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يَقْطَعُونَ مَا أَمَرَ اللَّهُ بِهِ أَنْ يُوصَلَ

“WHAT GOD HATH JOINED TOGETHER.”

There are other realms besides marriage where divorce is tragic. For more things than man and wife have been joined together by God in a unity which should not be sundered. Indeed, whatever is by its nature in complementary and reciprocal relationship is sadly impaired in isolation and independence. “What God has joined together, let not man put asunder.” As if to echo this warning, Surah xiii.25 characterises evildoers, among other things, as those “who part what He has bidden to be united,” while commending as true those who “conjoin what God also has conjoined.” (Surah xiii.21.) It adds that the former spread corruption in the land while the latter give occasion to the fulfilment of the covenant of the Lord.

How many in the world are these unities of benediction, these tragedies of discordancy! Is not all great poetry and music the perfect linking of form to thought and of sense to spirit in the mystic harmony that so delights the heart? Divinely fitted to be together is what we say of the frame and function of a great cathedral in the worshipfulness of true symmetry. These, surely, are happy marriages and joy is their offspring.

But there are deeper unities still, more integral in their perfection, more precarious of achievement. There is, for example, the marriage of liberty and law which men and systems are perpetually tempted to put asunder. The true freedom of the soul is the right allegiance: it is valid law which liberates. “Me this unchartered freedom tires,” cried the poet and all thinking men know what he meant. There is no

tyranny worse than that of the unbridled self. It is only that which obeys the law for which it was meant that is truly at liberty. The prodigal son found that the arbitrary assertion of self-willed freedom chained him in the end to a swine's trough. It was only when he admitted the claim of his true destiny and arose and came to his father that he discovered the liberty of true sonship. St Paul, who wrestled long and hard with the whole mystery of law witnessed that it was "the law of the spirit which had *made him free...*" How slow we are to exchange the bondage of self for the freedom of servants to God.

Worship and work are another harmony we do not well to separate. The claims of the Lord must penetrate all our affairs and the perspectives of the sanctuary dominate and control our commerce with the world. How oddly astray was Somerset Maugham when he asked in his *Summing Up* why "the devout should think God can be pleased when they slavishly pay to Him" the flowery compliments we are embarrassed to have paid to us. How true, by contrast, the oft quoted remark of William Temple that "this world can only be saved by worship." For what goes on in the house of prayer is not idle compliments, but the recognition of lordship and the acceptance of authority. Only when we hold all things — sex, property, faculties, powers, relationships, wealth, income, health, home and self — within the reverence that acknowledges the debt we owe and in the gratitude that admits the trust of them, shall we and they be safe. "The greatest possession of the soul is its debt; it is to feel what it owes." And that feeling of debt, to God and our fellows, is focussed and confessed in the place of prayer and praise. "Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds." What we are requires for its security and blessedness the confession of what He is. What God hath thus conjoined, man should not divorce.

Liberty and law, worship and work, then, and many other marriages in the Divine intention, which human rebellion puts asunder, about which Islam would in large measure

agree with the Christian. But there are two other conjoinings where the genius of the Christian faith parts company sharply with the Muslim mind. They are: the heavenly and the earthly, and sovereignty and suffering. The sundering of the first pair is roughly what Islam means and intends by the denial of either the possibility or the fact of Incarnation. Of course, Islam assumes that there is affinity between the Divine and the human. In the absence of such a view no religion would be possible. For religion after all, in its broadest definition, is just the sense of an affinity, a kinship, an inter-connection, between time and beyond-time, between the human and the eternal. So the Qur'ān, in its central conviction, understands that God communicates; He makes known His will; He brings His word within human reach and ken. In doing so, He employs the earthly, the Prophet, the messenger, the occasion, the scene. Thus the transcendent comes also to be the descendant. Indeed the heart of the Qur'ān's idea of itself is just this *Tanzīl*, or causing to come down, though it is clear throughout that this Divine relationship is a communication, not a coming, a revelation of will not a disclosure of nature.

It is exactly at this point that Christianity diverges and even ventures to believe that, in refusing more, Islam disjoins what God has conjoined. For in Christ it is believed that this business of the Divine with the human, this relatedness in law and ethic, in revelation and prophecy, is of such importance and fraught with such a cargo of good and light, is, in a word, so tremendously part of the Divine Being and so urgently linked with the final prosperity of man, that agents and servants have not been enough for it. God Himself has undertaken to reveal Himself and did so, by Himself revealing. This is what is meant in the claim that "the Word was made flesh." God has by His own loving will joined together the human vehicle in the heavenly enterprise, and seeing this in Christ, we may not, we dare not, put them asunder. Rather we humbly acknowledge that "God was in Christ reconciling

the world unto Himself." Yet this condescension argues no compromise of the Divine majesty. As St. Leo put it long ago: "Christ united the true 'form of a servant' with that 'form' in which He was God with God, and combined both natures in a league so close that the lower was not consumed by receiving the higher, nor the higher lessened by assuming lowliness." The Christian's submission is just that if God has indeed conjoined Himself with our humanity we can by no means believe them put asunder. And 'submission' truly it is, an *islām* of wonder, love and praise.

It is a further step to confess this same manward-moving initiative of Divine Love to be involved in sacrifice. The initiative itself is sacrificial. Does the King of glory really become an Infant in Herod's world? Does "free Eternity submit to years and glory's self here serve our griefs and fears?" Yes! so it is. And the culmination is a Cross. In a world like ours what else would be the role of a love like God's? Let us not put asunder, in our doctrine or our thoughts, what God, in being Who He is, has for ever joined together. "Christianity" says Arnold Toynbee, "is a vision of God as so loving His creatures that He has sacrificed Himself for their salvation." It is more than a vision, it is a fact and a history. And perhaps we ought to say: "...has suffered for His creatures." The sacrifice of the Cross is not something arbitrary, a scheme, so to speak, of redemption formally contrived. It is the real encounter of a love Divine in its quality with the actualities of our world and of our humanity, as they shaped themselves in a particular climax that discloses what they are. And when it happens, we do not rightly think of God as spectator of the Christ's agony, or as somehow a recipient of its sacrifice, but rather as involved in it, suffering with the Son. Here body, substance, concreteness, are given to the deepest truths about ourselves and about God, about our sinfulness and His love. Sovereignty and suffering we must never put asunder. Rather we must help all men see how God, in being Himself, has conjoined them for ever.

THE CRISIS OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The period starting with the end of the Second World War marks the beginning of a unique social event in the long and checkered history of the Middle East: the awakening of mass society. The first half of this century has witnessed two world-shaking revolutions, the Russian and the Chinese. In the Middle East, including the whole of the Arabic-speaking World from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, a revolution similar in many respects is now in the making. At this moment the social process is still in its beginnings, and therefore the exact nature and course of its unfolding are not easily predictable.

The crisis through which the Middle East is passing today, whether viewed in economic or social or political terms, cannot be understood except in reference to this process of mass awakening. In its intellectual and psychological aspects, this crisis manifests itself most clearly in that stratum of Arab society we call the intelligentsia. For our purpose here we shall refer by the term "Intelligentsia" to those groups in society who lend it leadership, articulation, and a cultural intent. The Arab intelligentsia, in this broad sense, has belonged over the last three generations (ca. 1850-1950) to two main categories, the secular "westernized" groups and the "traditionalists." A third quasi-traditionalist, quasi-westernized group, which we will call the old nationalist group, lies both culturally and chronologically in between. In this brief analysis, we are primarily concerned with the first group, the contemporary westernized Arab intelligentsia, inasmuch as it is the one confronting the present crisis in the Arab World. A brief discussion of the traditionalist and old nationalist groups is necessary in order to establish the proper perspective in which an adequate comprehension of both the Arab intellectual crisis and the contemporary westernized intelligentsia facing it can be attained.

I

The traditionalist outlook is, in essence, the continuation of the medieval Muslim and Eastern Christian outlook, which achieved its last creative acts in the 7th and 11th centuries (St. John of Damascus and Al-Ghazālī), before succumbing to the Ottoman millet (sectarian) system, which lasted until the First World War. To this day, in many a closed-in stratum in the Middle East, traditionalism still maintains its sway by admitting only those questions to which it already has the answers and raising only those doubts which merely serve to dispel all doubt.

The traditionalists' "fanaticism" is not, in origin, so much an active and hostile attitude toward what is foreign and "other," as it is a position of inert negation derived from a prolonged state of spiritual

and cultural solipsism stretching back over many generations. Attitudes of mistrust and hostility in the Arab masses, both in terms of inter-religious and political differences, as well as toward the political and cultural encroachment of the West, are in part traceable to this peculiar mentality. The intellectual and religious aspects of this phenomenon have not yet received careful study and analysis, but its deep political and cultural symptoms are manifest in Arab society, not least in Lebanon. Part of the intellectual defeat of the traditionalist generation lies in its failure to carry the attempt—many times so auspiciously begun—to re-examine its fundamental premises far enough to reach the point of comprehending, and thereby admitting, the revivifying influence of another outlook. The tenacity of the inherited outlook today still claims the adherence of young intellectuals and so makes possible the formation of organized traditionalist movements in the Arab countries that play an effective role in the contemporary political scene.

