953
Al-Shaiikh Gum <sup>ca</sup> wa Aqāṣiṣ		Abū <sup>c</sup> Alī al-Fannān wa Qiṣaṣ	
Ukhrā 15	1925	Ukhrā . . . . .	1954
<sup>c</sup> Amm Mitwallī wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā	1925	Thā <sup>ir</sup> rūn . . . . .	1955
Al-Shaiikh Sayyid <sup>c</sup> Abīṭ wa Qiṣaṣ		<i>Longer Stories</i>	
Ukhrā . . . . .	1925	Kaliyūbātra fi Khān al-Khalilī date ?	
Rajab Affandī, Qiṣṣa Miṣriyyah	1928	Nidā <sup>o</sup> al-Majhūl . . . . .	1939
Al-Hājj Shalabī . . . . .	1930	Salwā fi Mahabb al-Rih . . . . .	1947
Al-Atlāl . . . . .	1934	<i>Plays</i>	
Abū <sup>c</sup> Alī <sup>c</sup> Amil Artist wa Qiṣaṣ		Al-Makhbā <sup>o</sup> Raqm 13 . . . . .	1947
Ukhrā . . . . .	1934	Al-Yawm Khamr. . . . .	1949
Al-Shaiikh <sup>c</sup> Afa Allāh wa Qiṣaṣ		Hawā <sup>o</sup> al-Khalidah . . . . .	date ?
Ukhrā . . . . .	1936	Ibn Jalā . . . . .	1951
Qalb Ghāniyyah wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā	1937	Qanābil . . . . .	1952
Al-Wathba al- <sup>o</sup> Ulā . . . . .	1937	Ashtar min Iblis . . . . .	1953
Fir <sup>c</sup> awn al-Ṣaghīr wa Qiṣaṣ		<i>Essays and Literary Studies</i>	
Ukhrā . . . . .	1939	Nasū <sup>o</sup> al-Qiṣṣah wa Tatawwuruhā	1936
Qāl al-Rāwī . . . . .	1942	<sup>c</sup> Aṭr wa Dukhān . . . . .	1945
Bint al-Shaiṭān . . . . .	date ?	Abu al-Hawī Yaṭīr . . . . .	1947
Muktūb <sup>c</sup> Alā al-Jabīn . . . . .	date ?	Fann al-Quṣuṣ . . . . .	1948
Khalf al- Lithām . . . . .	1948	Malāmiḥ wa Ghudūn . . . . .	1950
Ihsān Lillāh wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā . . . . .	1949	Shafā <sup>o</sup> al-Rūḥ . . . . .	1951
Kull <sup>c</sup> Am wa Antum bi Khair wa			
Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā . . . . .	1950		
Shabāb wa Ghāniyyāt wa Aqāṣiṣ			
Ukhrā . . . . .	1951		
Shafā Ghalīza . . . . .	1953		
Abū Shawārib . . . . .	1953		

A few remarks concerning this list of Taymūr's works may be helpful. The books in the first section are collections and, with ten or a dozen stories in each, they represent a considerable number of short stories. However, we should point out that some of the later volumes contain stories which have appeared in previous collections. *Al-Wathba al-<sup>o</sup>Ulā*, for example, is made up of stories from his first three volumes, *Al-Shaiikh Gum<sup>ca</sup>*, *<sup>c</sup>Amm Mitwallī* and *Al-Shaiikh Sayyid*. These stories appear in various degrees of revision and often under a different title. The story *Allāh Yirhamu* from *Al-Shaiikh Gum<sup>ca</sup>* becomes *Sayyidnā* and *Sabab Ta<sup>c</sup>āruf* becomes *Wāṣitat Ta<sup>c</sup>āruf*. The earlier volume, *Abū <sup>c</sup>Alī <sup>c</sup>Amil Artist* has more recently been rewritten under the title *Abū <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Fannān* and published as no. 136

my desire). What the British were called I do not know! The first standard literary work to utilize the colloquial seems to have been Haykal's *Zaynab*. Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm made moderate use of it in *Awdat al-Rūḥ* (1933).

<sup>15</sup> *Shaiikh Gum<sup>ca</sup> and Other Stories*. For "other stories" it will be observed that Taymūr uses *qiṣaṣ ukhrā* and *aqāṣiṣ ukhrā*. Occasionally, as with *Al-Shaiikh Gum<sup>ca</sup>*, this choice of plural is altered with different editions of the same collection.

<sup>16</sup> Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, supp. III, pp. 217-26; article by A. K. Germanus in *Islamic Review*, March-April 1951, pp. 28-31.

in the *Iqrāʾ* series of pocket-size books. Other examples of this rewriting of stories for later volumes could be cited.

For those who would like a recommended volume from this list of story collection, *Kull ʿĀm wa Antum bi Khair* may be selected as a good example of the author's more mature writing. Those acquainted with Arabic will recognize the title as the common greeting used on all holiday and festival occasions; for it is a holiday eve which provides the setting for this story.

We shall not attempt here to go further into the content of individual stories in these collections. Summaries are available<sup>16</sup> as well as translations into European languages. Taymūr stories in English are limited<sup>17</sup> but many have been published in French. *Bonne Fête* (Nouvelles Editions Latines, Paris, 1954) gives a translation of *Kull ʿĀm wa Antum bi Khair* and nine other selected stories. *La Fleur du Cabaret* (Nouvelles Editions Latines, Paris, 1953) contains eighteen stories from various volumes. The same publishers have prepared two other volumes of translation: *Le Courtier de la Mort* (1950) and *La Belle aux Lèvres Charnues* (1952). Other translations are: *Les Amours de Sami* (Les Ecrivains Contemporains, Paris, 1938); *Le Reve de Samara* (Editions Horus, Cairo); and *La Fille du Diable* (Ed. La Revue du Cairo, Cairo, 1942).

Maḥmūd Taymūr's three longer stories are all distinctly different in character. *Cleopatraʾ fi Khān al-Khalīlī* is a humorous satire upon the follies of world politicians. A peace conference is convened, of all places, in Khān al-Khalīlī, the bazaar section of Cairo known to every tourist. A spiritualist medium makes it possible for Cleopatra and Tamerlane to attend. With the delegates assembled there is depicted the confusion and lack of progress characteristic of international congresses. There are arguments over the agenda. Long and boring speeches are heard. A horse race is held for raising charitable funds. An American arrives to make a film of the conference. In general the meeting is one of confusion and futility, disbanding without any accomplishment. In Taymūr's capable hands this becomes a very acceptable satire.

*The Call of the Unknown*, (*Nidāʾ al-Majhūl*) is in quite a different vein. It is a fantastic story with its setting in the mountains of Lebanon, with woods and ruined castles. It deals with a nobleman who, thwarted in love, kills the girl of his affection and takes refuge in the wooded mountains. The family castle falls in ruin and is only a place of curiosity until one day, years later, an English woman in the company of a party of travelers visits the place and discovers a half-wild man living in the ruins. The company departs in fear but the lady from England, who is surfeited with the troubles of city life,

<sup>17</sup> An English professor in Cairo University has translated a thin volume of Taymūr stories into English but the book is not at hand for specific details.

stays behind to care for the distraught nobleman and to join in the strange solitude of the place. The story is admittedly fantastic and, in resumé not very impressive, but again Taymūr has employed a richness of language and has created a mood which makes this a good story.

*Salwa in the Whirlwind*, (*Salwā fī Mahabb al-Rīḥ*) is the story of an Egyptian woman caught in the whirlwind of social ambition. Choosing a strata of society somewhat above his usual custom, Taymūr pictures the troubles of a family who try to "get on" in society. Their misguided ambition in this regard forces them into debt and into various occasions of dishonesty. Complications increase and a multitude of misfortunes is brought upon them. It is an old situation in life but the author has succeeded in presenting a graphic picture of the evils prevalent in this class of Egyptian people.

Maḥmūd Taymūr's greatest contribution to Arabic literature has been in the area of the short story but he has made some relatively successful attempts with drama. If it were necessary to choose an example of these plays I would suggest *The Eternal Eve* (Hawā<sup>3</sup> al-Khalidah). While the setting is in ancient Arabia and deals with the wives of women in that day, the author means, as the title hints, to indicate the timelessness of some of these feminine traits.

The plays *Dugout No. 13* (*Al-Makhbā<sup>3</sup> Raqm 13*) and *Bombs* (*Qanābil*) are presented with dual texts, one version being in colloquial and the other in classical. This might seem a strange phenomenon if the author's purpose were unknown. Indeed, he has been mistakenly accused of writing two versions out of the lack of courage to take a decided stand on the matter of the use of colloquial in literature. The fact is, Maḥmūd Taymūr has a very definite view on this subject. If the play is to be read it should be written in the classical language; if it is to be acted on the Egyptian stage the Egyptian vernacular should be used.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARABIC SHORT STORY

During the past five or ten years Egypt has seen a marked increase in the number of books printed, especially those of a more popular type. The rapid extension of education is bringing a wider reading public. Publishers have taken advantage of this situation and have turned to the production of books of a nature and at a price attractive to this rising middle class of readers. Many pocket-size editions have appeared, often in a series which arrives monthly on the news stands at prices from five to ten piastres.<sup>1b</sup> Some of these have maintained a good standard of printing and format (e.g., the *Iqrā<sup>3</sup>* series) while

<sup>1b</sup> *Iqrā<sup>3</sup>* (an excellent series from Al-Ma<sup>c</sup>ārif Press); *Kitāb al-Hilāl* (from Al-Hilāl Press); *Al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī* (The Golden Book series); *Kutub li-l-Jamī<sup>c</sup>* (Books for All).

others are printed on cheap paper and embellished with illustrations of low standard. The quality of the printing is not always an indication of the quality of the material for the works of the best authors have appeared in the more popular editions.

As would be expected, short stories have taken a major place in this material. In these collections, in monthly story magazines of various sorts and degrees of taste, in the daily and weekly journals, short stories have appeared in vast numbers. Indeed, this story production of recent years has been so great that it is impossible for it to come into the survey of any one reviewer. Only time will sift the literature from the trash and reveal to us from these scores of authors those who possess genuine literary ability. Some of these writes of seeming promise who have come to my attention are: Najīb Maḥfūz, °Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Saḥḥār, °Abd al-Ḥalīm °Abdallāh, °Alī Aḥmad Bākathīr, Maḥmūd al-Badawī, Yūsuf al-Sabā°ī, Iḥsān °Abd al-Quddūs, Amīn Ghurāb, Ṣalāḥ Zuḥnī, °Ādil Kāmil, Maḥmūd Kāmil, Yūsuf Guhār, Ḥusayn Muḥnis and Yaḥya Ḥaqqī.

The development of the modern Arabic short story has a history which cannot be given in detail here.<sup>19</sup> It began in the latter part of the 19th century when various periodicals began to print short stories.<sup>20</sup> These were primarily stories from the west in direct translation or in some degree of adaptation. The historical novels of Jirjī Zaydān (1861-1914), Haykal's village love story, *Zaynab* (1914), Al-Muwayliḥī's revival of the *maqamat* form of story telling in *Ḥadīth °Isa Ibn Hishām* and Al-Manfalūṭī's stories all helped to foster the story telling movement in Arabic. Gradually Arabic writers learned to use fiction and succeeded in getting away from western models to a story telling art with an originality of its own.

In regard to the strict form of the short story itself, it must be admitted that the history of its development is inseparably linked with Maḥmūd Taymūr. As was stated in the outset, he is one of the first to attempt the use of this form of fiction. In his life time he has seen the rise of the short story from its early experimental stage to a place where it is a thoroughly established and popularly accepted form of literature in the Arab world.

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<sup>19</sup> Maḥmūd Taymūr, *Nasū° al-Qiṣṣah wa Tatawwuruhā (The Rise and Development of the Short Story)* 1936; Hassūna, *Al-Thaqāfa al-Qiṣā°iyyah fi Miṣr*, in *Al-Ḥadīth*, 1931, p. 491-5; Rizzitano, *Studi di storia Islamica in Egitto, Oriente Moderno*, XXXIII, Nov. 1953, pp. 442-56.

<sup>20</sup> Among the first stories were those printed in 1870 in the journal *al-Jinān* published by Buṭrus al-Bustānī. Other periodicals to print stories were *Al-Diyā°* and *Fātāt al-Sharq*. Authors of stories: Salīm Bustānī, Labiba Ḥāshim and Naṣīb al-Maṣḥalānī. See article by °Abd al-Maguid in *Islamic Quarterly*, July 1954.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF IBN 'ARABĪ. 1

Ibn 'Arabī is possibly the most significant thinker of Islam. Yet he is far less widely known in the Western world than Ibn Sīnā, Al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd or even Al-Fārābī. By and large, the legend of his pantheism and his obscurity persists in a world little aware of what he actually wrote and taught. The late R. A. Nicholson and Dr. A. E. Affifi are the English-speaking world's chief contribution to Ibn 'Arabī studies. The present essay attempts to fill, however inadequately, the gap that remains. It touches only upon some of the main ideas in Ibn 'Arabī's vast and complex system, and ignores innumerable other aspects. It is nevertheless hoped that it may offer some notion of Ibn 'Arabī's thought, and induce the reader to seek out the original sources.

Apart from Ibn 'Arabī's own writings, especially the *Fuṣuṣul* and the *Futūḥāt*, the chief authorities on whom I have based my text are Miguel Asín y Palacio, R. A. Nicholson, and, especially, Dr. Affifi, whose masterly study, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Din-Ibnul 'Arabī* (Cambridge University Press, 1939) might well claim to be the clearest survey in English of a difficult but fascinating subject.

### IBN 'ARABĪ AS A PHILOSOPHER

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Muḥyi-al-Dīn al Hatimī al Andalūsī, commonly known as Ibn 'Arabī (or Ibnul 'Arabī), came from a pious family in which Ṣūfī interests were a tradition. His ancestors belonged to the Arab tribe of Tayy. At some time or another they moved from the Middle East to Southern Spain which, from the beginning of the 8th cent., had been ruled by Arabian princes. By 1164 A.D., when Ibn 'Arabī was born in Murcia, in South-Eastern Spain, Muslim dominance in the Iberian peninsula had passed its peak and, indeed, was declining towards extinction. But Spanish intellectual life was still illumined by the afterglow of Moorish civilization. During the preceding three centuries, the intellectual zest and material splendour of Cordova and Seville surpassed those of Paris and possibly even of Constantinople. The Muslims of Spain had transmitted to Europe much of the wisdom of the Greeks; and with their co-religionists in Syria, Persia and Iraq had produced a corpus of philosophical and scientific knowledge that was to leave a deeper imprint upon European civilization than any other foreign culture, before or since.

At the beginning of the 12th century, an Arab youth in Andalusia had practically the whole of the then available knowledge spread before him in the schools and libraries of Southern Spain. Zoroastrian and Manichæan lore, Hebrew and Christian theology, Greek philosophy and mathematics, and every kind of Muslim intellectual achievement were by then formulated in manuscript, and there was no dearth of

scholars to expound. It seems that Ibn ʿArabī, with his exceptional spiritual curiosity grasped every opportunity to profit from all available sources. At the age of eight he was in Lisbon where he received the rudiments of Muslim orthodox education. Besides learning the Qurʾān, he studied the principles of Islamic law. A few years later we find him in Seville, since 1170 the capital of the Moorish Empire of the Almohades. He remained there for some thirty years, continually employed in the study of the various branches of Islamic learning. During that time he also travelled extensively in both Spain and Morocco, and, in 1201, decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. He may have sought thus to escape from the simmering political upheavals in Spain and from the vigilant eyes of the learned ʿulamāʾ, who would look askance at a Ṣūfī scholar of distinctly unorthodox views. In the East, he visited not only Mecca, where he lived and taught for a while, but also Syria, Iraq and Asia Minor. By that time, his saintly life and his impressive record as a teacher and thinker had earned him great renown. Wherever he went, gifts were bestowed upon him, which later he passed on to the poor.