Not until the War of 1914-1918 did the impact of the West reach a definitive stage. The cultural presence of the West, which had already been established politically and militarily in Egypt and North Africa by Britain, France, and Italy, now flooded almost all the regions included in the Asian-Ottoman Empire and Iran. In Turkey and Iran the response to the Western challenge was radical and, in varying degrees, far-reaching: a contingent acceptance of the basic Western premises imposed and implemented by the state. The response of Saudi Arabia and Yemen, the only other two independent countries of the Middle East in the interwar period, was equally intense in its complete refusal of Western civilization and its emphasis on the traditionalism of their respective socio-religious systems of Wahhabism and Zaidism.

The emergence after the First World War from the millet system of the modern "nation-state" brought about a gradual shift from the vague "religious" nationalism of the traditionalists to a more or less secularized nationalistic outlook. This phase, stretching roughly from 1918 to 1945, represents the intermediate period in the modern Arab renaissance in which the semi-traditionalist, semi-westernized nationalist group assumed leadership in most of the Arab countries. During this period the school of thought of this group, in both the narrow political, as well as the wider cultural sense, became predominant.

The main feature of nationalist thinking is its compromise between continued hostility to the West on the political-military plane and implicit toleration of Western influence on the intellectual and general cultural plane—a compromise which was adequate enough to allow a measure of independence from traditional manners and customs, but not comprehensive enough to prevent the rise of a deep-rooted conflict in the cultural and intellectual make-up of the new generation.

Thus a profound social and psychological polarity was created in Arab society, and the whole new experience and thought gained from contact with the West remained implanted in the old Arab traditionalist mentality of unexamined, unreformulated premises. It is perhaps only in Tunisia that this polarity in contemporary Arab society may be soon overcome with successful results; for Tunisian leadership was able to confront the deeper implications of its national movement at a relatively early stage and to take up a definitive stand regarding a number of problems which have not yet even been raised in most other Arab countries.

It may be said, at the risk of over-simplification, that all the inherited problems in this connection center around the fundamental vagueness existing in the relationship between Arabism, as a socio-political movement, and Islam. If no answer comes from Lebanon, Muslim Tunisia may well be the Arab country to lead the Arab World toward a practical and lasting solution of this most sensitive of all Arab problems.

II

The contemporary westernized intelligentsia of the Arab World are not an aggregate bound together by a sense of oneness as a separate social stratum, nor by any clear view of the fundamental problems with which they are confronted. They are rather a fragmented group composed of that minority which, due to an acquired, assumed or inherited outlook or position, has been invested with a special role in intellectual, political, and social life.

The Arab intelligentsia, as we speak of them today, may be defined, chronologically, as the third generation (of the period of Arab awakening) which attained maturity between 1920 and 1950, the period when Arab society entered into full contact with the West. It is differentiated from the previous "traditionalist" and "nationalist" generations in terms of outlook, preoccupation, and role.

Perhaps the most significant characteristic of the contemporary Arab intellectual is that he is a cultural hybrid. By that we mean not only the varied aspects which the cultural dislocation of his generation has given to his social bearing and attitude, but also, and primarily, the inner polarity resulting from exposure to the West on a level far deeper than any previously experienced. It is impossible to be bilingual and bicultural and maintain a true unity of personality—much less so when the rootedness in this lingual and cultural duality is neither deep enough nor secure enough to provide the foundations which make for a healthy, independent outlook. For this reason it is inevitable that the essential features of the contemporary Arab intellectual should be an unreconciled, double view of things, an inconsistent ethical plurality, and a vague intellectual relativism. Brought to an inner standstill, the pure product of this state of mind and soul is the Levantine type: the

gay, sophisticated, pleasureseeking, money-making inhabitant of the larger cities, whose real attachments in life are neither social nor intellectual, but material.

A basic attribute of all intellectual tension is a state of deep and agonizing suspension; a way out of such a state is a leap into categorical confirmation or denial. In a society in flux, such as contemporary Arab society, when inherited answers have been by-passed and ultimates no longer have personal meaning, total belief or total negation become the two most seductive alternatives for conviction. To affirm or to deny, and thereby to win the reassurance of a definite standpoint, is a characteristic outlet of the young Arab intellectual.

One should always keep in mind that Arab intellectuals were (and still are) deprived of the calming influences of established institutions and respected traditions which their Western counterparts could accept or rebel against, but never wholly dismiss. Moreover, the Arab intellectuals were (and still are) completely on their own, alienated from their fathers' beliefs and traditions and exposed to a disintegrating social order which no longer holds for them any fixed and guiding certainties. Hence, a typical attitude of the Arab intellectual: withdrawal and detachment from responsibility and commitment.

Detachment, in a context such as this, may be justifiable when motivated by inward calm and direction. It may also be the outcome of complacency or cowardice. However, it is most often the result of frustration and despair. It is this latter condition which is characteristic of an important segment of the Arab intelligentsia today: a troubled condition which verges on complete scepticism. The Arab mind has been, since its Islamisation, astonishingly free from any serious preoccupation with doubt; the medieval Arab philosophers (including Al-Ghazālī) and the great number of Arab poets all seem to have maintained an exceptionally cheerful disposition in their confrontation with reality and the human situation. Whatever gloom or despair may be found in some Arab philosopher-poets should be viewed as the product of romantic or sentimental moods, rather than as a result of deep philosophical doubt. The bewildered agony of conscious doubting of the contemporary Arab intellectual is a novel experience in the whole intellectual history of Islam.

But again, it would be a false generalization to attribute, without qualification, the positive process of doubt, as it is known in Western philosophic thought, to the present intellectual experience of the Arab intelligentsia. For as already stated, it is more generally the rule, rather than the exception, that the attitude of the educated Arab is one of apodictic conviction, whether formulated in the shape of total belief or complete negation. The fact is that in the Arab World today truth is still approached with the romantic nonchalance of the medieval poet, and the problem of right and wrong still has no necessary bearing on the ultimacy of presupposed premises.

As such, sober judgment and disciplined thought cannot be said to be characteristic of the contemporary intellectual scene in the Arab World. The tools for disinterested valuation are lacking, and literary and scholarly criticism, as this is known in the West, is almost non-existent. In the Arab World, as in all societies undergoing a similar deep cultural transition, the multiplicity of valuational criteria eventually leads to simple arbitrariness.

A major contributing factor to the near-sterility of objective reason in Arab society may be attributed in part to the peculiar character and development of the Arabic language as a culture-carrier. Arabic is a rich and, in certain fields, a highly expressive language. But through the centuries form, rather than content, has become the end of expression. After having survived such a long period of intellectual drought, it is natural that Arabic should assume a rigid formalism wholly lacking in the suppleness necessary to carry the fullness of an awakened and living mind. It would not be an exaggeration to state that for Arabic to become an adequate vehicle of mature cultural expression and communication a radical linguistic revolution is required, a task which, unfortunately, Arab writers at present seem unwilling or unable to undertake. But until this happens, the intellectual fancy of so many leading intellectuals in the Arab World will still pass as literature, and their failure to focus on real problems will continue.

It should be added that this is not a simple or accidental issue of merely literary or linguistic value, but rather a genuine epistemological problem. For language, as it is manipulated by the Arab intelligentsia today, is only serving to maintain the dichotomy in the Arab mind between literature and life, and to perpetuate an estrangement of the intelligentsia from the masses.

III

The Arab intelligentsia of this generation have been either too hesitant or too unreflective in their confrontation with the socio-intellectual crisis of the times; and within the imbalance of the two extremes have indulged in too long a self-delusion. They can no longer afford not to take a stand in the midst of the present social upheaval. The democratization of Arab society has entered the phase of full realization, and the awakening of mass society is taking place for the first time in the Middle East. But unless the creative Arab élite is able to assume the function which it alone can perform in this crisis, the whole intelligentsia in the Arab World will be pushed into a more marginal existence than its present one. The very outcome of the great social revolution in the Arab World may then be the triumph of the forces of ignorance, fanaticism, and unreason.

A central issue to be resolved by the responsible Arab intellectual today is the relationship with the West on the deepest possible ground.

The issue is not merely political. On the plane of political action the problem is soluble, since African and Asian nationalism has already triumphed over colonial domination, and the relationship with the West has been lifted, in many parts of Asia and Africa, to the higher level of mutual equality and respect. The present confusion with regard to the West is in great part due to the inescapable contradiction which the West itself has created in the Arab World by playing the role of culture bearer, while simultaneously carrying out policies inherently opposed to the national interests and aspirations of the Arabs. To be "pro-Western" does not at all mean to be in favor of whatever policy the Western powers may have regarding the Arab countries and Africa and Asia. By the same token, to be "anti-Western" need not necessarily mean a deep-rooted opposition to what Western culture stands for, or an inclination toward Communism ideology.