It was during his sojourn in Mecca and Damascus that Ibn ʿArabī wrote most of his books, especially the fundamental *Fuṣuṣul Ḥikam* (Gems of Philosophy) and *Al Futūḥāt al Makkīyah* (Meccan Revelations). We have no exact knowledge of the number of books he wrote. He himself mentions almost three hundred. These comprise theology, mysticism, biography, philosophy, Quranic commentaries, and poetry. Ibn ʿArabī died in 1240 in Damascus, where his grave can be seen to the present day.

The central problem facing the Muslim philosophers was how to reconcile a God of absolute unity and perfection with the creation of a multiple universe full of imperfections. If God's *will* was responsible for the creation of the world, then we are confronted with the problem of the duality of God and His will. The same problem arises in regard to Divine mercy, charity, justice and the other attributes of God. Then there was the problem how the postulate of God's unity could be preserved in view of the fact that some 'part' of Him became the universe? Prior to the creation of the latter there was nothing beside God. So obviously the universe must be a 'fragment' of God's being, taken out of eternity and placed into time. Since God is eternal and spiritual, He must be beyond time, space and matter. Yet what distinguishes His universe from Himself is precisely its material existence in time and space. Whence did these come, with all their multiplicity and imperfections?

These problems had worried not merely the Muslim philosophers but also their antecedents and masters, the Greeks, from Aristotle down to Philo, Plotinus and Origen. Though the Muslims accepted many of the Aristotelian and Neo-platonic postulates, they did not

develop them merely as Muslim interpretations. Each thinker attempted clarification in his own individual way. Hardly any two of them re-expressed the doctrine of the *Nous* or of the *Logos* in identical manner, each seeking a formula that would, to his mind, satisfy the demands of logic and yet not contravene the doctrines of the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān. Their interpretations ranged from the rationalism of the Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>tazilah to the intellectual sterility of the Ash<sup>ʿ</sup>arites; from unredeemed anthropomorphism to the complex doctrine of world spirits as postulated by Ibn Sīnā; from Al-Fārābī's veneration of Aristotelian mathematics and astronomy to Al-Ghazālī's revolt against both the Greeks and philosophy *sui generis*.

Some of the schemes devised by the Muslim philosophers are eminently satisfying to the demands of logic. They have the beauty of true works of art. By interposing an active 'agent' between God and His creation — whether called Universal Reason or First Cause, *Logos* or Universal Spirit — they relieved God of all responsibility for the existence of such troublesome entities as time, space, multiplicity, and so on. But when, at the beginning of the 12th century, Al-Ghazālī wrote his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* he showed that his predecessors, despite the apparent impeccability of their reasoning, had shirked the central issue. Their solutions had been essentially linguistic ones. By substituting the term Divine 'knowledge' for Divine 'will', and the Neo-platonic 'necessity' for 'creation', they imagined themselves to have overcome all the difficulties. They had made the universe finite in space and infinite in duration; they had limited God (or, rather, the First Cause) to dealing only with universals and not with particulars; they had attributed to everything an eternal potential existence (in the mind of God) and had thus eliminated the 'possibility' of anything new being created by God, for such new creation would have removed God from eternity and placed Him in time. Not so, insisted Al-Ghazālī, opposing such mental acrobatics. Even God's thinking must be the outcome of His will. Since He knows everything He must be concerned not only with universals but also with particulars. How, he challenged his predecessors, could we conceive of a finite space and an infinite time? Does not infinite time presuppose also infinite space? Is not space related to body, and time to the body's movement? And, Al-Ghazālī, a more orthodox Muslim than they, protested that not only the soul, as the philosophers said, but also the body is immortal. Though the great Ibn Rushd wrote his scathing *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* against Al-Ghazālī, and used every weapon of Aristotelian logic against him, he did not really invalidate Al-Ghazālī's arguments. But the verbal ingenuities he employed proved sufficiently persuasive to influence Western scholastics for several centuries.

The Muslim philosophers accomplished their tasks efficiently. Their efforts compare by no means unfavourably with those of some of their

great successors, such as Descartes, Kant or Leibniz. Kant's *Das Ding an sich* added little to the *shay* (thing) of the Muslims; and the monad of Leibniz can hardly claim superiority over its cousin, the atom of Muslim atomists. It must, however, be conceded that the Muslim philosophers failed to resolve the fundamental conflict between the Qur'ān and its *rational* justification, just as the Western scholastics failed to solve the corresponding conflict in the Christian doctrine. The fault, however, was not theirs. It was inherent in the conflict itself. The fundamental truths of the Qur'ān, in common with those of all genuine religions, are spiritual truths. Their postulates and their 'logic' must needs differ from those that have formed the basis of Western philosophical (and scientific) pursuits ever since Aristotle. It may be that the truths of science and of rationalism in general pose no insoluble riddles to Aristotelian logic, though it would appear that modern atomic science and mathematics are beginning to find them insufficient. In dealing, however, with dimensions of truth in which matter (and substance) are not the one and all, we find that particular logic of little assistance. Whether we accept or dismiss the truths of mysticism, we all agree that those truths cannot be 'proved' by a logic derived essentially from Aristotle. Such logic bases itself on a quantitative universe in which substance, whether in the sense of *materia prima* or *materia secunda* is the decisive reality of existence. By disregarding quality — which it attempts to define in terms of quantity — it takes little heed of essence. The underlying forces behind the universe — the instruments of the First Cause, or God, or whatever we wish to call it—are, however, timeless and spaceless essence. Quantity does not enter therein, even though it may become a vehicle. Thus, in trying to explain essence in terms of substance — the common technique of most Western philosophy — we attempt to explain one dimension by another one.

The problems awaiting solution by the Muslim philosophers were beyond the power of the Aristotelian logic that most of them accepted. Evidently a less circumscribed, a more 'spiritual,' instrument was needed. The mystics alone appear to have possessed such an instrument, which we might describe as vision — a direct awareness of Reality, unencumbered by intellectual interference. Though it might not be impossible to arrive at similar truths by intellectual means, such findings will be only accidental, and they will have been gained at second hand. While they reach us after having been distilled through, or reflected in, our intellect, the truths obtained by direct vision are an immediate and spontaneous experience. We might liken them to light reaching us direct from the sun as compared with light depicted in an artist's painting. (Since the great artist, somewhat like the mystic, *sees* truth directly, his representation of truth will be more concrete than that of the scientist.)

Now the truths expressed in the philosophy of Ibn ʿArabī are those of a seer and a mystic, not of a philosopher, even though he did his best to explain them through a philosophical system. His uniqueness derives precisely from the fact that he was both a seer—who often saw more clearly and more deeply even than other mystics—and at the same time possessed the equipment of a philosopher, however unorthodox and even fantastic that equipment appears at times to have been.

Though the core of his doctrine and many of its details are Ibn ʿArabī's own, his vast reading and his catholicity enabled him to utilize innumerable extraneous sources. Of the purely native, or Spanish sources, most prominent were those of the Ṣūfis of Al-Meria, whose doctrines spread through most of Muslim Spain. In his book on our philosopher, however, Dr. A. E. Affifi shows that the influence of the Spanish Ṣūfī, Ibn Masarra, and his schools, affected Ibn ʿArabī far less than was assumed by the great Spanish expert, Miguel Asín y Palacios. The Qurʾān and Ḥadīth form the chief basis upon which Ibn ʿArabī builds his doctrine. That he would be influenced by his pantheistic predecessor, the martyred Al-Ḥallāj, goes without saying. The same is true of several Eastern Ṣūfis with whose work Ibn ʿArabī became acquainted during his stay in the Middle East. Coming after most of the founders of Islamic scholasticism, he naturally derived a great deal from the Ashʿarites, the Muʿtazilah, the Carmathians and the Ikhwān-al-Ṣafā, the earliest Muslim encyclopaedists. Aristotle, in the Neo-platonic garb provided for him by the Muslim philosophers, left profound traces in Ibn ʿArabī's system. So did the Hellenistic schools of Plotinus and the Stoics. Scholars have also detected Zoroastrian and Manichaeic influences. Yet, whatever his source, he seldom failed to assimilate it so completely as to make it appear to originate in his own mind. This is particularly true of the use he makes of the Qurʾān which he interprets in any way that happens to suit his peculiarly uncompromising system.

Ibn ʿArabī's philosophy is usually described as pantheistic. Pantheism however, as commonly understood, is little more than an ennobled form of materialism. Only in recent years have scholars begun to call Ibn ʿArabī a monist. Yet the term monism, as applied to him, seems not sufficiently qualitative to provide an adequate label for the great Murcian's theosophy. The term that might possibly suit his doctrine best is non-dualism, a term that implies not merely its monistic character but also its complete overcoming of all dualistic conceptions. He is, indeed, the sole Muslim thinker who, while accepting the uncompromising monotheism of the Qurʾān, succeeded in providing that gospel with a philosophical interpretation that resolves the innumerable problems of duality as implied by the seemingly mutually contradictory statements of Islam's holy text.

If it can be said that one single consideration preoccupied Ibn ʿArabī more than any other it was the necessity for proving the non-duality of everything concerning God and His universe. A purely monistic answer to the problems of the apparent duality of a perfect God and an imperfect universe, of active and passive, of good and evil, of Divine omnipotence and human free will, would not have sufficed. It had to be shown unmistakably that there was no room for any duality whatsoever within and between the various elements. If any Western philosopher, rooted in a Semitic *Weltanschauung*, succeeded in providing such a non-dualistic philosophy, it was Ibn ʿArabī. He may often strain our patience almost beyond endurance; he may tax our powers of comprehension more severely than any other philosopher, Western or Eastern; his apparent ambiguities and contradictions may drive us wellnigh to despair. But finally our patience is richly rewarded. A splendid system of perfect non-dualism rises before us, and innumerable questions that other Western systems leave only partially explained receive answers equally satisfying from a philosophical and a religious point of view.

The difficulties which Ibn ʿArabī presents to the student lie not so much in the doctrine itself as in his style and method of reasoning. Some of these complexities are deliberate; others derive from his peculiar type of mind. Conscious of the dangers threatening an unorthodox thinker setting his views against those of theologians representing authority, Ibn ʿArabī deliberately complicated his style. He would try to make an outrageously heterodox piece of argumentation look irreproachable by expressing it in the language or imagery of orthodoxy. An original but not a systematic philosopher, he did not hesitate to use the same term to denote a number of different ideas, or to use identical terms to describe ideas that were not only not identical but mutually contradictory. A poet as well as a philosopher, he might employ a poetical diction that would pass muster in a lyrical work but only served to make his argument abtruse or even suggested an essential lack of self-discipline. As no single book contains his philosophy *in toto*, and his doctrine has to be extracted laboriously from the Garantuan volumes of the *Fuṣuṣul* and *Futūḥāt*—not to speak of a number of less prolix books—it will be evident that the task of commentators is not easy. Only a very genuine admiration of that remarkable genius can induce a student to wrangle with the innumerable difficulties that Ibn ʿArabī found it necessary to create.

Yet he has fascinated thinkers, theologians and poets almost from the day his works became known. Dante provides the most conspicuous example of his pervasive influence. Senor Asin y Palacio, the leading authority on the subject, has proved in his remarkable studies published in the volume *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (John Murray, London, 1926) that not only were innumerable ideas in the *Divine Comedy*

inspired by Ibn ʿArabī, but the entire geography of heaven and hell was taken over by Dante from Ibn ʿArabī (and other Muslim sources). And to mention but one other Western thinker whose work unmistakably shows Ibn ʿArabī's influence, there is Ramon Lull, the Spanish mystic.

#### THEMES IN IBN ʿARABĪ'S PHILOSOPHY

##### (A) GOD

If Ibn ʿArabī is usually described as a pantheist, there is ample justification in his own arguments. For while the Qurʾān declares: "There is but one God," Ibn ʿArabī maintains that "there is nothing but God." His abandonment of the Islamic conception of God as the creator and cause of the universe, in favour of a God who *is* everything, definitely suggests a step from monotheism to pantheism. While the Prophet Muḥammad preached a God who is cause and a universe that is effect, the majority of Muslim philosophers introduced between God and His creation such intermediaries as the First Cause or the Universal Spirit. Ibn ʿArabī will have none of these intermediaries, but only "absolute unification." Though again and again he tries to reconcile his 'pantheistic' God with the unitarian God of the Qurʾān, his God "Who is everything" must needs differ greatly from the Quranic God "like unto whom there is nothing." His God is not one who creates or from whom anything but Himself emanates, but a God who *manifests* Himself in an infinity of forms.

Ibn ʿArabī distinguishes between the finite God of religion and the infinite God of mysticism. The God of religion reveals Himself in various forms reflected in the different religions. It depends upon the 'capacity' of the believer which one of these forms (religions) he accepts. The God of the mystic contains all His forms, for the mystic's heart alone is all-receptive. While the God of religion manifests Himself in man as both virtue and sin, the God of the mystic reveals Himself in a manner that is beyond virtue and sin. As we shall discover, this is an utterly a-moral God.

Since God is the essence of all existence, man needs Him so that he may exist. On the other hand, God needs man, so that He may manifest Himself to Himself.

Divine essence, for Ibn ʿArabī, is pure without attributes. It is endowed with Attributes when it manifests itself, either in the universe or in man (who is part of it), for all created things are His Attributes. Viewed as His Attributes, they are identical with God. When viewed *apart* from God—as they are by the rationalist and materialist—they are nothing. Since the universe, and everything within it, are God's manifested Attributes their existence is relative; God's is absolute.

By knowing itself, the Divine essence knows all things within itself. Nevertheless it distinguishes them from itself as objects of its know-

ledge. This, however, does not imply that there is some duality between the known object and the knowing subject. Since the Divine essence is the knower, the known and the knowing, there exists complete unity of the subject, the object and the function that establishes a relationship between them.

### (B) CREATION

In conformity with the Qurʾān, Ibn ʿArabī regards the world as undergoing an eternal process of creation. In conformity with the Ashʿarites (and the atomists) he regards that process as one of constant annihilation and creation. Annihilation here simply means that since an object changes from moment to moment, it cannot be the same once the change has taken place. Since it has ceased to be its old self, that self no longer exists. In order that it might cease to exist, it must obviously have been annihilated. Otherwise there would be not one object but an infinite number of them.

If God exists, and if everything has its being in Him, it follows that the universe was not created at some moment in the distant past—ever since evolving on its own—but that it manifests constantly the Divine existence of its maker. This means that the universe is in a perpetual state of creation. According to Ibn ʿArabī, God does not create anything. Creation means simply the coming into concrete manifestation of something already existing (in God). While this doctrine is in agreement with that of most Muslim philosophers, it is at complete variance with the views of Al-Ghazālī, who regards every spiritual perception and even sensory experience as something entirely new, created afresh by God from moment to moment, as though out of a vacuum.

Though God may will a thing to be, its existence is made necessary by the very nature of the laws within the thing itself. Actually, for Ibn ʿArabī, God is the name for those laws.

Of particular interest is Ibn ʿArabī's discussion of the way in which the potential existence of things (inherent within God's essence) becomes actual existence in the phenomenal world. This was, of course, a subject that preoccupied most of the philosophers, and one that we associate with Plato's Ideas or the impact of a form (*eidōs*) upon matter, in Aristotle. Ibn ʿArabī divides the Divine essence—or, at least, that aspect of it that manifests itself in tangible phenomena—into Divine Names and Divine Attributes. He views a Divine Name as a 'limited' form of the Divine essence prior to its manifestation. We could paraphrase him by saying that a Divine Name is the creative element that holds within itself the potentiality of a particular phenomenon (that might, or might not, come into tangible existence). In other words, it is the active element within the Divine essence out of which a given phenomenon will emerge.

A Divine Attribute, on the other hand, is a Divine Name manifested in the external world. It is the phenomenal object, though not necessarily a material one. For, in Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine, any human thought or activity, too, has its primary being in the Divine essence in which, before its external manifestation, it forms the apposite Divine Name. Whereas a Divine Attribute, being an exteriorization of the Divine Name, must needs be transient and represent the 'passive' element in the procedure, the Divine essence is, of course, unchangeable, indestructible, and embracing both its (potentially) phenomenal and non-phenomenal aspects. Thus it is more than the Platonic Idea, which denotes only the spiritual reality behind a phenomenon, and which disregards the latter's concrete manifestation. But then, for Plato, such manifestations were mere shadows. For Ibn 'Arabī, they were particular aspects of Reality.

Ibn 'Arabī, in his effort to make his doctrine all-embracing, characteristically treats the same subject in yet other terms. He speaks of Divine consciousness which embraces all the intelligible forms of the prototypes or *ʿayān*, as he calls them, and which, as we shall see later, he identifies with the *Logos*, or the Spirit of Muḥammad. The Divine essence embraces all the potential essences of the prototypes, which would seem to be but another title for the Divine Names. Indeed Ibn 'Arabī calls them also 'latent realities' or *Al-ʿayān al thābitah*. He defines the essence of each of them as a 'mode' of God, and it is through that essence that God becomes conscious of each one of them.

### (C) THE ONE AND THE MANY

It should be possible by now to divine how Ibn 'Arabī solves the problem of the unity of God and the multiplicity within the universe or, to put it differently, how he resolves the supposed duality in the relationship between God and His creatures. Naturally, he admits the existence of multiplicity in the world or, in his own words, of the many, *khalq*. But he does not admit the reality of the many in terms of their substance as opposed to essence. He accepts only one Reality, *Al-Ḥaqq* (the *Anā al Ḥaqq* of Al-Ḥallāj). As viewed by Itself, that is, as God viewing Himself, or when viewed by ourselves as the essence behind all phenomena, their Reality indeed is but one, and can be nothing but one. It can only be regarded as many when viewed solely as *manifestations* of that essence, i.e. when viewed by ourselves in an intellectual or sensory way (that is, as substance).

Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine is by no means identical with the corresponding doctrine of Plotinus, for whom Reality is the *cause* of everything. (In this Plotinus would be at one with orthodox Muslim doctrine.) For Ibn 'Arabī, the One is not the cause but the essence of everything. This difference in the two doctrines is fundamental. To be the maker of the thing I produce is one matter; it is quite another

matter to be the thing itself or, rather, to share with it my essence. To paint the picture of a child is not identical with giving birth to a child.

It should now be evident that for Ibn ʿArabī multiplicity has no spiritual reality, for it is not due to division within the One. It is due to our own individual points of view. As humans, we can see only fragments of the whole. Moreover, we seldom penetrate beyond their surface. According to Ibn ʿArabī, the mystic alone can perceive God in His unity rather than in His alleged multiplicity. It could be said that, for Ibn ʿArabī, the relationship between God and His creatures is that of an object reflected in countless mirrors. These reflections obviously cannot exist without Him, and, in a way, they are He. At the same time they are obviously not He. They are He when we are aware that the reflected image is but a reflection; they are not He when we forget the object they reflect and accept them as final realities. So it is quite permissible for Ibn ʿArabī to say both: "I am He and He is I," and also "I am He and not He." His God is both transcendental and immanent.

#### (D) THE SOUL

If there is really no duality of God and man, we might ask: why should the mystic be so eager to effect a union with God; why should the devout always seek a bridge that would lead him to God? On the basis of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine, the very words 'meeting' God, 'unification' with God, and so on, are meaningless. For these words presuppose an original separateness from God. For Ibn ʿArabī, union with God is not an eventual reaching or meeting Him but rather a becoming aware of a relationship that has always existed. What the individual soul does is merely to awaken to the realization of its unity with God. The fact that I am (fortunately, but seldom) aware of my liver or my teeth does not presuppose that in order to achieve that awareness I must go outside of myself in search of either of these. Ibn ʿArabī naturally holds that man never becomes God, as God never becomes man. They are always one, even though we are seldom aware of this fact. Only the true mystic can be aware of it.

What Ibn ʿArabī says about Divine essence being conscious of itself *in toto* and also of individual Names, applies equally to his doctrine of the soul. In common with several philosophers, he accepts the doctrine of a Universal Soul. Where he differs from them is in pointing out that the individual soul within it is not 'part' of it. For how, he asks, can soul—a spiritual entity—be divided into parts? The very word 'part' presupposes quantity. Yet within the realm of spirit everything is quality (essence). The Universal Soul is conscious both of itself as a whole and of each individual soul 'within' it. The latter, forming an individual aspect of the Universal Soul, cannot be con-

scious of the whole but only of itself. Thus God differs from man only in the sense that a thing differs from its individual aspects.

According to Ibn ʿArabī, man consists of three elements: spirit, soul and body. The three aspects of the soul are the rational, vegetative and animal. The rational soul Ibn ʿArabī seems to identify with spirit or the rational principle in man (and not, as does Aristotle, with intellect). The purpose of the vegetative soul is to seek food and to assimilate it. The animal soul has its seat in the physical heart and is shared by man and animals. It represents their vital principle. Both vegetative and animal souls Ibn ʿArabī regards as part of the body. The rational soul, on the other hand, is independent of the body, even though it uses it as a vehicle. It is "that perfect and simplest substance which is living and active, the substance whose sole activities are remembering, retaining ideas, comprehending, discriminating, and reflecting".<sup>1</sup>

Viewed superficially, Ibn ʿArabī's division into spirit and body (rationality and animality) might wear a look of dualism. In actual fact both spirit and body are, for him, facets of the same central Reality, one being its inward, the other its outward, aspect. While he admits that the body, unlike the spirit, is destructible, he nevertheless differs from many Muslim philosophers in according it real being. Indeed, how could the body be without such being in view of the fact that it represents the outward aspect of reality?

#### (E) KNOWLEDGE

The chief aim of early Muslim philosophers was to acquire intellectual command of truths which during the years immediately following the death of the Prophet were accepted unquestioningly on faith. So long as the Muslim community felt no need for rationalizing Qurānic truths, it could dispense with the acquisition of a knowledge built on reason. But gradually the Muslims found themselves compelled to explain Qurānic revelation in terms intellectually acceptable. Attacks by Christian antagonists alone made such a task imperative. However, as soon as they began to tackle the problem of rational knowledge, questions concerning the technique through which the mind works forced themselves upon their attention. Does knowledge come direct from God or is it the fruit of man's own efforts? Does it reach the mind directly or are complex processes involved? Is the mind one indivisible entity or does it work through separate channels? These and kindred questions had to be answered. The quest for valid answers enabled the philosophers to probe into problems that had only been touched upon by their Greek masters. Some of the answers they evolved have not been invalidated even by modern psychological research. Al-Kindī, writing a thousand years ago, developed a theory (of four

<sup>1</sup> *Risālah fī Maʿnā al-Nafs wa-l-Rūh*, Publ. by Asin y Palacios, in the *Acts of the 14th Oriental Congress*, Algiers 1905, p. 153.

types of 'spirit') that nothing in 20th century psychology could easily refute. Ibn Sīnā put forward a doctrine of the internal faculties of perception that, while not dissimilar from Al-Kindī's, surpassed it in precision and elegance. Even Al-Ghazālī turned his attention to the ways by which the mind acquired knowledge; and Ibn Rushd and many others threw new light on that problem.

Ibn ʿArabī was no exception, and many pages of his major works deal with the problem of knowledge. But, as we should expect, his theories differ in their most important aspects from those of other philosophers, even though they show a resemblance with those of the Ṣūfīs. According to him, the soul is born with innate knowledge, but this is 'forgotten' during its association with the body. Thus any newly acquired knowledge is in reality 'old' knowledge suddenly remembered by the soul. Thinking processes he defines as the relating of concepts (already existing in the soul) to each other. (As Leonardo da Vinci said: "To understand is to set up a relationship.") Each concept represents an unchangeable idea. A given relationship between concepts cannot change. Each change means that a completely new relationship has been entered into by the concepts or the ideas they represent. (Here Ibn ʿArabī obviously bases himself on Aristotle's theory of the eternal nature of the *eidōs* and its subsequent inability to change, a theory accepted by most Muslim philosophers, though not by Al-Ghazālī.)

Where Ibn ʿArabī differs from other Islamic thinkers is in his views on the innermost nature of knowledge. Man's power to apprehend—the power that they usually describe as spirit—he defines as light, *al nūr*. In man this light takes the form of the rational soul which, in turn, is a 'mode' of Universal Reason, *al-ʿaql al-kullī*, the Aristotelian Agent Intellect or Neo platonian *Logos*. How then does the light operate in man?

The first step in the acquisition of ordinary knowledge is a sensory perception. But what is it that enables the senses to perceive an object? According to our philosopher, it is the apprehending Light. That Light forms the essence of the senses. The impressions derived by the senses are instantly transferred to the heart which, in turn, passes them on to the intellect. The intellect, located in the brain, recognizes these impressions for what they are, namely sense perceptions, and then transfers them to the imagination. From there they finally reach the understanding (*mufakkirah*), which analyses and tabulates them. The perceptions that are of the greatest interest to the mind are retained by the faculty closest to the heart (not, however, the physical organ), namely memory. Now all the different channels through which perception is being gathered and organized function thanks to Light. Both mental faculties and sensory perceptions owe their rational character to that Light, the seat of which Ibn ʿArabī identifies with a non-phy-

sical centre which he calls the heart or, sometimes, the inward eye, *al-ʿayn al baṣīrah*. Everything that enables us to apprehend life—in fact our very awareness of living — is this light.

It is not always easy to follow Ibn ʿArabī in his explanations of the light. It would appear, however, that he identifies it with our rational soul. We think and feel, hear and see, form images and memorize, by means of various faculties and senses. In their essence all these are light. In other words, light is the quality (or force) through which apprehension takes place. We might call it the inmost essence of our intelligence or that which, in the phenomenal world, is least separated from the Divine.

Now it is the objects of our apprehension that come into question: the phenomena, relationships, actions and, finally, ideas, which the light enables us to apprehend. What is their essence? Since God is the root of everything that is, He is Light *par excellence*. And so all His creatures, men and beasts, ideas, trees and microbes, are manifestations of Light. It follows, therefore, that both the apprehending intelligence and its objects are (functions of) Light. Equally true are the two opposite formulations: what is not Light cannot apprehend Light; and what is not Light cannot be apprehended by Light. Indeed Ibn ʿArabī points out that if a thing or idea cannot be apprehended by any kind of mind, it has no reality. It is even more obvious that what is not Light—for example, the mind of a complete idiot—cannot apprehend the Light (the truth), whether of objects or ideas.

The most perfect knowledge accessible to man is that of a mystic, Ibn ʿArabī tells us. In the mystic's case Divine essence is revealed directly to the 'heart' in an immediate vision. Such a vision does not depend upon the intellect, and it can dispense with the complicated processes of apprehension requisite for conceptual knowledge. The mystic's heart sees (or reflects) all the Divine perfections which, otherwise, are scattered in endless multiplicity throughout the universe. In fact only the mystic's heart can perceive Reality itself which is beyond thought.

#### (F) INANIMATE OBJECTS

So far we have not discussed Ibn ʿArabī's views regarding objects other than man and animal. Since he does not attribute to a stone or a twig the rationality that distinguishes man, they might seem to exist in some substratum untouched by the Divine spirit. Yet Ibn ʿArabī, while denying them the *personal* rationality possessed by man, insists that they manifest *Divine* rationality. This results from their following their own inner laws. And, as we know, all laws originate in God. It will be remembered that, according to Ibn ʿArabī, all phenomena are God's Attributes. In so far as all such Attributes have their being in Divine Names which, in turn, are aspects (or localizations) of the

Divine essence, they are all identical in origin, though not in their phenomenal manifestation. Must we then assume that a stone's relationship to God does not differ from that of man to God?

Ibn ʿArabī tells us that man alone can know God perfectly (just as God knows Himself through man who is God's consciousness 'in manifestation' that is, exteriorized or made 'visible.'). Even the angels know less of God than does man, for they know Him only in His transcendental nature which has no relation to the phenomenal world. Man alone can know God both in His aspects of the Real and the phenomenal. Why? Because, of all God's creatures, man alone is both real and phenomenal, eternal and transient, internal and external. Inanimate objects, on the other hand, can know of God only as much as they know of themselves, that is, of God's particular Name revealed through them. They know God's 'stoniness' or what is stone within God; they know what is water, or metal, or cabbage, in Him. Beyond any of these or similar organisms, they can know nothing of God.

#### (G) THE THING

Under the influence of Plato and Aristotle, Muslim philosophy was greatly preoccupied with the question of what constitutes a thing, or *shay*. According to the Muʿtazilah, a thing was a concept that could be known regardless of whether it actually existed or not, existence being only one of its various qualities. Ibn ʿArabī, too, conceives of being as possible apart from things that actually exist. It is only in the phenomenal world that the quality of being must be possessed by an object in order that it may exist.

How then does Ibn ʿArabī define non-being? He divides things that have no being into two categories. To the first belong things that have no existence in any of the planes of pure Being, that is God. These he calls pure non-existent. To his second category belong things which exist in one plane but not in another. He divides them into two sub-categories: things which exist only as intellectual concepts without the possibility of existence in the actual world (like, we might say, the concept of a man with a hundred heads or of fire that is wet); and, second, things which have a possible existence in the actual world without, however, existing in it. (Such a thing would have been, for non-Australians, the black swan in the days before Australia was discovered, or any invention prior to its having been made, e.g. the telephone or the jet plane a hundred years ago.) Ibn ʿArabī points out that while these last two categories of non-being can be objects of our thought, pure non-being can never be; in other words, any concept that our mind cannot possibly conceive is pure non-being. This means that pure non-being is everything that cannot be thought of or put into symbols.

Ibn ʿArabī's views are not dissimilar to those of the Ikhwān al-

Ṣafā who held that a concept that cannot be expressed in language is unthinkable. So they called the word the "body of the thought," and maintained that thought cannot exist without its verbal body. Ibn ʿArabī would certainly not disagree with this, for he regarded both words and thoughts as Divine Attributes and, thus, as partaking in the Divine essence. However, something for which neither a word nor a thought can be found cannot partake of that essence and thus is pure non-existent.