Nationalism in the Arab World should be understood as a function of the Arabs' encounter with the West. The problem of the Arab intelligentsia in relationship with the West stems from the dilemma, implicit in the Arab situation, of having to oppose the West politically and at the same time to embrace its humanistic tradition and modern technology. It is indeed to the credit of those Arab intellectuals in Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia and elsewhere, that they have been able to rise above the "political" West and reach out for the truth which lies in the historic essence of its great civilization.

Before he becomes a harmonious and fully integrated whole, the "westernized" Arab intellectual has to resolve being at one and the same time "nationalist" and "westernized." For at least this much is clear; in the contemporary Arab World, political action is the condition for the solution of the economic, social, and political misery in which the Arab people live today. On this level the Arab intellectual feels, in a deep and real sense, that for him this is the hour of decision. It is indeed frightening to think that the intelligentsia of the Arab World is unequal to the challenge. The obvious fact is that the fluctuations and political affiliations of the Arab intellectual are not easily predictable. Many of those who today profess complete allegiance to the cultural ideals of the Western tradition may quite easily become the standard-bearers of advancing Communism, in much the same way as the Italian leftist intellectuals of the post World War I period became the fervent supporters and spokesmen of the nascent Fascist movement.

Up to now the major task of the Arab intellectual has consisted of admitting and, as far as he could, directing the new stream of Western thought into his Muslim-bound society. He was able neither to see nor raise the fundamental problems involved in the process. Islam, as a socio-political system, must now become the subject of free discussion, if the way to genuine social change is to be attained. The Arab intellectual can no longer evade the basic issues, nor submit to the favorite

form of Arab escapism, of sophomoric dabbling in *shī'r* and *adab*, mediocre poetry and adolescent literature. Neither can the freedom he is seeking remain forever a mere "freedom from the imperialists." For had the other and greater freedom been sought and fought for in time, neither European nor Zionist imperialism could have caught up with a society which still does not afford him the elementary right to speak his mind.

Another major task facing the Arab intellectual, a task which is truly the measure of greatness to which the Arab people aspire, is to understand the West and overcome it in love.

Until now the almost abject desire of the Arabs has been to be understood by the nations of the West, forgetting that all the self-knowledge, the history, the culture, even the ambitions, of the Arabs, have been defined and articulated in and by the West over the last two hundred years. Even now there is no denying the fact that the Arab intellectual understands himself and his situation best, not in Cairo or Damascus or Beirut, writing or speaking in Arabic, but rather in Paris or London or New York, writing or speaking in French or English. His real task in the present crisis, and for the next fifty years, is to find a way out of the Arabs' paralyzing solipsism, to come finally to understand the "other" instead of resting inertly in the "other's" understanding.

Muslim Arab culture is not Eastern, nor is it alien to the West, for the basic edifice of Islam is based on the same cultural origins which support the present civilization of Christian Europe and America. A deep and true understanding of Western tradition, therefore, can only lead to a new revival of the mind and spirit which declined in the Arab World four or five centuries ago. The great challenge of the Arab intellectual at the moment is to rise above himself and above the present confused situation of his half-awakened, bewildered society. The historic challenge now is to seek that true knowledge of the West at the very moment when the West itself seems no longer capable of transmitting to others its great tradition of humanism.

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THE LANGUAGE OF MUSLIM DEVOTION III

VOCABULARY ON SINNING IN THE MANUALS

We give this vocabulary not because the words are difficult but because they differ from those to which Christian readers may be accustomed.

SIN AS EVIL

(a) Verb *sharra* — nouns *sharr*, *shurūr*. Evil in itself, often coming close to the Hebrew *rāʿ*. Many prayers show an implicit belief in dual powers — good and evil — at work within all created things, and such forms are common as: “Give me the good of all things and fend off from me the evil of all things.” (*Wird-al-Ṣubḥ* also called *Ḥizb-al-Ibtihāl*, *Qādiriyah*.) But a study of the word *sharr*, as used in the prayer manuals, raises the question whether the writers can be said to use the word *sharr* of an evil *principle*, or whether they did not conceive of multitudinous separate particles of evil. One well-known prayer certainly seems to envisage a general principle of evil. “Indeed if Thou leavest me to myself that self will bring me near to evil and put a distance between me and good.” (*Ḥizb yaum al-arbiʿā*, M. ʿUthmān al-Mirghānī.)

Here the word *sharr* would seem to correspond to the English word ‘evil’ in its sense as the ‘principle of evil’ which cannot be pluralized without an alteration in its meaning, confining it to a more limited concrete sense. (“Of two evils choose the lesser”.)

This absolute use of the word is unusual in our books of Muslim prayer. Here far more commonly it is used in construction and indicates the evil of some created being, thing or circumstance. The idea of absolute good and evil is perhaps foreign to minds which would prefer to see both contingent upon unlimited momentary acts of the will of the Creator. *Sharr*, *shurūr* in these prayers, therefore, usually represents not absolute evil, but the evil or evils of specific parts of creation. When the word is applied to the evil of ourselves or of our deeds, it must be recognised as one of the names for sin.

“I take refuge with Thee from the evil of what I have done.” (*Wird-al-ghurūb*, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, and constantly in the manuals.) “Protect us, O God, from the evils of our (lower) selves and the illusion of our works, and from the evil of Satan’s snares, and make us to be of that inner circle of Thy servants over whom he has no authority.” (*Majmūʿ ahzāb wa aurād* etc. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.)

(b) Verb *sāʾa* -nouns *sūʾ*, *Sayyiʿah*, *Sayyiʿāt isāʿah*, The sinner, *al-musīʿ*.

This root represents a more transitive aspect of evil, evil that hurts or does harm. If the opposite of *sharr* is *khair*, that of *sūʾ* is *ḥasan*, a couple which comes very close to the Greek κακος-αγαθος. The sense of the evil that hurts may be observed in one of the numerous Quranic

uses of the root: *sāʿa ṣabāḥ-al-mundharīn* (Surah x.10) "evil shall be the morn of them that were warned," where the word 'evil' might be replaced by 'hard.' But the Qurʾān has given the word *sūʿ* for ever its place in Muslim thought about sin, through the phrase: *inna al-naḥṣa laʿammāratun bi-l-sūʿi* (Surah xii.52) — "Verily the self is urgent to evil" — the Arabic equivalent to the Hebrew *yetzer ha-rāʿ*. This great phrase, recognised by the Ṣūfī world as the picture of the unregenerate, concupiscent self and of the standpoint from which the soul must start on its journey to God, is hard to reconcile with some modern Muslim claims about Islam's belief in the innate goodness of human nature.

Such a phrase, with its history in religious thought, naturally enters into the life of prayer, and much more fully than *sharr* represents human sinfulness.

"Deliver me from one who, endeavouring to slay me, contrives against me libels with stealth and subtlety: And also from this self which urges me to evil And from rebelliousness, to sin's disaster calling.

(*Riyād-al-Madh*, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq al-Mirghani)

"My God, Thou art the Forgiving One and I the sinner (*muṣīʿ*) and who will show mercy on the sinner save the Forgiving One?" (Constantly used throughout the manuals.)

SIN AS WRONG-DOING

Verb *adhnaba* — nouns, *dhanb*, *dhunūb* — the sinner, *al-mudhnib*. This, whether in the Qurʾān, in the devotional manuals, or in Muslim speech, is by far the commonest word for sin, or rather for sins, for *dhanb* expresses not sin but a sin, a single, articulated act of transgression.

In view of its very general use by Muslims (Christian Arabic for reasons which we shall see below, having given preference to *khatīʿah*) we must be thankful that the most widely used translation of a sentence in the Lord's prayer employs this word which all can use: *wāʿghfir lanā dhunūbanā kamā naghfiru naḥnu li-l-mudhnibīna ilainā*.¹ So common, so universal is the use of this word that it hardly seems necessary to give examples from our prayer manuals.

SIN AS GUILT

(a) Verb: *jarama* — nouns: *jaram*, *jurm* — the sinner, *al-mujrim*.

This root expresses sin as crime or misdemeanour, a word of the law-courts. The Old Testament use of *rāshāʿ* may be compared, and the New Testament ἐνοχος. as at 1 Cor. xi.27, James ii.10. The com-

¹ The Jesuit translation of Beirut has in the second limb of the petition *li man asāʿa ilainā*. The Book of Hours of the Greek Orthodox Church has: *utrūk lanā mā ʿalainā kamā natrūku naḥnu li man lanā ʿalāihi*, "forgive us our debts." S. Matt. vi.12.)

monest use in Muslim devotions, echoing the Qur²ān (Surah xx.74), is the participle *mujrim* for the sinner as the one who is guilty, the criminal. "My God, Thy longsuffering in regard to my constant criminal acts encourages me to ask Thee for that to which I have no right." (*Mukhtaṣar ad^ciyat Ramaḍān*, p. 6.) "One of the generous acts of the noble is compassionate kindness to captives, and I am a captive through my crime, the captive of my criminality, bound by my own deeds." (*Munājāt*. ^cAlī Zain al-^cĀbidīn. *Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 240.)

(b) Verb, *athima* — nouns *ithm*, *āthām*.