#### (H) DREAMS

Only with the advent of Jung's analytical psychology has the world become familiar with the concept of the archetypal dreams, dreams whose sources are to be sought not in the subconscious of the individual but in that of an entire civilization or nation. Most people consider the notion of the archetypal dream as not only new but revolutionary. In actual fact it is not new. For Jung's formulation of such a dream can be found in Ibn ʿArabī.

Ibn ʿArabī regards dreams as *khayāl*, or mental images (imaginings) which represent something between the real and the phenomenal worlds, as do our imaginings. He also interprets *khayāl* as anything that provides a symbol for either reality or for some hidden meaning. In this particular sense, the entire phenomenal world might be considered *khayāl*. In fact both that world and dreams he regards as symbols of hidden realities.

It is during dreams that imagination is at its most active, producing ordinary dreams. According to Ibn ʿArabī, it is then that imagination gets hold of experiences of daily life, and presents them to the 'inward eye' (of the heart). In the inward eye, they are magnified as though in a mirror, and it is the subsequently distorted image of those experiences that fill our dreams. Usually these images become the foci or symbols of our desires.

There also exists a second type of dream, which Ibn ʿArabī regards as of far greater significance, the material for which comes not from our ordinary daytime experiences but direct from the Universal Soul or, as Ibn ʿArabī sometimes calls it, the 'Guarded Table.' In such a dream man's (rational) soul perceives the archetypal ideas contained in the Universal Soul. But even in such dreams imagination gains possession of the received ideas, and distorts them. As a result, man's 'inward eye,' while in direct contact with the Universal Soul, nevertheless does not act as a perfect mirror but as a "running, yet undefiled, stream wherein are reflected illuminated objects of all descriptions."<sup>2</sup> Thus the dreamer sees only the reflections of the archetypal ideas, and these are merely the symbols of the latter. The symbols have been provided by the dreamer's own imagination and not by the Uni-

<sup>2</sup> From *Māhiyat al-Qalb*, quoted by Affifi, op. cit. p. 132.

versal Soul that presented the ideas in all their purity. In consequence, these dreams, being symbolical, have to be interpreted. For only the reality behind the symbols is real 'knowledge.' (This notion, we might add, would offer opportunities to a Jungian analyst.)

There is, however, one type of dream that is not symbolical but a direct revelation of Reality. Imagination does not enter into it, and the 'inward eye' reproduces the exact reflection of the impression received. In such a dream, the Universal Soul (with its archetypal ideas) reveals itself direct to man's soul without any distortion. (What Ibn ʿArabī means, of course, is that the Universal Soul reveals itself through the medium of the individual soul.) Dreams of this nature obviously call for no interpretation. They are the truly archetypal dreams, and are similar to the mystic's revelation (*wahy*) or inspiration (*ilhām*). They are the direct vision of Reality, of Universal Truth.

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## THE MUSLIM THINKER AND HIS CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

During the Sixth Arab Studies Conference<sup>1</sup>, March 12-16, 1956, at which scientific research in the Arab world was discussed, Dr. Charles H. Malik, as one of the principal speakers, gave the address on scientific research in general, in the course of which he asked nine questions. The sixth of them, though by no means the most important, caused the greatest reverberations. It ran as follows:

"The Muslim Thinker. Christians and Jews in (different parts of) the world have contributed to the study of the Islamic heritage. When will it become possible for a Muslim scholar to write a treatise on Christianity to which Christians could refer, for the next thousand years, as a standard and a reliable work on the subject?"

In the discussion which followed the address, one of the conferees asked: "Does this mean that the works written by early Muslim scholastics on Christianity are worthless? Likewise, were the works of (modern) Christians and Jews on Islam motivated by the desire to search for the truth and aimed at finding it?" The same conferee then added: "It is well-known that Islam acknowledges Christianity as a Divinely inspired religion and venerates Jesus and his mission, when, at the same time, the Church—indeed the Churches—has persistently refused to acknowledge the Divine origin of Islam and has deliberately failed to recognize Muḥammed as a prophet. Could this not be the real cause for the failure of Muslim scholars to undertake (objectively) the study of Christianity?"<sup>2</sup>

The same conferee addressed an open letter to His Beatitude, the Maronite Patriarch of the Lebanon, in which he extended his Easter greetings and best wishes to the Patriarch and also called upon him to use his good offices in bringing about an end to that unhealthy situation which exists between the two sister faiths. He said: "It is our belief that the time has come to remove the causes, nay the only cause, of estrangement between the two great religions—Christianity and Islam. The recognition of (Christianity) by (Islam), fourteen centuries ago, renders it necessary for the Christian Church—rather the Churches—to recognize Islam now, not indeed as a fulfilment of a duty long overdue, but to combine all resources in a supreme effort against the common enemy—paganism in its various forms."<sup>3</sup>

Another conferee stated that in his opinion the reason for the apparent failure of Muslim scholars to give any serious attention to the study of Christianity stems from the fact that Islam, being a compre-

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<sup>1</sup> Held annually by the Arab Studies Group of the American University of Beirut.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Diyār*, March 22, 1956.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Diyār*, April 3, 1956.

hensive Divine code which comprises doctrine, acts of worship, daily transactions, etc., requires extensive and constant study. Christianity, on the other hand, is limited to doctrine and ritual and, therefore, does not call for the same amount of attention.<sup>4</sup>

The argument was not confined to the Conference Hall but was taken up by the press. One columnist, in commenting on the question, said: "Could Dr. Malik point out for us one Christian or Jewish thinker who has written about Islam with detachment and objectivity? Is it not a fact that Christian interest in Islam did not start except with the beginning of the (modern) missionary movement and the age of colonialism? Has not the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān spoken of Christianity at length and with love, thereby sparing Muslim thinkers the need for any further investigation in the subject?"<sup>5</sup>

These are but some of the more restrained and relevant remarks which the question elicited from interested Muslim circles. As one who was intimately concerned with the plans for and the conduct of the Conference, and because of my keen interest in Arab and Islamic studies, it occurred to me to take a good look at the whole subject to determine the facts of the case.

When Muḥammad preached his new mission, first among the Meccans and then among the Medinans, the Scripturaries were more favourably disposed towards him and seem to have viewed him as some sort of a reformer. When, however, it dawned upon them that he regarded himself as the last and the greatest of those prophets through whom God, at sundry times and in divers manners, had spoken, they would have nothing to do with him. This proved to be a turning point in the career of Muḥammad and a major factor in determining the relations of Islam with its two older sister religions. Because the Jews in Medina were an important segment of the inhabitants while the Christians in Mecca were not, the Prophet's struggle came to be one primarily against the polytheists of his own city and against the Jews of Yathrib. This is clearly reflected in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān where one finds "the most vehement of mankind in hostility to those who believe (to be) the Jews and the idolators." On the other hand, one finds "the nearest of (mankind) in affection to those who believe (to be) those who say: Lo! We are Christians."<sup>6</sup>

The Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, however, had already accepted the Scriptures of Judaism and Christianity as holy writ, and spoke of itself as "confirming" the earlier revelations.<sup>7</sup> The phrases "confirming that which they possess" and "confirming that which was (revealed) before it" appear in both the Meccan and Medinan Surahs no less than eighteen times.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Diyār*, March 22, 1956.

<sup>5</sup> *Beirut al-Masāʿ*, March 13, 1956.

<sup>6</sup> Surah v: 82.

<sup>7</sup> Surah xlv: 12. It should be noted that this Surah is an early one belonging to the middle of the Meccan period.

Neither the Jews nor the Christians, however, accepted the mission of Muḥammad.

Despairing that the Scripturaries would accept his mission, the Prophet, almost immediately after his arrival in Medina in September 622, broke off with both Judaism and Christianity and began the Arabization of Islam. The most spectacular step which signified this new policy was the change of the *qiblah* (the direction to be observed during prayer) from Jerusalem to Mecca.<sup>8</sup> The Jews were accused of rejecting Muḥammad although they were convinced of the truth of his mission. They were also accused of concealing the truth although they were familiar with it.<sup>9</sup> What is more, it was suggested that these Scripturaries suppressed part of their Scriptures and changed another.<sup>10</sup> All hope of reconciliation was abandoned. "Even though thou shouldest bring every kind of sign to those who have received the Scriptures, yet thy *qiblah* they will not adopt; nor shalt thou adopt their *qiblah*; ... And if, after the knowledge which hath come to thee, thou follow their wishes, verily then wilt thou become of the unrighteous."<sup>11</sup>

Reviewing, as it were, the whole situation of Islam in relation to Judaism and Christianity, the Qurʾān, in the last Surah to be revealed,<sup>12</sup> reiterates the Divine origin of both, but accuses the Jews of "shifting the words of the law".<sup>13</sup> Finally, the Muslims are told: "O Believers! take not the Jews or the Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any one of you taketh them for his friends, he is surely one of them! God will not guide the evil doers."<sup>14</sup> At the time, the Scripturaries were told: "Say! O people of the Book! Ye have no ground to stand on, until ye observe the Law (Torah) and the Evangel, and that which hath been sent down to you from the Lord."<sup>15</sup>

This is, therefore, the extent of recognition granted the Scripturaries by the Qurʾān. Their Scriptures are of divine origin, but they themselves have deviated from truth by rejecting Muḥammad and refusing to accept the Qurʾān as holy writ. The Jews in particular have been accused of "shifting the words of the law."

With the spread of Islam outside the Peninsula into the larger milieu of the new Arab empire, the Jews became in comparison an insignificant minority, while the Christians acquired greater importance, since Islam had to face Christendom in both the Fertile Crescent and

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<sup>8</sup> Surah ii: 144. This took place in the first half of the second year of the Hijrah.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 98; iv: 48.

<sup>11</sup> Surah ii: 145.

<sup>12</sup> Surat al-Māʾidah (The Table), revealed between the 5th and the 10th year of the Hijrah.

<sup>13</sup> Surah v. 41; see also verses 42-53.

<sup>14</sup> Surah v. 51.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. the Qurʾān. Sūrah v. 68.

Egypt. At the same time the Christians in the conquered territories loomed, in the jargon of today, as a potential fifth column in league with the enemies of the new state. From that time on, the struggle in the Near East has been between Islam and Christianity. What was in the 7th century a predominantly Christian area is now predominantly Muslim. The Jews were to enjoy relative security until the modern Zionist movement, in league with colonial interests, forced the Arab adherents of both faiths to close ranks in the face of a common enemy.

Initially, the ensuing struggle between the new state and the Byzantine did not assume a religious form. Gradually, however, the new religion had to withstand the onslaught of the theologians of its older sister. The devotees of both embarked on a marathon of religious controversy. On the Christian side, the earliest apologia was that of John of Damascus (d. before A.D. 754), the "Disputatio Christiani et Saraceni" <sup>16</sup>, where the Prophet is regarded as a heretic rather than a founder of a new faith and is accused of Arianism. The earliest on the Muslim side is that of ʿAli ibn-Rabban al-Ṭabarī (fl. during the middle of the 9th century), the *Kitāb al-Dawlah w-al-Dīn* <sup>17</sup>, which was written at the command, with the assistance, and in the court of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Al-Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861). About the same time, Al-Jāhiz (d. A.D. 868) wrote a tract in refutation of the Christian position. <sup>18</sup>

From that time on, the primary interest of the followers of Christianity was to refute Islam and to villify Muḥammad, while that of the followers of Islam was to assert its Divine origin and to prove that their adversaries have corrupted the original Scriptures, the Torah and the Evangel, in order to conceal and suppress Biblical prophecies concerning the Prophet. The pattern set by Ibn-Rabban al-Ṭabarī was standardized by the famous Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), who took upon himself the task of refuting both Judaism <sup>19</sup> and Christianity. <sup>20</sup> The suggestion in the Qurʾān that the Scripturaries had changed and corrupted the original Torah and Evangel was elaborated, with the result that the Scripturaries were henceforth considered not only *mushrikūn* (polytheists) but also *kuffār* (pagans).

The position taken by Ibn-Ḥazm was followed, though with more restrained language, by Al-Ghazālī (d. A.D. 1111) in his *Al-Radd al-Jamīl li-Ilāhiyyat ʿIsa bi-Ṣariḥ al-Injīl* <sup>21</sup>, where the author centres his attacks on the Divinity of Jesus. It was, however, Ibn-Taimiyyah

<sup>16</sup> Printed in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, XCVI, 1335-1363.

<sup>17</sup> English translation by A. Mingana, Manchester 1922, under the title of *The Book of Religion and Empire*.

<sup>18</sup> *Fīl-Radd ʿalā ʿl-Naṣāra*, ed. by J. Finkel together with two other tracts of Al-Jāhiz, *Fī Dhamm Akhlāq al-Kuttāb* and *Fī ʿl-Qiyān*, under the title *Thalāth Rasaʿil* (Cairo, 1926). For the *Radd*, see pp. 10-38.

<sup>19</sup> *Al-Fiṣal fī ʿl-Milal w-al-Aḥwāʾ w-al-Niḥal*, vol. I (Cairo, 1317), pp. 116-224.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II (Cairo, 1320), pp. 1-78.

<sup>21</sup> Edited with French translation by Robert Chidiac, S.J., Paris 1939.

(d. A. D. 1328) who set the tone for all future Muslim polemic against Christianity in his voluminous *Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ*<sup>22</sup>. Both Jews and Christians are guilty of corrupting the Scriptures; their just reward is hell-fire in the hereafter. Modern Muslim writers have drawn mainly on Ibn Taimiyyah. This is true of the great Muḥammad Abduh<sup>23</sup> as well as of the not so great Muḥammad Tal'at<sup>24</sup>.

This hostility has been further intensified by the long and unfriendly history of the relations of Islam and Christianity and of their respective followers. The struggle of the rising Muslim Empire against the Byzantine determined not only the temporal relations of both the two states but also the attitude of the masses in each state towards the religion of the other. This was still further complicated by the Christian-Muslim struggle during the period of the Crusades whose legacy of ill-will still rankles in the hearts of both peoples, during the period of the early Ottomans when a resurgent Muslim power menaced the Christian citadel of Europe, and during the century and a half of Western penetration and Muslim experiences under colonialism.

Nothing in the preceding pages, however, justifies or even explains the apparent absence of Muslim curiosity to investigate the faith and beliefs of foes and rivals. An explanation is, therefore, necessary.

It must be stated at the outset that the Islamic concept of revelation tends to discourage, if not to preclude altogether, any deviation from the express pronouncements of the Qur'ān. Its manifest (*muḥkam*) verses are never subject to the scrutiny of *ijtihād* (exercise of judgement); its ambiguous (*mutashābih*) are, but only by qualified doctors who must secure for their interpretations the approval of *ijmā'* (consensus of the community). The range of such *ijtihād*, however, "was progressively narrowed down, as successive generations of doctors, supported by 'consensus', filled up the gaps in the doctrinal and legal systems. Finally, no more gaps remained to be filled, or very insignificant ones, and thereupon 'the gate of *ijtihād* was closed,' never again to be opened."<sup>25</sup>

Muslim thinking, therefore, can only move within the scope set down by the Qur'ān. The claims of the Qur'ān are judged by the Qur'ān, and Muslims accept no other authority. Indeed, revelation and reason can never be in disagreement; they must of necessity agree<sup>26</sup>. Nor is it conceivable that revelation should contain anything contrary to reason<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Cairo, 1905, in two volumes. A third is unpublished.