Whereas the *mujrim* is a guilty one sentenced or liable to sentence by a tribunal outside himself, *ithm* seems to carry with it more of the sense of inward guilt, of wickedness not necessarily apparent, so that the Qur²ān uses the adjective 'manifest' (*ithmun mubīnun*) with it when the guilt of the action is clear to all. (Surah iv.19). A perfect example of its meaning of inward guilt is found in the Beirut American translation of Ezra ix.15 *hā nahnu amāmaka fī āthāminā*, a verse which Moffatt translates: "Here we stand guilty before Thee."

"We ask Thy forgiveness for all our sins and guilt." *Ḥizb al-Ḥamd*, ^cAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.

SIN AS SELF-WRONGING

Verb, *ḡalama* — Noun, *ḡulm* — the sinner, *ḡālim*.

Ever present with this word is the sense of wronging, oppression, injustice. Thus those with a sense of injury pray: — "And appoint for us vengeance on any who oppressed us." (*Ḥizb yaum-al-Khamīs*, M. ^cUthmān al-Mīrghanī.)

ḡulm sometimes has the sense of the New Testament ὄβρις. It is one of the most characteristic notes of Muslim thought about sin. "As there are three Names for God the Forgiver, the servant also has three several names for the degrees of his rebelliousness. The first of them is *ḡālim*, as He said: "and some of them are wrongers of themselves." (Surah xxxv.32), the second of them is *ḡulūm* (habitually wronging); He said: "(Man) is unjust, ignorant" (xxxiii.72) and the third is *ḡallām* (wronging exceedingly). He said: 'Say, O my servants who exceeded against yourselves' (iv.110) Now he who goes to excess in rebellion is *ḡallām*."

(*Lawāmi^c al-Bayyināt*, Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzī, p. 161.)

From the Qur²ān comes the cadence, echoed incessantly in Muslim prayer *ḡalamnā anfansanā* (vii.2) *ḡalamtū nafsī* (xxvii.44) "I have wronged myself," the normal form of confession and one attributed to the Prophet. The Apostle of God used to say when he stood up for the prayers: "Thou art my Lord, I the servant. I have wronged myself and I confess my sin. Forgive me then all my sins, for there is none that forgiveth sins save Thee." (*Adhkār al-Nawawī*, p. 21, constantly used in the manuals.)

What is the story of this thought of self-wronging which is so widespread and constant a note of Muslim confession that there is no need to give examples? Did the phrase and the idea spring to birth first in the Quranic Surahs? We have not been able to trace this thought in Jewish worship. Is it Christian? It is not *un-Christian*. The Prodigal Son undoubtedly wronged himself, though on his return his confession was of sin "against heaven and before thee." Yet so far the only trace of the thought in Christian worship prior to Islam which has come under the present writer's notice is a phrase in the Festival Evening Service of the East Syrian Church, where the faithful sing in the first anthem: "Thou hast clothed us with a mortal nature *which our trespasses ever painfully oppress.*"²

THE ENTAIL OF SIN

(a) Verb *janā* °alā.

Although the nouns *janāyah*, *janīyah* are used for crime or misdeed with no particular overtone of meaning, the verb with its preposition (which is not Quranic) has found its way into Muslim devotions with a fuller significance. With apparently a primary sense of fruit-gathering, it has come to mean involving oneself or another in the fruits of wrong-doing, as when a sinner involves his child in disease. "I acknowledge Thy grace to me, and this is what I have brought upon myself." (*Al-Wird al-Shāfi*, p. 65 (traditional). "What my hands have brought upon me." (*Du°ā* °inda-l-Ka°bah, in *Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 368).

(b) Verb, *wazara* or *wazira* — noun, *wizr*, *awzār*.

This verb means to carry the burden of sin, like Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress. "By Thy mercy relieve my back from the weight of the burden (of sin)." (*Al-Munājāt-al-Injiliyyat-al-kubrā*, °Ali Zain al-°Abidīn.)

SIN AS DISOBEDIENCE

(a) Verb, °aṣā (synonym *marada*)-nouns, *ma°ṣiyah* °iṣyān—The sinner is *al-°āṣī*, the rebel.

°Aṣa *adamu rabbahu* is the Quranic phrase for "man's first disobedience." Sin is here disobedience, rebellion, revolt. "The people of obedience make mention of the God of Grace and the people of disobedience make mention of the God of Mercy." (*Al-Ghaṭhiyyah*, °Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.)

² The root *zlm* so characteristic of Muslim thought of sin is very rare in this connection in Christian Arabic. Sinai MS. 154, however, of the 8th or 9th century contains the sentence *qāla shaikh min al-°abā kamā anna-al-nāra tahriqa-l-ḥaṭab kadhālika taqā Allāhi yahriqu-l-zulma wa-l-Shahawāt*. One of the fathers, an elder, said: "As fire burns up wood, so the fear of God burns up wrongfulness (*zulm*) and evil desires."

A prayer constantly used in the manuals is that said by Al-Qushairi to have been ever on the lips of Ibrahim ibn Adham: "O God, transfer us from the degradation of disobedience to the glory of obedience." (*Risālah*, p. 8.)

(b) Verb, *Khālafā*—noun, *mukhālafah*: Sin as breaking of regulations, contravention. "Keep us from all things unlawful and all contraventions of the Divine law." (*Majmū'at-al-Wird-al-°Āmm*, p. 17.)

(c) Verb *ta°addā*: Sin as passing the limits, transgression, violation of law. (Compare English "trespass"). "Verily God loveth not the transgressors." (Surah ii.190.) "I acknowledge that in which I have contravened Thy command and transgressed against it." (*Al-munājāt-al-Injīliyyat-al-kubrā*, °Alī Zain al °Ābidīn.)

SIN AS ERROR

(a) Verb, *khaṭī'a*—noun, *khaṭī'ah*—the sinner is, *al-khāṭī'*.

Both the Old and New Testaments have frequently used words for sin with a root-meaning of error or missing the mark. The Old Testament *ḥata'* is the same root as the Arabic *khaṭī'a*. In the story of the Hebrew language, this root all but forgot its original sense and from meaning a fault by accident or error came to have at once a more general and a more ethical significance. Yet it was probably that original meaning that led the New Testament writers (following the Septuagint) to choose as their most frequent word for sin a Greek root with a similar history. But in New Testament usage *ἁμαρτανω* and the connected nouns have forgotten their original sense of error and missing the mark, in a graver ethical significance. When Bible translations into Arabic became necessary it was perhaps natural that many of the translators should use the Arabic verb of kindred meaning, *khaṭī'a* and its nouns, to translate the *ἁμαρτανω* group. It was natural and linguistically exact, but the resultant general use by Christians of *khaṭī'a* as their predominant word for sin may give a wrong impression to their Muslim friends. For *khaṭī'a* is by no means so advanced in Muslim Arabic along the pathway from sheer error to ethical wrong as was *ἁμαρτανω* when the Church took it over from the Septuagint and from common speech.

We have in the Qur'ān several contemporary shades of meaning for the one root. When in Surah iv.91, it is said that a believer kills not a fellow believer *°illā khaṭā'an*, the meaning is at the level of pure error or accident. The word is still so used in Arabic speech today, for a guest returned to the writer's house to say *akhṭā't*, not with the meaning that she had sinned, but that she had by mistake left a sunshade there.

On the other hand in the speech of Abraham in Surah xxvi.81, the word seems to have passed from the sense of sin by error to that of sin in general.

Our prayer manuals likewise exhibit the word with several stages of meaning, but its general tendency is towards the thought of error or slip, a fact often insufficiently remembered by Christians who use the word with a wider and deeper meaning. "He who when I (M) was mentioned missed blessing me, missed the road to Paradise." (Tradition quoted in *Ḥizb-yaum-al-thalāthā*, M. °Uthmān al-Mīrghani.) "I repent towards Him of every sin I have committed, intentionally or in error. Forgive me what I did in error and what I did intentionally." (*Majmū°at-al-Wird-al-°Amm*, and so constantly.)

There is, however, an interesting group of passages which appear to have a Christian or a Biblical origin and in which the word *khaṭī°a* is used as in the Christian writings: "Thou has forgotten the words of our lord °Isā: The love of this world is the foundation of every sin and of sin in general. Not one sin can be driven out of a man who loves the world." (*Khatmah to Al-Ḥusūn-al-manī°.*) "O God put between me and my sins the distance that Thou hast put between the east and the west. O God cleanse me from sins as a white robe is cleansed from sin. O God wash me from my sins with snow and water and ice." (*Adhkār al-Nawawī*, p. 21.)

(b) Verb, °athara—noun, °atharah.

Sin as stumbling and falling, a lapse. °Athara is not used in the Qur°ān in this conception. In the Bible the stumbling-block is a familiar idea, and this root is used in the Arabic versions. A perfect example in both the American and the Jesuit Beirut translations of Ezekiel xiv.3 is *ma°tharata ithmihim*, the sin that trips them up. "We ask the forgiveness of God for the slips of the tongue." (*Wird-al-Sattār*, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī.)

(c) Verb *Zalla*. Nouns *zallah* and *zalat*.

Sin as slipping on the path or from the path. (*Zaiḡ* is also used for derivation from the right path.) This is the word commonly used for the sin of Adam echoing Surah ii.38 where Satan caused Adam and Eve to slip. In the Nestorian Church services Satan's constant epithet is: "He who causeth to slip without mud." "I slipped with a slip that debarred me from the (soul) stage I had reached." (*Risālah Qushairiyah*, p. 36.)

SIN AS FLAW, DEFECT, SHAME

Verb, °āb noun, °aib, °uyūb.

This is not a Qurānic word, the root being only once used (Surah xviii.80) and then of the damaging of a ship. But of all the words for sin it is perhaps that which comes nearest to our conception of a fault in character, for it contains the idea of blemish with the sense of shame that goes with that. It is used of physical defect as in Dan. i.4. where the king sought for youths *lā °aiba fihim, ḥusān-al-manẓar*" (without blemish, goodly to look at). This idea of the unsightliness of physical defect seems to have passed over into the spiritual use of the

word, for the prayer-verb invariably used with it is "cover." A synonym for *ʿaib* is *ʿaurā* used of the parts of the body that must be covered, and hence spiritually "cover our shames." This echo of Psa. 1.7 and Psa. ciii.12 is attributed to the Prophet, by Al-Tirmidhī from ʿĀʾishah and Al-Ḥākīm from Abū Imāma. A universal form is the following: "Cover our defects, forgive our sins, cleanse our hearts, enlighten our graves, dilate our breasts, cover our shames, pardon our wickednesses and let us die the death of the righteous." (*Wird-al-Sattār*, and constantly in manuals) "Praise be to God who when I call to Him answers me and covers all my shame when I disobey Him." (*Mukhtaṣar ad-ʿiyat Ramaḍān*.)

SIN AS EXCESS, PRODIGALITY

Verb, *asrafa* — noun, *isrāf* — the sinner is *al-musrif*.

(Cf. Surah xxxix.43. of those who had left Islam). This is the sin of the Prodigal Son in the Gospel, excess and self-squandering, self-ruin. "I have gone too far." (*Majmūʿat-al-Wird-al-ʿAmm*. p. 14.) "If I have ruined myself, yet Thou art generous of Thy mercy to prodigals." (*Duʿā fī yaum-al-ithnain*, ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn.)

SINS OF OMISSION

taqṣīr — falling short: *nisyān* — forgetting: *naqṣān* — doing too little, lacking: *tark* — leaving undone.

"'Thee do we worship.' We worship God by confession, and acknowledge faults and weakness and shortcoming." (*Aurād*, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, p. 8). "We ask forgiveness of the great God for every great sin, sin of premeditation, sin of carelessness, error, forgetfulness, shortcoming, or slips of the tongue." (*Wird-al-Sattār*.)

COUPLETS USED IN CONFESSION OF SIN

<i>tafrīṭ-taqṣīr</i>	Overdoing it. Falling short
<i>mā asrirtu</i> —	What I did in secret and what
<i>mā aʿlantu</i>	I did openly
<i>sirran-jahran</i>	Secretly. Openly.
<i>ḡāhīran-bāṭīnan</i>	Outwardly. Inwardly.
<i>hazalī-jiddī</i>	My lack of seriousness. My over-seriousness.
<i>ʿamadan-sahwan</i>	By premeditation, by carelessness.
<i>tarkan-ʿamalan</i>	By omission, by commission.
<i>ṭauʿiyyan-karhiyyan</i>	Willingly, against my will.

THE FORGIVING LORD

ISTIGHFĀR, FORGIVENESS-SEEKING

RITUAL USE

One of the conditions for a valid prayer-rite according to the Ḥanīfites is: "The saying of 'I ask forgiveness of God' between the two prostrations." (*Shurūṭ-al-Ṣalat*, M. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, p. 27.)

Many traditions are quoted in the manuals to show that this was the Prophet's personal habit: he is sometimes called "The Prince of Forgiveness-seeking," (*sayyid-al-Istighfār*.) "The Apostle of God used to say between the two prostrations: 'My Lord forgive me. My Lord forgive me'"³ (*Adhkār al-Nawawī*, p. 28. *Al-Kilm-al-Ṭayyib*, pp. 40, 41.) or, a much-used form known as the 'seven supplications': "O God, forgive me, and have mercy on me, and sustain me, and guide me aright, and restore me, and preserve me in health and pardon me." Some brief form of *istighfār*, then, even among those who do not make it a condition of validity, is *Sunnah* in the prayer-rite. It is often said just before or just after the final *salām*.

EXPIATION

Forgiveness is to be asked of God but are there any words and works that will ensure it?

Islam has no doctrine of atonement, and modern Muslim writers, in reaction against the teaching of Christianity, indignantly repudiate the whole idea of God's atonement, of the atonement of the Righteous for the unrighteous, as immoral and unworthy. This does not mean, however, that our prayer books do not recognise certain holy words and right acts offered by the sinner himself as having atoning power. We have here to do with the verb *Kaffara*, to cover or conceal, and thus to cover a crime by a meritorious act, to expiate. (*Kafārah* is also the word used in Christian Arabic for the Atonement). *Kaffir* 'annā *sayyidātīnā* — "Cover our sins away from us," is a very frequent prayer. Our manuals quote numerous traditions as to the atoning power of various acts of worship. The *Taṣliyah* is one of these sacramentals. "As for calling down blessing on the Prophet after committing a sin, if he wishes to expiate it, we have already referred to the tradition of Anas: 'Call down blessing upon me, for the blessing will be to you an atonement.'" (*Al-Ḥirz-al-manī'*, Al-Suyūṭī, p. 119.)

The prayer-rite itself is a sacramental atoning for all except mortal sins in the space between the performances of it. (*Iḥyā'* 4.1b). A frequently quoted tradition is: "I heard the Apostle of God say: 'If

³ Other forms of prophetic *istighfār* are quoted. A modern explanation, to make these numerous forgiveness-seekings accord with the doctrine of the sinlessness of the Prophet, is that *istighfār* need not imply that one has sinned. In relation to sins actually committed it means "asking forgiveness," in relation to sins that one *might* commit, it means "asking protection" against them. There is no trace of this idea in the prayer-manuals.

there were in the courtyard of one of you a river in which he was accustomed to wash himself five times daily what do you think that would leave of his uncleanness?' The said: 'Nothing at all.' He said: 'So the five prayer-rites remove sins as water removes dirt.'" Ahmad. I.71. Mālik. *qaṣr-al-Ṣalāti fī-l-safar*, (quoted with his usual freedom as to details by Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* 4.1b.)

So the Jews had explained that the morning and evening sacrifices were intended to atone, the one for the sins of the night and the other for the sins of the day, that Israel might ever be guiltless before God. (*Pesiqta* ed. Buber p. 61, b.)

This expiatory power of holy words is based on Surah xxxiii.98, and the verse is very generally referred to the *dhikr*, for which traditions claim forgiveness-winning power. That the rites on which such reliance is placed may (through a slip or through *ghaflah*, inattention, or some wrong condition of heart) themselves stand in need of forgiveness is felt by the deeper souls and attested by prayers seeking forgiveness for slips in the prayer-rite. (Among the Shīʿahs such a petition is an obligatory part of the rite), and by *Kafārat-al-Majlis*, prayers often offered for forgiveness of any flaw at the end of a *dhikr* gathering. One of the manuals quotes the saying of Rābiʿah: *Istighfārunā yahtāju ilā-l-istighfār*. Our very asking for forgiveness needs a further asking for forgiveness. The following is advice as to penance: "And tradition informs us that pardon of a sin is to be hoped for if it is followed by eight things: Four of them in the heart, to wit, repentance and determination not to repeat the sin, with desire that it shall be rooted out and fear of punishment with hope of pardon. And four in the members, to wit that the man shall pray four *rakaʿas* in the mosque then ask forgiveness of God seventy times and say *Subḥāna rabbī 'l-ʿaẓīm wa bi-ḥamdihi* a hundred times, and give alms, then fast 'for a day.' God Most High said: Good works remove sins." *Tahārat-al-Qulūb*, Al-Dīrīnī, p. 98 (The reference is to Surah ii.115.)

INSURANCE VALUE

The manuals show the natural human tendency to treat forgiveness-seeking phrases as a kind of insurance, especially at night and at the times of the great fasts and feasts. A single example will suffice to show the quality of this tendency of popular religion. It is the recommendation attached to an *istighfār* attributed to ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Sultān, much printed in little popular manuals: "Abd Allāh ibn al-Sultān used to recite this *istighfār* every night of the month of Rajab. Now he was notorious for drinking wine, and adultery and vice and debauchery and failure to observe the prayer-rite and the Fast. And he lived in the time of the Apostle of God. Now when ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Sultān died, no one went to wash his corpse or to say prayers over him, and his funeral was not attended. Then Gabriel descended to the Prophet saying: ʿMuḥammad, your Lord sends you His *salām* and

His special greeting and honour, and says to you. 'Rise up and go to the burial of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Sultān and wash him and shroud him and pray over him.' And the Prophet went walking on tiptoes and descended smiling to the tomb. His Companions wondered at him and on their return asked him: 'Why did you go on tiptoe?' Then the Prophet said: 'I saw such dense crowds of angels that there was no space left except for the tips of my toes.' They said: 'And why were you smiling?' He said: 'I saw a company from Paradise which came to the tomb, and behind it were a thousand houris, in the hand of each of them a flask filled from the reservoir of *al-Kauthar*, and each of them was saying: 'I will arise and give him to drink,' that was the reason of my smile.'