<sup>23</sup> See his refutations of the Christian position in Faraḥ Anṭūn, *Ibn-Rushd wa-Falsafatuhu wa-Rudud Muhammad Abduh*, Alexandria 1903.

<sup>24</sup> *Al-Qawl al-Mubīn fī 'l-Radd 'alā 'l-Mubashshirīn al-Injīliyyīn*, Cairo 1905.

<sup>25</sup> H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1945, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Muḥammad Bahjat al-Atharī, in *Al-'Arab w-al-Ḥaḍārah al-Ḥadīthah*, Beirut, 1951, p. 143.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād*, 2nd. ed., Cairo 1327, p. 87.

Almost from the beginning, Islam claimed to be the final and most complete dispensation and its Prophet the last and greatest of all the messengers of God. The very last Quranic verse revealed announced with all finality that: "This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have filled the measure of my favours upon you; and it is my pleasure that Islam be your religion."<sup>28</sup> Four or five years earlier, the Qur'ān asserted that "Muḥammad is not the father of any man among you, but is the Apostle of God, and the seal of the prophets: and God knoweth all things."<sup>29</sup> The elaboration of these verses by later theologians insisted not only on the belief that there would be "no dispensation after Islam and no prophet after Muḥammad," but also on what has been described as the "evolutionary nature of the doctrine." Consequently, "revelation unfolds in stages, commensurable with man's needs and mental capacity. When those needs increase . . . and his mental capacity grows...revelation also increases without abrogation of previous dispensations. When humanity attains maturity revelation is rendered complete and perfect, and the need for further revelation ceases. The various stages of revelation are complementary one to the other. The first stage, (Judaism), is true and authentic, and the need for it is likewise true. The second stage, (Christianity), is also true and authentic; so is the need for it. The same is true of the last stage, (Islam), which is the stage of perfection. It is complementary to all previous stages, and inclusive of them all. . . . 'This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have filled the measure of my favours upon you: and it is my pleasure that Islam be your religion.' It is obvious that the Qur'ān addresses here all mankind, and not only the Muslims."<sup>30</sup>

It was perhaps this belief which prompted Muslim writers to concoct and perpetuate the spurious statement ascribed to the Caliph 'Umar I, which was supposed to have decided the fate of the Library of Alexandria. On being consulted by 'Amr ibn-al-Āṣ, 'Umar is supposed to have said: "As for the books you mention, if their contents agree with the Book of God, the latter would suffice; if they disagree with it, there is no need for them."<sup>31</sup> Though probably unauthentic, the story reflected, at the time of Al-Baghdādī (d. A.D. 1231), the collective mind of the community. Similarly, the same mentality is reflected in the attitude of most Muslim geographers who confined their studies and writings to the territories of Islam. What lay in the great beyond outside *Dār al-Islām* did not deserve their attention and

<sup>28</sup> Sūrah v: 3. The verse was revealed when the Prophet was delivering his Farewell Address.

<sup>29</sup> Sūrah xxxiii. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Maḥmūd Ḥubb Allāh, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Wujdāniyyah wa-al-Āqīdat-al-Diniyyah*, Cairo 1948, pp. 214-215.

<sup>31</sup> 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *Al-Ifādah wa-al-I'tibār*, ed. and tr. (Latin) J. White, Oxford 1800, p. 114; Al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, pp. 355-356.

failed to arouse their intellectual curiosity. Almost invariably it was dismissed with the words *w-Allāhu a'lam* (and God knows best). Typical of those geographers is Al-Maḡdisī (late 10th century) who states in the introduction of his book, *Aḥsān al-Taḡāsim fī Ma'rifat al-Aḡālīm*:<sup>32</sup> "We have not mentioned anything except the Kingdom of Islam, and did not bother with the kingdoms of the polytheists because we did not enter them and did not see any usefulness in mentioning them."

Furthermore, Islamic relations with the Scripturaries and their interest in them, particularly the *dhimmi*s who lived in the Islamic state, remained within the general framework of the status assigned to the *dhimmi*s by the Qur'ān and later elaborations by Muslim legists. On the whole, *dhimmi*s fared well within the Islamic state; the excesses that took place periodically were not wholly removed from the ups and downs of the temporal relations of the Muslim state with its non-Muslim neighbours. Periods of tolerance and peaceful co-existence were certainly more numerous and more extensive than those of excesses and intolerance. "For peace is the rule in Islam, while war is (resorted to as) a necessity...Polytheists and unbelievers deny the very basis of the (Islamic) doctrine, and yet Islam does not wage war against them except when they fight its message, resist its mission, and do injury to its followers. Indeed, Islam does not forbid that relations, based on equity and friendship, be established between unbelievers and Muslims when the former do not wage war against Islam and Muslims."<sup>33</sup> The fact remains that Muslims determined their relations with non-Muslims during the period of Muslim ascendancy, when they could afford to be supercilious, self-contained, and condescending. Their apparent inability to adjust these relations along more realistic lines need not be regarded as permanent, although some, both within the ranks of Islam and outside, are disturbed by the slow pace of Muslims in that direction.

Attenuating this sin of omission on the part of modern Muslim thinkers is perhaps their preoccupation in defending their fatherland against the inroads of Western colonialism. This has been the concern of Muslims since the French occupation of Egypt in 1798. One Muslim country after another fell under colonial domination, and Islam faced a relentless and superior power which invariably subjugated its people and exploited their wealth. The method by which the policy of empire was executed and resistance was crushed, the way the wealth of the area was tapped, the manner in which the culture of the conquerors was imposed, all these did not promote either understanding or friendship, but rather prompted fears that the very community was

<sup>32</sup> Ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden 1906, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Sayyid Quṭb, *Al-Salām al-Ālamī w-al-Islām*, Wabḥah Press, (n.d.) Cairo, pp. 23, 134.

threatened. Every action taken by the colonial powers to consolidate their hold upon the area was interpreted as a direct attack upon the native population, its institutions, society, culture, and religion. Islam, as a result, became a rallying call for resistance and an instrument of protest against the foreigner. Under the circumstances, it was hardly feasible for Muslim thinkers to give their undivided attention to the study and appreciation of the faith they identified with their foes.

More important, however, in precluding objective investigation of either Judaism or Christianity by modern Muslim thinkers is the fact that the so-called scientific method of inquiry only reached the general Arab and Muslim world recently. Muslim and non-Muslim Arabs alike have not long acquired and practised it in their intellectual pursuits.

Not only is there no Arab Muslim thinker who has made any objective study of Christianity, but also there is no Christian *Arab* thinker who has made a similar objective study of Islam, except perhaps the late Jurjī Zaydān and more recently Philip K. Hitti.

Even among orientalists, complete detachment and objectivity are relatively recent. Initially, Arabic studies "throughout the continent and on the British Isles were conditioned by missionary activity and interest and by world politics. The European as a rule wanted to study Islam either to convert its followers or to further imperialistic interests. Western chauvinism, religious zeal, and sheer ignorance played their part. Long persistence of legends about Muḥammad, the founder of Islam, hostile prejudice of Christians toward a rival and aggressive faith, and the unpleasant memories of the Crusades, re-enforced by the ever present fears of the growing power of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, militated against an objective or dispassionate—not to say sympathetic—study of Islam."<sup>34</sup>

This attitude persisted long into the 20th century. "In the Hibbert Lectures, a series avowedly devoted to a sympathetic exposition of the major religions of the world, Mohammedanism is the only one that receives a rather harsh treatment, and that from none other than (a former) incumbent of the chair of Arabic at Oxford, Professor (D. S.) Margoliouth. Evidently our Christian scholars find it easier to comprehend and interpret entirely new and alien religions, like Buddhism and Hinduism, than cognate ones like Islam."<sup>35</sup>

In like manner, the bulk of Western writings on Islam "emanate from those whose view is coloured by the belief that Islam is an inferior religion. Where this view arises from a sincere religious faith, it too may often deserve respect. This is the case with most missionary literature, and it would be unjust not to recognize the great advances which have been made amongst missionaries in recent years towards

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<sup>34</sup> Philip K. Hitti, "America and the Arab Heritage", in Nabīh Amīn Fāris, *The Arab Heritage*, Princeton, 1944, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

substituting a sympathetic entering-into the religious experience of the Muslim for the crude externality of their former approach. Yet the element of prejudgement is inherent in their attitude towards Islam, and it cannot be left out of account in any assessment of their writings." <sup>36</sup>

It is encouraging, however, to see a growing trend among Christian scholars towards a more objective and a more sympathetic study of Islam. Professor Gibb's volume just cited, is a model in this respect. A parallel trend is also seen among Muslim scholars and thinkers who are addressing themselves to a closer and less hostile investigation of Christianity. Mention should be made of Muḥammad Abū-Zahrah's collection of lectures on the history of Christianity, <sup>37</sup> which represent a definite advance over earlier Muslim works on Christianity, both in execution and spirit; and more particularly of ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād's *ʿAbqariyyat al-Masīh*. <sup>38</sup> What it lacks in scholarship it makes up for by sympathy and warmth.

The most recent indication that Muslim thinkers will someday address themselves to a sympathetic and profound examination of Christianity can be seen in the work of Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, entitled *Qaryah Zālimah*. <sup>39</sup> Although the author holds the orthodox Muslim doctrine that Jesus was not actually crucified, his is perhaps the first Muslim work on Christianity which "develops with rare sensitivity the significance" of the Cross and recognizes the import of the climax of the Gospel narrative.

A beginning has been made. As the modern scientific method becomes more and more a part of the intellectual stock-in-trade of the modern Arabs, as the Muslim world ceases to be on the defensive and gains in self-confidence, and as the Christian world shows more of its Christian spirit and less of spiritual superiority, Muslim scholars and thinkers will address themselves to a sympathetic exposition of all religions, including Christianity, in spite of everything which has made the past relations of both faiths acrimonious and bitter.

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<sup>36</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism*, Home University Library, Oxford 1949, p. vi.

<sup>37</sup> *Muḥādarāt fī Taʾrīkh al-Naṣrāniyyah*, Cairo 1949.

<sup>38</sup> Cairo 1953.

<sup>39</sup> Cairo, 1954. For detailed review, see *The Muslim World*, vol. XLVI, No. 2 (April, 1956), pp. 132-143, No. 3, (July, 1956), pp. 225-236.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Islamic Law in Africa**, by J. N. D. Anderson, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1954; pp. viii, 300, appendices, glossary and index. L 2 10s.

One cannot help but wonder at the extreme speed and dispatch with which Professor Anderson completed this survey of the application of Islamic law in the British colonial territories in Africa and in the Colony and Protectorate of Aden. For in a period of three months he covered Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, British Somaliland and the Colony and Protectorate of Aden; and in an equal period he covered Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Gambia and Sierra Leone. To be sure, some aspects of this subject were dealt with in general terms, but the author's thoroughness in the task he set for himself is beyond question. As a matter of fact he goes beyond the application of Islamic law to inquire into the application of local custom, into questions of procedure and court organization, and occasionally into social questions like the Šūfī orders, the ticklish matter of missionary activity and the socio-legal opinions of jurists on reform.

This survey depended in the main on conversations with the men who apply Muslim law (Qādis, Liwalis, etc), on information supplied by British administrative and legal officers, and on law reports, records of unreported cases and administrative files.

The impetus for the survey, as mentioned by Lord Hailey in the Foreword, seems to have been provided by the conference of the Judicial Advisers of British dependencies in Africa which met in Uganda in February 1953 and discussed the problems arising from the application of Muslim law, especially in areas where there are many non-Muslims. These problems could not be adequately tackled until a thorough survey of the question was conducted, and this is what Professor Anderson has so ably done. The country basis of the survey — instead of a topical basis — was responsible for some repetition, but, under the circumstances, this is understandable if the purpose for which the survey was conducted is kept in mind.

In reading how the British authorities throughout the various territories applied Muslim law in varying degrees depending upon local circumstances, one is reminded of the genius of the British for accommodation, compromise and treating each case on its own merits, instead of insisting on standardization and applying one juridical rule for the sake of conformity. The Professor of Oriental Laws in the University of London investigates the juridical basis for the application of Muslim law in each territory. According to him it should be classified under three categories: (a) where it has been declared to be the *fundamental* law, as in Zanzibar, (b) where it may be regarded as the *dominant* law, as in Northern Nigeria (one is surprised to discover the extent of the application of Muslim criminal law in this region), and (c) where it may be regarded as a *particular* law applied to some group, tribe, family, or individual, as in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, etc.

In this connection it might be observed that British rule or "protection" did not, as the survey shows, detract from the position of the Shari'ah; in fact it can be said that the application of the Shari'ah was

extended at the expense of local custom through the establishment of Shari'ah courts, as in South Arabia, or through legislation applying the Shari'ah to situations where local custom had previously held sway, as in The Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act (1937) of India. The rigidity of Muslim law was, however, tempered in India by what might be called a special jurisprudence: Anglo-Mohammedan law. But such a course is not open to strictly Shari'ah courts in the various territories, whether or not it is advisable. Therefore, it is gratifying to note that the principle of the modification of the law through the acceptance of a variant view of the school dominant in the land, or even the view of a classical jurist not belonging to the dominant school, has been adopted by the Qu'ayti Sultanate. Such a principle (*talfiq*) has already been accepted in the more progressive countries of the Middle East.

The reviewer can find very little about which he might differ with the author. He certainly agrees with him that *Fatuma's Case* (1952 A.C. 1.) made bad law when the Privy Council followed the equally questionable case of *Abul Fata v. Russomoy*, 22 I.A. 76, in holding that a family waqf was invalid because an ultimate gift to the poor was "illusory." Such a doctrine might make good English law but bad Muslim law.

The author uses the term *siyāsa* (p. 195) to mean the right and duty of the Ruler to safeguard the moral and material welfare of the community over and above the limits of ordinary law. While this is true with the majority of authors, some authors use *siyāsah* or *siyāsah shar'iyah* to mean the administration of the state in accordance with the precepts of the Shari'ah.

The view that homicide and wounding are more torts than crimes (p. 195)—a view expounded by the author in an article elsewhere<sup>1</sup>—though interesting, can be misleading, as these wrongs cannot really be said to be "private" wrongs in all circumstances.

The book is an excellent example of meticulousness in style. Legal terms spelled differently in various enactments are given a standard transliterated spelling. Transliteration follows the Arabic instead of the "corrupt" Persian or Turkish pronunciation. The glossary is definitely the best and fullest of all those encountered so far. A map would have made it easier to follow the various territories mentioned in the survey.

The book is a major contribution to scholarship and to a fuller understanding of Africa.

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**The United States and the Arab World 1945-1952.** By Mohammed Shafi Agwani, Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh (India), 1955.

*The United States and the Arab World 1945-1952* covers considerably more ground than indicated by the title. It summarizes the rise, expansion and decline of the Arab empire, British and French activity and influence in the area, and United States-Arab relations from 1820

<sup>1</sup> Homicide in Islamic Law, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIII, (1951), pp. 811-28.

to 1945. This is perhaps necessary for the rounding out of what was originally a doctoral thesis.

Though perhaps too editorial in tone, it is a good thesis, carefully annotated and evidently the product of diligent research. That it remains essentially a thesis is probably its greatest weakness; it is a pity it was not more thoroughly edited before appearing in book form. It could be shortened without loss, for there is considerable reiteration, and it suffers from an excess of adjectives, adverbs and superlatives. It is clear from Dr. Agwani's style and choice of words that he is writing in a language not his own; the effect is quaint, rather than annoying, and his meaning is clear.