Then the Prophet said: 'Arise, and we will go to his house and ask his wife what he used to do during his life-time.'

Now when they came to the door of the house it was shut, and when they knocked the woman said: 'Who knocks at the door of the house of people of vice and debauchery?' And the Companions said: 'O Mother of Excellence, open to the Prince of Apostles and Seal of the Prophets.' Then she opened the door and they asked about the habits of her husband, and the woman said: 'O Apostle of God, I saw nothing but ugly doings from him, and wine-drinking and vice and debauchery. And I never saw him perform a single prayer-prostration all his life long nor ever fast, but I noticed that when the month of Rajab came he used to rise up and pray this petition, and he said it so often that I learnt it by heart.' And the Prophet said to ʿAlī: 'Write this *istighfār*.' So the woman said it and ʿAlī wrote it down. And the Prophet said: 'He who recites this *istighfār*, or has it in his house or among his belongings to him God appoints the reward of'" (*Al-majmūʿat-al-mubārakah*, ʿAbduh Muḥammad Bābā, pp. 12-14.)

The longing for safety expresses itself also in an effort to make forgiveness-seeking forms that are all-inclusive, covering all manner of sins (not however providing for detailed confessions of any one wrongdoing) and extensive in time, sometimes to cover a whole life-time. And when all is said and done, there is always reliance on the final *shafāʿah* of the Prophet.

IN THEE ALONE IS MY HOPE

Yet men of deep spiritual experience know that ultimately the sinner's only hope is in the God against whom he has sinned. The form that more than any other may be regarded as the *Confiteor* of Islam strikes this note: "I ask forgiveness of Thee and repent towards Thee. I have done wrong: I have wronged myself; then forgive me, for there is none that forgiveth sins save Thee." (*Majmūʿ al-Aurād-*

⁴ Al-Ḥallāj was heard murmuring this form throughout his final trial. (Masignon. *Ḥallāj*. p. 251.)

al-Kabīr (for daily use) and constantly throughout the manuals. The final phrase is based on Surah iii.135.)

“Our God and Lord and Master, if we weep till our eyelashes fall out, and wail till our voices fail us, and stand till our feet shrivel, and bow till our joints are dislocated, and prostrate ourselves till our eyeballs burst, and eat the dust of the earth all our lives long, and make mention of Thee till our tongues fail, we shall not thereby have earned the wiping out of one of our misdeeds.” (Attributed by a tradition with *isnād* to ‘Alī Zain al-‘Ābidīn “in his *munājāt* at night.” *Al-Ṣahīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 165.) “And forgive me what only Thy forgiveness can include, what only Thy pardon can wipe out, what only Thine indulgence and generosity can atone for.” (*Al-Hizb-al-Saifī*.)

“My God, if we consider Thy generosity the marvel is that any perish. If we consider Thy justice the marvel is that any are saved. My God if it is Thy generosity that calls us to account we shall attain to Thy good pleasure. If it be Thy justice that calls us to account we shall not attain even to Thy forgiveness. My God how can I hope in Thee I being I? And how can I help hoping in Thee, Thou being Thou? If we are powerless to avoid a sin which Thou hast written down for us, Thou art powerful to forgive us for it.” (Yaḥya b. Mu‘ādh Rāzī oft quoted prayer of Shī‘ah prayer writers.) Many a prayer in our manuals strikes the same note as that other attributed to Yaḥya ibn Mu‘ādh Rāzī in *Tadḥkirāt-al-Auliya’*. “My God, of Thy mercy forgive my sins. O my Lord, though my sinful deeds make me fear Thy justice, yet the greatness of Thy compassion makes me hope in Thee. O Lord, I have not merited Paradise by my deeds, and I cannot endure the pains of Hell, so I entrust myself simply to Thy grace. If, on the Day of Resurrection I am asked: ‘What hast thou brought unto Me?’ I shall reply: ‘What can one straight from prison, with unkempt hair, and tattered garment, burdened with worldly cares and full of shame, bring unto Thee? Wash me from my sins, give unto me the robe of the redeemed, and in Thy mercy cast me not away from Thy Presence.’” (Translation, Dr. Margaret Smith.)

REASONS FOR THE HOPE OF FORGIVENESS

The man who feels himself unforgivable and yet throws himself upon God for forgiveness must find his reasons for forgiveness not in himself but in God. Where shall they look for it, who have not Calvary before their eyes?

(1) *His arbitrary favour.*

There are who find hope in the incalculable, arbitrary exercise of His favour: “My God, how many good deeds from those whom Thou dost not love have no reward, and how many misdeeds from those whom Thou lovest have no resulting burden. Then make my misdeeds

the misdeeds of one Thou lovest and let not my good deeds be the good deeds of one Thou hatest." (Attributed to Al-Shādhilī in *Al-Mafākhir-al-aliyyah* p. 159.) For such a worshipper there is at least hope of forgiveness because there is a living God, whose living volitions are beyond the calculation of the system-maker.

(2) *His past goodness, and past forgiveness.*

"My Master, my Master, if Thou hast shown mercy to any like me, then be merciful to me. If Thou hast received any like me, then receive me.

O God, Thy pardon of my sin, Thy passing over my errors, Thy covering of the ugliness of my doings, Thy long patience with my many wickednesses whether I did them in error or of set purpose, have made me ask in hope that to which I have no right." *Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, °Alī Zain al-°Ābidīn, p. 125.)

"My God, though my sin has made me fear Thee, yet my confidence in Thee (my good opinion of Thee) came to my rescue. My God, it is as though I stood before Thee with my sinful soul, and the abandon of my trust in Thee overshadowed it, and Thou didst with me after Thy wont, and coveredst me with Thy pardon." (ibid. p. 153.)

(3) *His Nature and His Name.*

The soul longing for forgiveness dwells on those Names of God which promise it, to the exclusion of others in a contrary sense. The Names so used in forgiveness-seeking prayers are *Raḥīm*, *Tawwāb*, *Ghāfir*, *Ghaffār*, *Ghafūr*, *Ḥalīm*, *Karīm*.

"Forgive and show mercy for Thou are the Best of them that show mercy." (*Dalā'il-al-Khairāt*, p. 97, and constantly in the manuals.)

"Verily God is the Wont to Forgive, the One that shows mercy." (A Quranic couplet (x.107 and six other uses) constantly used in forgiveness-seekings.)

"My God, Thou art the Forgiver (*al-Ghāfir*) and I the wicked one. Does any one, save the intensely Forgiving (*Al-Ghaffār*), show mercy to the wicked?" (*Aurād Aḥmad al-Tijānī*, p. 49.)

"My God, wipe out our sins by the influence of Thy Name, the intensely Forgiving. (*Al-Ghaffār*). (*Mirghaniyyah*) (*Majmū°-al-Aurād al-kabīr*.)

"O God, Thou art the Pardoning One (*Al-°Afwu*), the Lover of Pardon, pardon then me."

"Praise be to God who rewards well-doing with well-doing, and evil-doing with generosity and long-suffering (*ḥilm*) and forgiveness." (*Majmū°at-al-Wird-al-°Āmm*, p. 13.)

"My God, Thou art the Generous One (*al-Karīm*) and I the mean object; will anyone show mercy on the mean save the Generous?" (ibid. p. 42.)

In the less spiritual of the prayers there is a touch of irresponsibility in the appeal by such names — He must pardon, *C'est son metier*.

“My God, sins are our nature and pardon is Thine.” (Shī‘ah munājāt), a suggestion of the inevitability of pardon. But the deeper prayers have no hint of this.

(4) *He is great, Forgiveness is easy to Him.*

One of the most constantly used and most characteristic of Muslim forgiveness-seekings, muttered by the peasant woman as she goes about her tasks, as well as by the dervish in his spiritual warfare, is the following: “I ask forgiveness of the Great God for every great sin.” (constantly used throughout the manuals.)

“This is a strain which Jesus prolongs and deepens. He more than anyone else is sure that there is such a thing as forgiveness, not because it is small, but because it is great and father-like.”⁵ The thought of God’s greatness, however, leads to a certain moral shallowness in some forgiveness-seeking prayers that are unable, without the revelation that ‘His nature and His name is love’ to attribute any moral cost to God’s forgiveness.

“I ask Thee everything, O Lord, by Thy power over everything, till Thou dost not hold me responsible for anything; O Thou in whose Hand is the empire over everything.” (*Al-Ḥizb-al-Kabīr*, Qādirīyah.)

“This prayer is said to have been taught by *Sufyān al-Thaurī* to Aḥmad b. Hanbal, who certainly used it in no light spirit. A vision is recorded of M. b. Khazīma who saw Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal after his death and learned that God had commanded his use of this prayer.” (*Ṭahārat-al-Qulūb*, Al-Dīrīnī, p. 234.)