He strives to be objective but at times his outlook is conditioned by the new nationalism he so graphically describes, as well as by a neutralist political philosophy akin to that of Nehru and others. Thus, he tends to view the activities of the Western European powers with a cynicism and distaste not entirely objective; even considering the sorry record. He says: "... these (Arab) countries had long been subjected to one kind or other of alien rule; and during that period their economic and political growth had been severely retarded." Without prejudice to the premise that colonialism is bad, whatever its form, this is one of a number of statements whose factual accuracy is open to question. If this were so, we should expect those countries which have had least European control to be economically and politically ahead of the others. But such is not the case. On page 95, he himself ascribes the lack of growth in Yaman to the fact that it was "absolutely closed to any outside influence." Later he states that "despite the relentless efforts of the French to spread their language and culture in the Arab world, it has been as much resisted by the indigenous people as her politics." Actually, the language and culture of France have received considerable acceptance, particularly in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, by individuals energetic in their opposition to her political policy.

In tracing the course of Arab-American relations in chapters II and III, Dr. Agwani points out that "until about the end of the Second World War, the United States had been the only Western power which had earned the good will and admiration of all the Arabs." This was brought about by the numerous humanitarian and educational efforts of individuals and private organizations, and by the faith the Arabs had in American political idealism. This faith and good will they amply demonstrated when, after World War I, they indicated an overwhelming preference for the United States as mandatory power, if any. Until the period between the World Wars, America had no important economic or strategic interests in the area. This was changed by the acquisition of very important petroleum concessions and the extension of American strategic commitments, due to changes in the balance of power resulting from World War II. Dr. Agwani also cites increased Arab-American trade as having a considerable impact, but, in the opinion of this reviewer, exaggerates its importance. Certainly the statistics he presents to show an upward trend are quite inadequate, especially since he does not give sufficient weight to abnormal conditions in the post war years. American interest in general trade and invest-

ment has grown, but that it has become a major factor affecting basic decisions and policies is more than doubtful.

In discussing "The U.S. and the Palestine Tangle," Dr. Agwani describes the series of pressures and miscalculations that finally led the American government to adopt policies which drained the reservoir of faith and good will that had taken so many years to fill. He concludes that the basic error lay in confusing "the Palestine problem with the wider issue of the rehabilitation of the European refugees," and in deciding an important international issue on the basis of domestic political expediency. It is in this chapter that he presents his views with greatest clarity.

In criticizing what he considers U.S. support of the remnants of British colonialism in the Arab area, the author does not give sufficient weight to the pressure of events in other parts of the world. After asserting that "British diplomatic craft" exploited "American sensitiveness to the 'communist menace'" he goes on to ask: "What could the United States gain by supporting the British position?" The answer is that, right or wrong, the U.S. felt it could not afford to sacrifice British support in other areas, no less important in the global picture. Actually, the U.S. was neither so subservient to British pressures nor so seduced by "British diplomatic craft" as Dr. Agwani seems to think.

The book also deals with questions of economic development and with the abortive efforts to organize a collective defense to fill the power vacuum left by the withdrawal of British and French forces. With regard to the latter, Dr. Agwani feels that more reliance should have placed on the local peoples, particularly the Egyptians.

The book has a good map. There are also appendices, tables and a bibliography.

A writer treads dangerous ground when he treats of actions and reactions still in a state of flux. He is not dealing with a phase of history that has a clearly discernible beginning and end, out of which he can make a neat package. He should, therefore, be careful of his evaluations, lest history prove him wrong. One must make allowances in judging those who write such books as this, but, in this regard, Dr. Agwani has acquitted himself well — to date, most subsequent happenings in the Arab World confirm rather than contradict his implicit prognostications.

As a study of Arab-American relations by a European-educated, non-Arab Muslim, this thesis is an interesting document; but it may be somewhat misleading to those who do not already know the subject thoroughly.

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EDWARD LATHAM

**Mohammed and Charlemagne.** By Henri Pirenne, translated by Bernard Miall, New York, Barnes Noble Inc, n.d., pp. 293.

This book of 1935 has had a wide vogue in Europe and it is of such vital interest that even now it does not come too late before the American reader. The book was written by a man devoted to Carolingian and Merovingian studies and it is reviewed by a man whose

Arabic was acquired some forty-five years ago whereas his Carolingian studies have not flagged. In this magazine, then, it is only fair to remark that the title of this book may sound misleading. Muhammed is not the hero of the book at all; the effect of Islam is studied in as far as the world of Charlemagne has been its result.

Two now famous conclusions were reached by Pirenne in this respect. The Roman Empire in 400 A.D. and the Roman Empire in 650 A.D. did not present basic differences. The Merovingians did not destroy antiquity.

This negative thesis is the first. The second thesis runs: Islam made such continuity in the West impossible. It interrupted all interchange between East and West because the Western Mediterranean became a Musulman lake (p. 284). Hence, Charlemagne was forced into far northern, inner continental regions. There wholly new civilisation began.

In my own research, I have found Pirenne's thesis to be borne out by the facts in the law and the liturgy, the language and the literary character. Whether the "Musulman lake" was an absolute truth, seems debateable. However, the pressures from Islam cannot be denied; and their consequences should be part of any genuine story of the 8th and 9th century.

This question has been neglected too long so that Pirenne's thesis seems overdue. For a much more serious task looms before us as soon as we see the break-up of the ancient world as happening from 650 A.D. to 750 A.D. and let the insipid date of 476 disappear. How far are Charlemagne and Muhammed two, the two possible solutions of introducing the non-citified peoples, under the veneer of the Greek-Roman Polis-civilisation, to the worship of One God? Muhammed subjugated the polis to the simple faith of warriors. He freed the tribes from magic and devilry, from tatoo and vendetta. He cleaned but did not open their lips. Charlemagne kept the Roman Catholic veneer and his warrior-bishops changed its creed (filioque), its liturgy and its canons.

A new book, expected for fifty years and finally published in 1955, by George Misch, compares the Nordic and the Arabic pre-Islamic traditions of autobiography in the most fruitful manner. I am not a Spenglerian and I think that his giving to Islam the first and to the "Occident" the second millennium of our era is a fallacy. But it is a very different matter to ask why Spengler ever could hatch his preposterous scheme. Then the fault may have to be found with us who have not followed Ranke's suggestion in his universal history that the two roads of East and West were decided in 785 when Charlemagne prevailed over the Pope to drop Charles' only rival and to embrace wholeheartedly the Frankish tutelage.

Pirenne's book has forced upon us a more comprehensive vision of the Dark Ages, so called, during which the ancient polis began to be replaced by "the peoples" in the West as Henri François Muller has shown in his *Époque Mérovingienne* (1945), and where the superstitions of the tribesmen from Africa to India were at least blocked and largely eliminated by the simplifications of the Qur<sup>ān</sup>. Hence it is my sincere conviction that the book should be made the stepping stone for a new approach to our heritage.

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EUGEN ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY

**Islamic Architects and their Works.** By L. A. Mayer, Genève, Albert Kundig, 1956, pp. 183.

The main part of this well-printed book is a roll of architects from Muslim countries up to 1830. The alphabetically arranged entries contain the known date of each architect and a list of his buildings, followed by a full bibliography pertaining to each of the monuments discussed. At the end of this section is a topographical index, in which the buildings and the architects (with the exception of two particularly prolific Turkish artists) are listed according to the towns where the various monuments are to be found. This is followed by an excellent bibliography of 34 pages which is remarkable for the large amount of Spanish and Turkish literature, but which contains also, for instance, extensive references to Russian, Hungarian, Yugoslav and North African publications. But this is not all. There is also an "Introduction" which is a well-thought-out essay on the architect in the Muslim world, discussing such questions as the various terms used for the members of this craft, those designating a master, their previous training and rise in the profession, the way they and their much more important patrons are introduced in the building inscriptions, the significance of their *nisbas* and, in particular, their social standing. Professor Mayer gives various figures to show that the latter was, with a few exceptions, especially in Turkey, very low; architects were on the same economic level as marble masons, carpenters and plumbers, far below the *imām* and the *khaṭīb*, and even the keeper of the main door and muezzin.

The difficulties involved in this new contribution to Islamic studies can be gauged by the fact that such a corpus of Islamic artists was suggested by Max van Berchem as early as 1888, but in spite of three partial efforts in this direction this presents the first complete coverage of a field. It is only the beginning of a much larger project, as Professor Mayer promises us similar "rolls" of artists, which will eventually cover every medium of Muslim art. This thoroughly reliable publication will therefore become as important as a dictionary is for language studies and will greatly help to establish the share of the individual artist in the development of Muslim art.

With regard to a work of this order there can be no criticism, only admiration and praise. If there is a difference of opinion, it is only because the author has perhaps been too modest and too strict in his approach. Since he felt that "an archaeologist should not write about a country he has never visited and whose art he has never made the subject of independent research" he excluded the Indian subcontinent, Indonesia and the part-Islamic countries of the Far East from his survey. While this point of view is right when it comes to aesthetic valuations, it would not have interfered with a roll of artists and under the circumstances even a less complete list, at least of India and Pakistan, would have been much appreciated. Again, the author included only architects whose buildings still exist, wholly or in part, or whose works were adequately described before their destruction. Yet it is quite feasible that other works of these omitted architects will be found in still unexplored parts of the Near East and in such cases

the listing of lost or insufficiently described monuments would be most useful. These points are raised so that the author might possibly be induced to reconsider them for the forthcoming volumes. It is also hoped that, having waded through so much documentary material, Professor Mayer will conclude this excellent series with a book on the status of the artist and artisan in Muslim society.

*Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

**Les Mardis de Dar El Salam** Published under the direction of Louis Massignon, Librairie Philosophique, J. Vrin, 6 place de la Sorbonne, Paris V, -1956, pp. 248.

Four articles appear in this volume. Louis Massignon writes on the "religious significance of Gandhi's last pilgrimage," suggesting Gandhi's method as one possible collective protest against the injustice of selfish nationalism. In a rather broad study Louis Gardet analyses the problem of "Culture and Humanism." He confronts humanism inspired by religious ideas with the "Marxist Man." As Christian humanism has had to face Marxist ideas, so will Indian and Islamic religious, humanistic doctrines have to confront Marxism on the level of thought and reflexion. A mutual, constructive attitude of Indian, Islamic and Christian humanisms should bring about the awareness of "the rights of God and a sense of holiness." Georges C. Anawati writes on Arab medicine to the time of Ibn Sīnā, and Roger Arnaldez presents an article on the theological controversies in Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova and Al-Ghazālī.

*Hartford Seminary Foundation.*

HANS L. AURBAKKEN

**A History of Turkey: From Empire to Republic.** By M. Philips Price, New York, the MacMillan Co., London, George, Allen & Unwin, pp. 224, 1956.

Written by an author whose varied career includes journalism, politics and diplomacy, this book is worth its price if only for the flavor of its style and its clear lucidity and detachment. The author, however, is not a professional historian and thus the sections on the rise of Islam, the chronology of the Ottoman Empire and the story of the Ataturk Revolution are all familiar stuff, though the narrative is skilful enough as a weaving together of other men's historical labors.

Mr. Price betrays a pragmatic interest in the philosophy of history. He is concerned, in the Introduction and elsewhere, to make sense of the present power-bloc conflict between Russian Communism and the West. He is thus concerned to see what role Turkey can play in this competition and is haunted by the possibility that backwardness has been abolished or corrected more effectively in Russia and Communist China by the totalitarian methods of those countries than it has by the tenderer methods of the West. What significance may this fact have for the Middle East?

To assess the power and potential of Turkey, Philips Price poses a series of questions: What sort of people are the Turks? Can Russia, by agreement or force, obtain control of the Straits and thus become a Mediterranean power? Are there internal weaknesses in Turkey today, as in the days of the Sultans? It is a matter of opinion whether he answers these questions with adequate thoroughness, but the result

is at any rate a better introduction to Turkey than some other works of the past few years by experts on Turkey in America and Britain.

Points for criticism can readily be found. There is the author's acceptance of the hypothesis of the "Byzantium complex" as the clue to present day Russian affairs. It may be true that Russia, since Communism, still gives evidence of that complex, but this point of view, though fruitful, must not be overdone, so as to neglect the realities of Communist ideology. (cf. the writings of N. Berdyaev and Arnold Toynbee here.)

Then the writer reveals a more serious lack of understanding in his comparison of Islam and Christianity in the Chapter: "How Islamic Civilisation came to the Middle East." There are religious differences between the two faiths which need more than the political and social circumstances to account for them. He betrays a lack of awareness of the contrast between the roles of Muḥammad in Islam and of Christ in Christianity. The development of Islam as a political expression was not only the result of the Arabian vacuum but of the depth and direction of Prophethood in Muḥammad. The non-political character of the role of Christ is explained, not by the power and efficiency of the Roman State, but by the refusal of Christ. Mr. Price is astray in supposing that Christianity was ever "founded" by Christ in the same manner as Islam was founded by Muḥammad to be a politico-religious expression. But theology is not one of the writer's main concerns and he is no doubt following the same predilection for the socio-political and the same neglect of the theological which plague too much orientalism these days.

These lapses, however, need not deter us from *A History of Turkey's* value and strength. The final Chapter on "Religion in the New Turkey" offers useful data on Islam under the secular state. There is no doubt that there is a new awareness of religion in the air today in Turkey. People discuss it freely and the trend is encouraged by the present Government. Visiting dignitaries from Islamic countries are photographed in worship at the mosque. Religious magazines are pouring from the presses in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. *Din Yolu* for example has an attractive mosque-decorated cover as bright as anything from Paris or New York. These new expressions of Islam's virility interested Mr. Price. But he may have been even more interested by the Turkish representative in the recent Suez Conference in London, who prefaced his remarks by saying that Turkey was a "Muslim nation." There would seem to be an interesting new mood of Islamicity, not only in domestic affairs but in foreign.

*Izmir, Turkey*

JOHN K. KINGSBURY

**Iran, Past and Present.** By Donald N. Wilber, Third edition, revised, Princeton University Press, 1955, xi plus pp. 276 \$ 400.

This third edition of the most useful of the modern handbooks on Iran brings the material up-to-date to include the colorful and dramatic events of the five years following 1950. Slight changes, generally of facts and statistics, appear here and there (pp. 135/6, 139/40, 149, 158/9, 170, 219), some new paragraphs are added along the way (pp. 171,

180/1, 197, 202, 204, 234/5), but the major portion of the approximately forty additional pages is devoted to bringing Chapter IV on the Pahlevi Period down to 1955, and to the final chapter, entitled: "Trends Toward Tomorrow."

The first of these additions is a welcome source for the essential facts of these stirring years. Though it is well summarized, several reservations may be worth noting. Describing the general strike of July 1952 against Qavam's new government (p. 118), it is scarcely accurate or fair to say that the National Front elements "carried disorder to the point where the government seemed powerless to establish control." The government lost control—or, better, withdrew it by mid-afternoon of that fatal Monday—but it was not because of the *disorder* of the National Front and the vast majority of the protesting Teheran populace. The most remarkable feature of that day was the National Front's discipline of the populace and their resistance to Tudeh incitement to disorder. Again, one is surprised no mention is made of the final US-British proposal for settlement of the oil dispute, made in January 1953, first welcomed by Mosaddeq (not Mossadeq) but eventually rejected by his government in March. This is the clearest evidence of the intransigent extremism and stubbornness that not only led to his downfall but denied Iran settlement terms far more favorable than those finally negotiated with the consortium. Yet again, it seems deplorable that the facts concerning the elections for the Eighteenth Majlis under Zahedi's government (p. 129) should be so presented as to imply complete support for the Shah and Zahedi when all Iranians know that in recent times no election was more brazenly "rigged" or dictated by the incumbent government.