“My God, my sins do not harm Thee and Thy pardon does not impoverish Thee. Then forgive me what does not harm Thee and give me what Thou wilt not miss.” (*Munājāt*, *Al-Ṣaḥīfat al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 234.)

“His sins, great though they were, are nothing in comparison to the wideness of the mercy of the Most High and the greatness of His generosity. If He will, He can forgive them in less than the twinkling of an eye.” (*Al-Faḥḥ-al-Rabbānī*, M. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasanain, p. 26.)

(5) *Because of His declared readiness to forgive.*

He loves to forgive. It is not on Quranic texts that they base this confidence so much as on an oft-quoted tradition. “Had you not sinned and asked forgiveness, God would have brought another people that sinned and asked forgiveness, so that He might forgive them.” (*Majmū‘-al-Aurād al-kabīr* p. 7. Mirghaniyyah.)

Other traditions also are used to the same effect. “O people of love, does not God the Truth shine forth at the time of the night vigil and cry: ‘Is there any repentant one that I may relent towards him? Is there any forgiveness-seeker that I may forgive him his sins in their entirety? Is there any seeker of gifts, that I may abound

⁵ H. R. Mackintosh. *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, p. 12.

towards him in graces and bestowals?" (‘*Aqīdah-saniyyah* of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.)

The confidence is based also on the knowledge that forgiveness has been part of the experience of saints: “Muḥyī b. Mu‘ādh said: ‘If pardon were not above all dear to God he would not have submitted the people whom He honours most to the trial of sinning.’” *Al-Mukhtārāt al-Husnā fī faḍli wa aḥkāmi Ramaḍān*, p. 25.

VERBS OF FORGIVING IN THE MANUALS

Besides the very common *ghafara lī*⁶ (nouns *ghufrān* and *maghfirah*), ‘*afā* (noun ‘*afū*) to efface and so to forgive and *kaffara* and *satara* which have already been noted, the following may be remarked: *maḥaqa* to obliterate and make the traces disappear:

“Forgive me what nothing can obliterate save Thy pardon.” (*Aurād Aḥmad al-Tijānī* p. 29.)

maḥā to erase:

“Erase our misdoings from the book of the wicked” (*Wird-al-Saḥr*, Shādhiliyyah.)

aqāla to rescind. The verb generally used with ‘*atharāt*.

samaḥa lī to be indulgent, clement and to accord pardon. “Pardon and let off a debtor.” (*Al-qaṣīdat-al-Mīmīyyah*, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī.)

tajāwaza ‘an to pass over, overlook. “My God, Thou hast commanded us to overlook (the wrong done by) the evil-doer, overlook then our wrongdoings with Thy beautiful generosity.” *Du‘ā’ nuṣfī Sha‘bān*.

ṣafaḥa ‘an to turn away from. “Thou hast enjoined us to excuse sinners (against us) and Thou Thyself art the most generous of excusers.” *Al-munājāt-al-Injīliyyat-al-kubrā. Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah* p. 195.

The following metaphors of pardon are also used:

To break the chains of sin: “O God, loosen the fetters of my disobedience. My God, we are the captives, set us free, then, from our chains.” (*Ḥizb-al-Barr*, Al-Shādhilī.)

To dissolve sin: “God melted away his sins as salt melts in water.” (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani.)

To clothe with pardon, grace etc., a very common metaphor. Compare the “Wedding Garment” in the New Testament. (The sinner): “He who is naked of the robe of piety.” (*Nafḥ-al-Ṭīb*, p. 8.)

(The forgiven one): “And He will robe him on the Resurrection Day with forgiveness.” (*Al Majmū‘at-al-Mubārakah*, ‘Abduh M. Bābā, p. 3.)

⁶ It is perhaps not fanciful to see some significance in the preposition. It is the *sins* which are forgiven “to” the person. This may a little have dimmed the sense that the whole person, not only each several wrong action, stands in need of Divine forgiveness.

FORGIVENESS-SEEKING FOR OTHERS

The forgiveness-seeker stands before his Lord as a member of a family and of the brotherhood of Islam. This is not forgotten; very many forgiveness-seeking forms include the parents of the speaker⁷ (Al-Bakrī enlarges the prayer for parents to *Aṣḥāb-al-Ḥuqūq* 'alaiyya, those who have claims upon me). The whole community, "men and women, living and dead" (the latter sometimes described as "those who preceded us in the faith) may be included, while the dervish orders make special mention of their shaikhs and leaders, and sometimes of their fellow-members under the phrase "our brothers in God." The following is a wide form: "Forgive us and our fathers and our mothers and our friends and comrades and those that love us and our shaikhs and the shaikhs of our shaikhs, and our teachers, and those who had a favour to us, and those who enjoined us to pray for them and those whom we so enjoined and those blessed people of piety who have passed to Thee by death." (*Faṭḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. 'Uthmān al-Mirghanī.)

There are times and seasons when such general forgiveness-seekings are enjoined, as for instance on the last night of the Pilgrimage month. But the greatest of all opportunities for intercession is the pilgrimage itself. "Muḥammad, one of whose petitions was: 'O God, forgive the (Mecca) pilgrims and forgive those for whom the pilgrims ask forgiveness.'" (*Al-Durr al-fā'iḳ* Al-Bakrī.)

This comes to a head on the Night and the Day of 'Arafāt. A British Muslim who made the pilgrimage thus describes the scene on that night, when he left his tent shortly after midnight: "As I walked along in the direction of the Holy Mountain, I found a great many pilgrims engaged in calling out the names of such of their absent friends as had begged to be remembered on the night of 'Arafāt. The Prophet recommended his followers to perform this act of remembrance and said that whosoever among them should thus create seventy pilgrims by proxy would be rewarded with seventy palaces in the world to come and the praises of seventy thousand angels. Imagine then with what zeal and devotion my fellow-pilgrims lifted up their voices. After each name loud cries of: 'Here I am, O Allāh' (*labbayka*) were uttered by one and all." (*With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, Ḥajjī Khān.)

A NORTH-AFRICAN HYMN OF FORGIVENESS-SEEKING

We close with an example of the popular verse, only to be compared with evangelistic hymns in Christendom, so common in many of the

⁷ Frequently with the phrase added: "as they fostered me when I was little" (Surah xviii.24) basic for prayers on behalf of parents. In the Shī'ah *namāz* the petition for parents is an integral part of the rite. The inclusion of women (*al-muslimāt*) in the prayer for forgiveness is referred to a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās. (*Ibn Abī Shaiba and 'Abd al-Razzāq, Al-Ḥirz-al-manī'* p. 28).

orders (particularly the Shādhiliyyah and the Mirghaniyyah), and widespread, especially throughout North Africa. Our example is from a book unattached to any order:

“With Thy Beautiful Names have I opened my petitioning,
 and from Thee besought pardon: grant me my suit.
 My God we are caught in the sea of our blemishes,
 Offences and crimes are piled up on every side.
 And Thou art forgiver of every sinful action
 Save only *Kufr* and *ishrāk* of terrible results.
 And we know that God is the Unique, the Creator
 whose favours mount up beyond the counting of a reckoner.
 And therefore have we held out our hands towards our Lord,
 at the door of the Pardoner, eraser of blemishes.
 In Thee, generous Lord, we hope, that Thou wilt grant
 repentance
 Sufficing to erase the Recording Angel’s script;
 And do Thou in everything grant us sincerity,
 and do Thou grant Thy succour to neighbour and to friend.
 And grant to an obedient one ⁸ a lust-driven rebel,
 and cause that obedient one to intercede for him.
 O Merciful, grant us our hopes and our petitioning
 Thou generous in goodness to rebel and penitent.

Muḥammad ibn al-Shāhid al-Jazā’irī,
 in *Majmūc al-qaṣā'id wa-l-ad'iyah*.

Istanbul, Turkey

CONSTANCE E. PADWICK

⁸ The reference is to Muhammad.

RAMAḌĀN PRAYERS

It is often, and truly, remarked that the academic study of religion is an abstraction that leaves very much behind. Faiths are not only, or primarily, sets of propositions capable of intellectual analysis and review. They are emotional and spiritual wholes in which the soul of the religious man finds his home, his familiar world of belonging and expression. His at-home-ness there is much more than conceptual. It is total and personal. This remains true even where the spirit of secularity or the sheer preoccupations of 20th century life have made deep inroads into men's spiritual heritage and habitat. Just as what we know as 'religion' only exists in 'religions', so what we know as 'Islam' only exists in particular Muslims, and does so, not merely as a formal creed, but as an intimate reality.