The last chapter is not much predictive, fortunately; it contains many pertinent facts and sound observations. In general, however, the picture prospected is too rosy: the reviewer doubts whether events will support all the optimism expressed, particularly in the promised fields of political stability and economic development.

Princeton University

T. CUYLER YOUNG

**The Lycian Shore.** By Freya Stark, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1956, pp. 177, chronology, references, index to 203, \$ 6.50.

This is the second book about Freya Stark's wanderings along the coast of Asia Minor, to classical Caria and Lycia, now Turkey, and the offshore islands which are now Greek. The idea for her journey, she writes, sprang from reading the history of Alexander: "I wanted to discover what was in men's minds when he marched down from the Granicus in 334 B.C." What she (and Alexander) found makes fascinating reading, a blend of history, romance, and speculation. Unlike most writers, Miss Stark possesses a "double vision" which enables her to walk in the past and the present at the same time. Not only does she "plait a double strand" throughout the book, but skips from the 4th century to the 20th in one sentence, as in her discussion of loyalties in Chapter 13.

*The Lycian Shore* has a cast and a structure, although Miss Stark disclaims any precision in her organization. She states the purpose of

her voyage as follows: "In our age, when even Cinerama can seem to reproduce physical features of the known lands, the art of words may fill out the meaning of space with something of its substance in time. In Turkey particularly a journey without history is like a portrait without wrinkles."

The cities which the author brings to life vary from the familiar to those forgotten even by the past. Chios and Samos are recognizable, as are Cos and Halicarnassus, part of the fabric of Spartan-Athenian rivalry. Rhodes and the Rhodian hinterland (Peraea) belong to recent history; the dragon called Chimera is part of legend; Myra and Demre carry the aura of St. Nicholas. But many of the Lycian towns were always outside the mainstream of history; Miss Stark sketches these in bold strokes. The subtitles of her chapters indicate this: Loryma, where "Persian gold" corrupted the Carians; Aperlae, and its "mercenaries;" Caunus, on "Alexander's road;" Phaselis, standing forever still in its "pool of time."

Miss Stark's knowledge of classical history, albeit from translated sources, is vast. She is particularly illuminating on such anecdotes as the curious "suicide complex" of the people of Xanthus. Xanthus, leading city of the world's first democratic confederation, so valued its liberty that twice, when besieged by the Persians and by the Romans under Brutus, the entire population destroyed itself, despite offers of clemency. Brutus even offered a reward "to any soldier who could save a Xanthian." Instead of the usual tales of St. Nicholas' goodness, we learn how the merchants of Bari stole a march on the Venetians and carted off the Saint's bones to their city, where he is still carried through the streets in effigy on his feast-day. It makes, as the author says, "a more cheerful life than the deserted thickets of Myra."

Except occasionally, when Miss Stark's philosophical speculations become too broad, the book is remarkable for its balance between past and present. She is keenly sensitive to the modern Turks of Lycia and Caria. Noting "the bright blue suit and surrealist tie" of the *kaymakam* of Budrum, she suggests that in time this will overcome "the dreary monotony" in clothing which Atatürk imposed on the Republic. She respects "the quiet manner of the men who now rule Turkey, more ready for action than words." She admires the remarkable solidity and grace of Turkish peasant women, and sees a definite continuum of culture between early and modern Anatolians. In regard to the nomads (Yuruks) she chides our civilization for trying to adapt them to full productive usefulness, since only they, after all, have a true sense of "the greater size of the world."

Considerable charm and humor is provided by her characterizations of her companions—Balfour, who "hated to have his ruins all messed up with people," Mehmet, who believed work to be the prerogative of women and refused to dust "while I sat writing in my notebook," and Huseyin, worrying about sharks and telling of his Cretan childhood. Miss Stark gives us a somewhat wry characterization of herself, when she observes of the Lycian cliff-tombs, "the main goal of the voyage," that "they eventually become dull."

The many photographs, incidentally, show the same excellent balance between past and present. *The Lycian Shore* is a book to be read and re-read.

*The Middle East Journal*  
Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM SPENCER

**Kuwait Was My Home.** By Zahra Freeth. 158 pages. Illustrated. London. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Distributed in the U.S. by Macmillan. Price ?

In September, 1946, Zahra Dickson, having completed ten years of schooling in England, returned for a visit in her childhood home at Kuwait. Her pleasure in the home coming reflected her parents' affection for the Arabs. Her father, Lt. Col. H.R.P. Dickson, the third generation of his family to choose a career in the Middle East, had, during the years 1929-1936, served as British Political Agent in Kuwait. It was during this period that oil was discovered under the barren sand of this small shikhdom on the east coast of the Arabian peninsula, about a hundred miles south of Iraq. In later years Col. Dickson became an official of the half-British-and-half-American Kuwait Oil Company, established for the exploitation of the shikhdom's oil.

Zahra was astonished at the great prosperity which oil had brought to her old home which she remembered as a poverty stricken center of the pearl-diving industry. A new Kuwait had sprung up during her absence. Both boys and girls were attending modern schools, and free medical care in several well-equipped hospitals had been provided by the beneficent Ruler, His Highness Shaikh Sir Abdallah al Salim al Sabah, K.C.M.G.

Zahra well remembered Dr. C. Stanley G. Mylrea who had been in charge of the Mission Hospital for men during her childhood. One of her chapters is headed *The American Mission*. Other chapters deal with the history of the Persian Gulf and of Kuwait, giving authentic information not easily accessible from other sources. The chapters, *A Hawking Expedition* and *South With The Locust Convoy* tell of experiences which could be duplicated by few, even of those who have spent many years in Kuwait.

Several years after her visit Zahra Dickson was married. And now, as Mrs. Freeth, she makes a literary contribution which is as entertaining as it is valuable for information. Her book should be read by everyone who is interested in the Middle East.

Hartford, Conn.

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

**Islam in Africa and the Near East.** Compiled by S. M. Ahmad, Hony. Secretary, Abbas Manzil Library Trust. The Abbas Manzil Library, Allahabad 3. Rs. 5/-; Sh. 7/10; \$ 1. pp. ix, 320.

This book is the seventh in the series published by this library. Although some space is given to chapters on Military Conquest, Political and Religious Conditions, and Intellectual Progress under Islam, the greater part records the peaceful penetration of Islam into areas considered. The compiler's indebtedness to Arnold's "The Preaching of Islam" is acknowledged. Unfortunately the spelling at times is weird such as Madarsahs for *madrasas* and Khazarj for *Khazraj*. The

spelling of the same word sometimes differs on different pages. The author brings his narrative down to the times of the revolutionary movement in Egypt and General Muhammad Naguib and mentions among recent religious activities that of Ḥasan al Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood.

It is unfortunate that few references in Arabic books are given for the statements made. This would have added considerably to the value of the study.

*Temple University Philadelphia, Pa.*

E. E. ELDER.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

**Education in the Arab States.** On the development of compulsory education in the Arab States UNESCO reports that in the past ten years the number of Syrian children received primary education has more than tripled. The increase is about the same in other Arab countries. "The problems to be overcome are similar to those facing all nations which have recently become independent; a shortage of school buildings and qualified teachers, a lack of modern textbooks and equipment."

**ARAMCO and Saudi Arabia.** A report of ARAMCO to Saudi Arabia said that the average annual income of the company's 21,000 employees was more than double that of 1950. In addition, an amount equal to wages and salaries was spent by the company to provide educational, medical, housing and other benefits for its employees.

**The Pilgrimage, 1375, A.H.** The Directorate General of Pilgrim Affairs announced by Radio Mecca, 16 July 1956, that 620,280 persons are expected to perform the pilgrimage this year. Of these, 220,280 have arrived from Arab and Muslim countries by plane, ship and land; the remainder, 400,000, come from Saudi Arabia. The Minister of Health announced that on 'Arafāt Day and during the three days of the 'Īd, 201 pilgrims were reported dead. Of these, 114 deaths were caused by sunstroke and 87 because of old age or other natural causes. The figure for the same period last year was 397 deaths.

The front page of the 10 August issue of *Al-Bilād al-Sa'ūdiyyah* (Mecca) carried an article advising pilgrims that the only truly holy places in Islam are the Holy Mosque of Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and the Holy Mosque (of Jerusalem). It is against the Shari'ah to seek blessings and rewards by visiting other places such as the Mosque of Hamzah, the Mosque of Jabal Abū Qubais where the Prophet is said to have been born, and the cave where the Prophet received the word of God. Some pilgrims also visit a particular place in Jiddah which is said to be the tomb of Eve.

**Message of King Sa'ūd to Muslims at 'Arafāt.** On Tuesday, 17 July, H. M. King Sa'ūd made a speech at 'Arafāt in which he offered prayers and thanks to Almighty God and to His Prophet "Muḥammad the Great Arab, whom God has sent as a guide to the peoples of the world, the Lord and Master of the Arab nation, who led the Arabs to glory and made them one nation."

His Majesty then greeted the Muslims of the world whose hearts were all turned to the events of that memorable day. Speaking to the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims who had congregated at 'Arafāt, King Sa'ūd said: "Our meeting here will end after a few days, and each one of us will return to his country and to his people carrying with him the blessings of the Pilgrimage, in the same way as Islam was carried in the past to the peoples of the world teaching them the

noble meanings of humanitarianism and justice. Most of the Muslim peoples of the world are now free and independent, and the struggle for freedom continues in the East and the West to free the rest of the Muslims of the world. I call on all Muslims to assist each other and cooperate and meet together to study their problems and discuss their present status and plan for their future.

“We plan no evil by calling on Muslims to unite, for Islam is not the religion of evil or of aggression. Our object in calling for this unity is to have a strong Muslim world that will be able to fulfill the message of Islam. For this noble aim we have called the Islamic Congress to meet in this Holy country in order to discuss the ways and means by which we can achieve these purposes. It is our hope that there will be agreement in this forthcoming Congress, and we will be able to plan the way to be followed in settling our problems and checking aggression against the Muslim world. In this era of international strife we hope to unite our efforts in order to achieve the rights which are of vital importance to every Muslim, spiritually and materially. On the basis of these principles we will be the friends of those who want to be our friends and the enemies of those who choose to be our enemies. This is our message to you. When you go back to your homes spread this message among your peoples, and let each one of you spread these noble principles and ideals. May God accept your prayers in this Holy Pilgrimage and give you His blessings and peace.”

**Education in Saudi Arabia.** The Jiddah Industrial School, which had ten students in 1951, enrolled 135 in 1956. It has eight departments: drawing, sheet metal work, carpentry, foundry, drafting, the machine shop, the electric shop, and the lathe shop. The Labor Office is proposing to open next year an industrial school in the Eastern Province. At Al-Tā'if the Ministry of Education's second Annual Teachers' Training Session has been held, with 160 teachers attending. The budget of the Ministry of Education has reached about fifty million riyals, and another special royal order has been issued making twenty million riyals available for educational purposes in the southwestern areas. This fund will be spent effectively in combating illiteracy.

A statement was received from the authorities giving a complete picture of the educational activities in the southwestern sector of the Kingdom. It reveals plans for a total of 2,310 schools for 69,300 students and 3,800 teachers. His Majesty has contributed some twelve royal palaces in Jiddah, Mecca, and Riyāḍ to be used as premises for educational establishments, and has ordered study of a scheme for establishing the first university in Riyāḍ. For this purpose he has employed a number of Egyptian educational experts.

**Muslim-Christian Studies at Tioumliline, Morocco.** August 1956 saw an interesting study conference in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco, lasting for three weeks and bringing together under distinguished auspices students from European Christian Universities and from the great Muslim University of the Qairawiyah in Fez and

elsewhere. The Benedictine Abbey of Tioumliline, near the Atlas town of Azrou, welcomed seventy Moroccan students to participate in discussions on "the two cities," with special reference to the proper role of the temporal over against the spiritual and the interrelations of culture, society and faith.

The Conference was under the patronage of H. E. the Sultan of Morocco and of Muḥammad Al Fāsī, Minister of Education and former Rector of the Qairawiyyah at Fez. The Moroccan Foreign Minister, M. Balafrej, also participated in the opening ceremony. Lectures were given or sessions conducted by Professors Henri Laoust, of the Chair of Muslim Sociology of the Collège de France, Olivier Lacombe, of the Sorbonne, Jean Danielou, Louis Gardet and J. Rolland-Gosselin.

Shaikh Ben Larbi and Dr. M. Ben Barka, member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlāl party were among the Moroccan leaders of thought present at the School.

In the previous month a pilgrimage of Muslims and Christians took place in Brittany, in which Professors Lacombe and Louis Massignon took part. The purpose was a search for common spiritual experience and the development of a community of faith to address itself to various theological and sociological problems of the modern world.

**Hadī al Islām.** With the New Year, 1376 A.H. there appeared in Amman, Jordan, a new Muslim monthly, with this title. It is a reformist magazine, covering religious, scientific and literary topics. The first number contains 85 pages and among its contributors are the President of the Supreme Muslim Council, Shaikh ʿAbdallāh Ghosheh, Shaikh Muḥammad al Bitār, of the Arab Academy, Damascus, the Muftis of Jerusalem and Nablus and Shaikh Muḥammad al Shanqīṭī.

Like the Saudi Arabian journals noted above, it contains a strong denunciation of western literature and magazines, which flood the stalls and booths of Muslim towns and corrupt the minds of youth. It demands a rigid exclusion of these sources of defilement, from the state of Jordan. The Editorial returns to the same theme and links with it the damage done by imperialists through hospitals, schools and other establishments which undermine faith in the validity and sanctity of Muslim beliefs. Insisting that religion and science are entirely compatible, it concludes: "This journal is open to questions so long as they are free from carping, contentiousness and cavilling. It will publish important fatwas from the official source, as well as what demonstrates the fine points of Islam and the wisdom, values and benefits of the Sharīʿah, which do not fail with the lapse of time, in order that the word of God may be fulfilled: 'We will reveal to them Our signs in the horizons and in their own souls so that it may be clear to them that it is truth.'"

**Miscellanea.** The August 17, 1956 issue of *Al-Bilād al-Saʿūdiyyah*, Meccan daily, carried an article entitled "The Dangers of Social Imperialism" by the Secretary of the Committees for Public Morality. In this article, broadcast over Radio Mecca, the writer warns against the social dangers of imperialism in Muslim societies. The West, he

says, has left among us "regiments" of vice and "hordes" of bad habits. Our own sons and daughters are themselves leaders in these fields. Cabarets, cinema houses, lewd magazines and articles—all these and others, work like a cancer in Muslim society. The struggle against imperialism should be complete and should include a war against these vices which were introduced into our midst by the foreigners.

The Second Arab Boy Scout Jamboree, held in Alexandria toward the end of July, had 3,500 representatives from twelve countries.

The construction of a 2,000 mile highway is being proposed to link Dammam Port in Saudi Arabia with Beirut, with branches linking it with Egypt, Iraq and Jordan.

According to an announcement in *Al-Yamāmah* (Riyāḍ weekly), the Ministry of Finance and National Economy announced to all merchants and importers in Saudi Arabia that a High Order had been issued to extend the period allowed for the entry of goods bearing pictures of humans. It was previously announced that such goods would not be allowed to enter Saudi Arabia, and that the pictures of all animate objects, both human and animal, should not be put on goods of any kind. The period of the new extension begins 22 August 1956 and ends on 18 November 1956.

The Government has decided that March 23 will be celebrated every year as National Day, the day in 1956 on which Pakistan became a Republic.

The Academy of the Arabic Language, Cairo, is in process of publishing a dictionary of scientific and technical terms approved by the Institute since it was established. These terms, which are approximately 30,000 in number, will be arranged according to the Latin alphabet, with the approved Arabic rendering and definition of the term in Arabic appearing in the opposite column. Forty Language experts and twenty technical editors have assisted in the work.

It has been decided that beginning October 6, 1956 broadcasting by Radio Mecca should be based on Greenwich Mean Time rather than on sun time as was the custom heretofore.

**Students.** Students from Saudi Arabia are studying abroad during the year 1956 according to the following distribution:

Egypt	342	students
Syria & Lebanon	101	"
Iraq	5	"
America	20	"
England	15	"
France	3	"
Total	486	"

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

### I. GENERAL

- CUFIC LETTERING IN CHRISTIAN ART. S.D.T. Spittle. *Archaeological Journal*, London. July, 1955. pp. 138-152. Describes use made during the Middle Ages of various letter arrangements.
- DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Spring, 1956. pp. 177-193. Covers December 1, 1955-February 29, 1956 and discusses Cyprus, Algeria and the Eastern Mediterranean problems of Jordan, Egypt and Israel.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE JUDEAN BUQĀ'AH. Frank M. Cross and J. T. Malik. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Baltimore. April, 1956. pp. 5-17. An illustrated account of finds unearthed since 1955 and belonging to the 9th to 6th centuries B.C.
- HAFIZ MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM BEK, THE POET OF THE NILE VALLEY. Abdu Subhan. *The Islamic Literature*, Pakistan. December, 1955. pp. 619-628. Cites many extracts from the work of this gifted modern Arab poet.
- LES INFLUENCES DE LA MÉDECINE ARABE SUR L'ÉCOLE DE MONTPELLIER. Hervé Harant and Yvonne Vidal. *L'Arabisme médical à Montpellier du XII au XIV siècle*. L. Dulieu. *Cahiers de Tunisie*, Tunis 1955, parts 1 and 3. pp. 60-85 and 86-95. Tells of contacts with the East — training, texts and methods. Bibliography.
- MOHAMMAD IQBAL. Ali Merad. *IBLA*, Tunis. 1955, part 3. pp. 339-347. Discusses the main ideas underlying the work of this poet-philosopher.
- NEUF GAZAL DE HAFEZ. V. Monteil. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1954. pp. 21-58. Transliteration, translation and annotation.
- PERSIAN POETRY OF GHALIB. A.C.S. Gilani. *The Islamic Literature*, Pakistan. September, 1955. pp. 537-558. A detailed critique of a 19th century poet.
- PUBLICATIONS IRANIENNES À L'OCCASION DU MILLÉNAIRE D'AVICENNE. Gilbert Lazard. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1954. pp. 151-163. A fully annotated bibliography.
- RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SUDAN. J. H. G. Lebon. *The Geographical Review*, New York. April, 1956. pp. 246-252.
- SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF ART. Eric Schroeder. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. April, 1956. pp. 93-102. Reviews "Architecture of Islamic Iran" by Donald N. Wilbur which, in turn, covers the subject from the invasion of Jinghiz Khan to that of Tamerlane.

### II. ARABIA

- CHARLES RICHARD CRANE. C. B. Squire. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. June 1956. pp. 23-27. A sketch of the life of an American philanthropist who financed the first geological survey of Arabia,

leading to the discovery of oil; financed the restoration of the Mosque of Santa Sophia and was a benefactor of the Institute of Current World Affairs.

DESERT SHEIKDOMS OF ARABIA'S PIRATE COAST. Ronald Codrai. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D.C. July, 1956. pp. 65-104. Superbly illustrated account of Trucial Oman, now such a vital area of the world.

### III. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

L'HUMANISME GRÉCO-ARABE. Louis Gardet. *Journal of World History*, Paris. 1955, part 4. pp. 812-833. A study of Avicenna.

INTERNAL RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PRESENT CENTURY ISLAM. F. Rahman. *Journal of World History*, Paris. 1955, part 4. pp. 862-879. Analyses the thought of great Muslims like Iqbāl, Maudūdī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, iZa Gök Alp and Afghānī and concludes that "Islam is passing to-day through a crisis generated within itself through internal and external factors and is marked by confusion and conflicts of extremes."

LA LONGUE RECENSION DE LA THÉOLOGIE D'ARISTOTLE DANS SES RAPPORTS AVEC LE DOCTRINE ISMAÉLIENNE. S. Pines. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1954. pp. 7-20.

THE MUḤARRAM CEREMONIES. James Robson. *The Hibbert Journal*, London. April, 1956. pp. 267-274. Comments on various accounts by authors such as J. Morier, Iassey, Lane, Eerdmans, and Herklot's translation of "Kanūn al-Islam" describing the rites observed for the death of ʿAlī's son, Ḥusain, and his followers under the Umayyads.

THE MUSLIM ATTRIBUTES AND THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY. H. A. Wolfson. *The Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge. January, 1956. pp. 1-18. The article, part of a book called the "Philosophy of the Kalam", discusses Islamic belief accepted in the early 8th century that various terms attributed to God in the Qūrān were real incorporeal beings which existed in God from the beginning like the Christian belief in the Trinity.

LES NOMS, TITRES, ET ATTRIBUTS DE DIEU DANS LE CORAN ET LEURS CORRESPONDANTS EN ÉPIGRAPHIE SUD-SÉMITIQUE. Y. Moubarac. *Muséon*, Louvain. 1955, part 1-2. pp. 93-135. First part of a study.

SATANE NELL' OPERA FILOSOFICO-POETICA DI MUHAMMAD IQBAL. A Bausani. *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, Roma. 1955, part 1-2. pp. 55-102. Analyzes the elements in Iqbāl's thinking which caused him to reach his conclusions.

### IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE CONSTITUTION COMPLETED. *The Round Table*, London. June, 1956. pp. 277-278. Comment on the successful launching of another Islamic republic with two strong, reliable figures at the helm—the Prime Minister, Mr Muḥammad ʿAlī, and the Governor-General, Mr. Iskander Mirzā.

- THE CRUSADES: OLD IDEAS AND NEW CONCEPTIONS. A. S. Atiya. *Journal of World History*, Paris. 1955, part 2. pp. 469-475. A summary of two University of Chicago lectures.
- THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF UZBEKISTAN. *Central Asian Review*, Oxford. Vol. 4, no. 1. pp. 36-49. The first part of a critique of a Russian book by Kary-Niyazov entitled "Outline of the history of the culture of Soviet Uzbekistan", 1955.
- LE PROBLÈME ETHNIQUE EN ANATOLIE. Claude Cahen. *Journal of World History*, Paris. 1955, part 2. pp. 346-363. Describes the migrations causing Turkish predominance in the area.

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AN ENCIRCLED LAND. Peter G. Franck. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Winter, 1956. pp. 43-59. Surveys U.N., U.S. and U.S.S.R. contributions and aids to Afghani tan's economy and gives much statistical data about the country.
- LEBENSMITTELPREISE IM MITTELALTERLICHEN VORDEREN ORIENT. W. Hinz. *Welt des Orients*, Goettingen. 1954. pp. 52-70. Points out the very stable price structure at the time.
- NOTIZEN ZUM INNER-ANATOLISCHEN KARAVANSARAY. Kurt Erdmann. *Kunst des Orients*, Wiesbaden. 1955. pp. 5-29. Describes twenty-nine 13th century caravanserais and the life lived in them.
- THE PATTERN OF RURAL SETTLEMENT IN EAST PAKISTAN. Nafis Ahmad. *The Geographical Review*, New York. June, 1956. pp. 388-398. In the province of East Bengal the "homestead" type of home is prevalent rather than the compact village dwellings found elsewhere.
- POUR MIEUX CONNAITRE LE NIL. Marcel Jungfleisch. *L'Égypte Contemporain*, Cairo. Juillet, 1955. pp. 17-53. Summarizes information drawn chiefly from the Bulletin de l'Union des Agriculteurs d'Égypte.
- TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN PAKISTAN. H. E. M. Mohammed Ikramullah. *Asian Review*, London. April, 1956. pp. 131-138. A survey of eight years' accomplishment and a presentation of future plans.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- ARAB NATIONALISM AND ISRAEL. Walter Zander. *Commentary*, New York. July, 1956. pp. 13-19. Suggests that Israel re-think her foreign policy, at present so attached to the West and therefore suspect in Arab eyes, and turn whole-heartedly to righting the wrongs done to Arab self-esteem by Jewish arrogance.
- THE BURAIMI OASIS DISPUTE. J. B. Kelly. *International Affairs*, London. July, 1956. pp. 318-326. The article shows, against an historical background, that Saudi Arabia has no tenable claim to the Oasis and that the British are justified in defending its independence.
- CALL TO ACTION IN THE NEAR EAST. Charles Malik. *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1956. pp. 637-654. Analyzes the basic factors, — such as oil, the Arab-Israeli impasse, the Communist threat, and the strategic importance of the area—all of which gives the United States an opportunity to show firm, liberal leadership.

- THE CAMBRIDGE EXPEDITION TO AFGHANISTAN. O. R. deBaer. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, April, 1956. pp. 121-125. Describes the achievements of a 1955 tour to compile a regional survey of Boharak and the nomads of the region.
- THE CYPRIOT TURKS. C. F. Beckingham. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1956. pp. 126-130. Explains Turkish unrest and fear in Cyprus, where Turks are outnumbered four to one by the Greeks and tells why they are suspicious of the introduction of a parliamentary system of government in which they would be constantly outvoted.
- CYPRUS AND THE MIDDLE EASTERN CRISIS. C. M. Woodhouse. *International Journal*, Toronto. Winter, 1955-1956. pp. 1-15. From the evidence at hand, the author believes that the Cypriots will get Enosis, the Greeks Cyprus, the British a leased base, and the Turks some sort of compensation.
- A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Lord Birdwood. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1956. pp. 101-112. The author thinks that the area should be left to itself for a while, especially Jordan, so that Western endeavors to help may be better appreciated.
- L'ÉGYPTÉ A-T-ELLE LE DROIT DE CONTRÔLER LE GOLFE D'AKABA? Paul Giniewski. *Politique Etrangère*, Paris. Novembre, 1955. pp. 594-602. Israel's insistence on possession of the Negev and Elath may well cause her to employ open hostility in the Gulf.
- FACTS VS. FACTS. M. Perlman. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. December, 1955. pp. 373-382. The author finds that the United States and Britain are becoming noted for being concerned with concluding pacts—thus dealing more and more in "paper diplomacy."
- MOSCOU ET L'ISLAM. Nicholas Basseches. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, Paris. Juin, 1956. pp. 15-31. Possessing the third largest Muslim population in the world, the Kremlin is using the religious pilgrimages of Islam as a means of introducing influential political figures into the political scene in Egypt, Arabia and the Near East.
- NORTH OF THE KHYBER. H. F. Armstrong. *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1956. pp. 603-619. Discusses the wooing of Afghanistan by Russia and points out the danger the Afghans face of being economically and financially enmeshed.
- PAKISTAN AND HER NEIGHBORS. *The Round Table*, London. June, 1956. pp. 236-245. Deals chiefly with Afghanistan, now rather in the Russian orbit, and India, whose Kashmiri aims never abate.
- SOME PROBLEMS OF DEFENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Eugene Hinterhoff. *Asian Review*, London. April, 1956. pp. 139-144. Analyses the "versatile and dynamic Soviet policy of diplomacy and infiltration" and suggests that Britain would be wise to turn over some of her Middle East commitments to the U.N.
- TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. M. Philips Price. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1956. pp. 92-100. The author suggests that the Baghdad Pact should be earnestly supported, every effort should be made to reconcile Arabs and Israelis and too much attention should not be paid to Nehru, the King of Saudi Arabia or Arab politicians.

## VII. NORTH AFRICA

- ALGÉRIE ET RENAISSANCE FRANÇAISE. J.-M. Domenach. *Esprit*, Paris. Juin, 1956. pp. 937-948. The author believes the whole question hinges on the ability of France freely to give her former North African colonies, and also Algeria, protection, aid and stability — combining military courage with political acumen.
- LA CÔTE ORIENTALE DE CAP BON. F. Collot. *IBLA*, Tunis. 1955, part 3. pp. 323-338. Tells of the diverse peoples in this section of the world.
- THE FRENCH NORTH AFRICAN CRISIS. *World Today*, London. December, 1955. pp. 509-518. The author believes that France will have to accede to Algerian demands and that her prestige would have suffered less had she accepted the inevitable more promptly.
- UNE NOUVELLE VAGUE DE ROMANS NORD—AFRICAINS. A Retif. *Études*, Paris. Février, 1956. pp. 256-260. Analyzes four novels by N. Afs which deal bitterly and impressively with the spiritual and physical state of Algerians, the fate of North Africans living in France, and the results of mixed marriages.
- TRAVAIL ET POLITIQUE. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, Paris. Juin, 1956. pp. 43-101. Includes varied articles such as Français et Tunisiens by Gérard de Bernis; L'Algérie vue d'Angleterre; Maroc by Pierre-Albin Martel; Alibis économique du Pacte de Bagdad; Les discours du General Glubb by Pierre Rondot, etc.
- WHAT IS ALGERIA? *The Islamic Review*, Woking. June, 1956. pp. 13-19. Gives a short historical background, decries French colonialism, and urges France and all democratic nations to work for Algerian freedom and independence.

## VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

- L'AFRIQUE NOIRE ET L'EXPANSION DE L'ISLAM. P. Alexandre. *Le Monde Non Chrétien*, Paris. Octobre-Décembre, 1955. pp. 315-334. Although Islam numbers approximately 9,000,000 souls in Africa to Christianity's 1,200,000, the article presses for a return to the early Christian methods of evangelization — the ability to integrate existing social institutions with Christian beliefs.
- ALGERIA'S MOSLEMS THANK CATHOLIC BISHOPS. *Notes on Islam*, Calcutta. December, 1955. pp. 147-148. Quotes from a recent pastoral letter advocating close and harmonious relations among Christians, Muslims and Jews to further Algerian progress.
- ANNUAL REPORT NUMBER. *Arabia Calling*, New York. Winter, 1955-1956. Encouraging messages from all the stations.
- DIE CHRISTLICHE KIRCHE UND DER ISLAM IN WESTAFRIKA. J. S. Trimmingham. *Evangelische Missions eZtschrift*, Stuttgart. December, 1955. pp. 167-173. Concludes an article begun in the October, 1955, issue.
- EGYPT GENERAL MISSION NEWS. London, 1956, part 2. The issue describes the discussion at the Annual Gathering as to whether the E.G.M. should accede to the demand of the Egyptian Government to have Islam taught to Muslim children attending mission schools. The consensus of the Meeting was against such a move.

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