All the more reason, then, and wisdom, is striving to find and sense Islam in the devotion of the Muslim. Theology is best known in doxology, and faith when it prays. *The Muslim World*, Vol. xlv, No. 3, July, 1955, pp. 267-280, presented a selection of "Pilgrimage Prayers" in translation. In the same sequence there follows here a translation of pp. 1-90 of a small Shī'ah manual of Ramaḍān Prayers. It was published in Sidon, Lebanon, in 1349 A.H. (1930 A.D.) and bears the title: *Mukhtaṣar Ad'iyat Ramaḍān*, Maṭba'at al-'Irfān, Ṣaida. Though there is some repetition in the sequence of prayers it was thought wiser to let them stand in their original form that the reader might the better appreciate the whole feel and thought of the text, its emphases and preoccupations. For this reason the temptation to abbreviate was resisted except at the points indicated near the end of the text. After the first few occurrences the *Taṣliyah*, or calling down of blessing upon the Prophet, has been indicated by the phrase: "Send down etc..." This for reasons of space. Otherwise the petitions are rendered as they stand, though, in view of this, space does not allow an adequate notation of points of interest. The initiated reader will sense these for himself and others may be grateful for the disencumbered nature of the translation. It should of course be borne in mind that the manual is a Shī'ah document and therefore reflects Shī'ah doctrine and attitudes. It is offered here as a modest means to the outsider's penetration in measure into the meanings and aspirations of the Muslim's "blessed month." It must remain a Christian ambition to master the terminology of Muslim devotion the better to serve the communication of Christ. Directions or rubrics are indicated by italics.

THE PRAYERS

In the name of God, the merciful Lord of mercy. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. Praise and blessing be upon Muḥammad and his people, noble and blessed.

These are the more important prayers for the blessed month published with vowelled letters so that the benefit of them may be the more widespread. And may God prosper our purpose. In the name of God, the merciful Lord of mercy.

NIGHT PRAYERS

Opening Petition: to be recited each night of Ramaḍān.

O God, I begin my adoration with the praise of Thee, for Thine it is by Thy gifts to direct me in the right way. I am truly persuaded that Thou art the most merciful in all that relates to pardon and forgiveness, and the most fearful of punishers when it comes to retribution and requital of evil. Thou art most exalted in splendor and majesty.

O God, Thou hast permitted me to call upon Thee and to make request of Thee. Then hear, O Thou Hearer, my praise. O most merciful, attend unto my prayer. Forgive my fault, O Thou pardoning One. How many griefs, O God, hast Thou freed me from; how many cares hast Thou banished; how many evils hast Thou brought to nought; how many mercies hast Thou bestowed; what links of affliction hast Thou broken.

Praise be to God, taking neither partner nor son, with whom there is no fellow in sovereignty and no patron condescending to Him. Magnify Him truly. Praise be to Him for all that demands He should be praised, for all His benefits. Praise be to God, Whom none can resist in His sovereignty and none contest in His authority. Praise be to God, alone in His creating and unapproached in His exaltedness. Praise be to God, whose command is manifested in His creation, Whose honor is evident in grace and Whose glory is seen in the outstretched hand of goodness: He Whose storehouses never fail, Whom excess of giving cannot enrich save in graciousness and splendor. For He is the allpowerful provider.

O God, I seek of Thee a very little out of what is so vast — though my need thereof is great indeed, while Thou, without it, art rich from of old. With me it is a great thing but for Thee it is a simple trifle. O God [it is] Thy pardon for my transgression, Thy forbearance for my sin, Thy mercy for my wrongdoing, Thy covering of my unworthy deeds, Thy indulgence for my multiplied iniquity, whether done in error or knowingly. Let me have boldness in beseeching Thee for what I have no right to seek from Thee, Who hast bestowed upon me Thy mercy and shown to me Thy power and hast caused me to know Thy attentiveness unto me.

Here I am taking upon me to call upon Thee believingly. Unafraid I pray unto Thee, awaiting Thy favor, looking unto Thee in respect of those things which I have purposed. And if they have been too slow for me and I have been discontented with Thee in my ignorance,

what seemed slow to me was truly better for me, as seen in the light of Thy knowledge of the issue of things.

I know no gracious patron more patient with an unworthy servant than Thou hast been with me, O Lord. Thou callest and I, replying, make Thee my Lord. Thou dost endear Thyself unto me even though I make myself hateful unto Thee. Thou comest unto me in love and, as if I were weary of Thee, I do not respond unto Thee. Yet all that has not prevented Thy having mercy upon me, nor from being gracious unto me and favoring me with Thy kindly goodness. Then forgive Thine ignorant servant and be kindly unto him, according to Thy tender goodness, O Thou gracious and compassionate.

Praise be to God, sovereign Lord, author of the universe, Who raisest the winds and orderest the morning, Who art worshipped in religion and Lord of the worlds. Praise be to God for His forbearance when He knows all. Praise be to God for His pardon though He be all powerful. Praise be to God for His long suffering in displeasure, though He is well able to do all He chooses. Praise be to God, Lord of creation, source of all livelihood, Who orders the morning, Lord of majesty and honor, of grace and beneficence, He Who is so far that He may not be seen and so near that He witnesses the secret things. Blessed be He and for ever exalted.

Praise be to God, He has no competitor to equal Him and no peer to compare with Him, and no helper to aid Him. With His might He subdues the mighty and by His greatness the great are humbled.¹ Whatever He wills, by His power He attains. Praise be to God Who hearkens unto me when I call upon Him, covers my unworthiness when I have been rebellious and magnifies His grace upon me: I will not more transgress. How many a joyous gift has He bestowed upon me, against how many a great and fearful thing has He protected me, how many a delightful pleasure has He shown me. I will sing unto His praise and make mention of Him in thanksgiving.

Praise be to God Whose veil is never rent, whose door is never barred, Who repels none who seek Him, nor disappoints their hope. Praise be to God Who preserves those who fear Him, delivers the faithful and the welldoers, lifts up those that are despised and sets down the arrogant, Who causes things to perish and replaces them by others. Praise be to God Who destroys the mighty and brings the ungodly to an end, Who lays hold of the fugitives and punishes the reprobates. He it is unto Whom the pleaders cry aloud, He is the place of the petitioners' need and the reliance of believers.

Praise be to God in awe of Whom the heavens thunder with their inhabitants, while the earth and her habitable hamlets quake and the

¹ It may be interesting to note here the strange identity of thought between this paragraph and the next with the *Magnificat* in the New Testament. "He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble and meek." But it would be idle to speculate on the source of the likeness.

seas rage with all that swims within them. Praise be to God, Who creates and was not created, Who sustains and was not sustained, Who nourishes and yet was not nourished, Who brings the living to death and the dead to life. He is the living One, Who dies not. In His hand is good and He is mighty over all.

O Lord, send down blessing upon Muḥammad, Thy servant, Thy messenger, Thy faithful, chosen and beloved one, the choicest of Thy creation who holds Thy secret and makes known Thy message. He is most beautiful, perfect, sagacious, honorable, pure and exalted. Send down blessings, more than Thou hast blessed or mercied or favored or greeted any other of Thy servants, Thy prophets and apostles, Thy chosen ones, the gracious among Thy creation.

O God send down blessing upon ʿAlī, commander of the believers and appointed one of the apostle of the Lord of the worlds, Thy servant and Thy protegé, the brother of Thy messenger and the manifest sign to Thy creation, Thy great token, Thy glorious proclamation and Thy straight path.

Send down blessing also upon Fāṭimah, his pure companion, the most honorable lady, queen of the worlds and send down blessing upon the two grandsons of mercy, the two Imāms of true guidance, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the two lords of the youth of the people of Paradise, from among the whole creation.

Send down blessing upon the Imāms of the Muslims [Here are recited the names of eight Imāms following Ḥusain.] and the successor Al-Mahdi who are Thy signs upon Thy servants and faithful ones in Thy realm. Send down blessing, O Lord, plentifully and perpetually and bless the trustee of Thy command, the one who is the hope of men, the just one, the expected. Surround him with Thy protecting angels who draw near unto Thee and aid him with Thy holy spirit, O Thou Lord of the worlds.²

O God, let him be one calling to Thy book and performing Thy religion. Grant him to succeed in the earth, just as Thou didst bring into the succession those who preceded him. Establish unto him his religion in which Thou hast made him to find joy. Grant him security instead of fear, that he may worship Thee and never associate with Thee anything. O God, make him strong and a means to strength. Grant him victory and make him to be victorious. Bring him through triumphantly, grant him a ready and manifest conquest and bestow upon him victorious authority. O God, make manifest through him

² The reference is to the hidden Imām, for whose appearance Shīʿahs look at the end of time to inaugurate the judgement. The manual thus belongs to the Twelvers among the Shīʿahs who hold to a succession of twelve Imāms from ʿAlī, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, to Muḥammad al-Mahdī successor of the last Imām here named, i.e. Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī. Theories have differed widely as to the precise situation following on the death of this Ḥasan and the status, past and to be, of the Mahdi who followed him.

Thy religion and the path of Thy prophet, so that he may not conceal aught of Thy truth, out of fear of any within Thy creation.

O God, our desire is unto Thee, that Thou wilt grant unto us a gracious government by means whereof Thou mayest bring strength to Islam and its people and bring low hypocrisy and the hypocrite. Grant us, therein, to be among those who are called to Thy obedience, leaders in Thy way, that Thou mayest enrich us therein with the good things of this world and the next.

O God, whatsoever of the truth Thou hast caused us to know, lay it upon us as a charge and where-ever we have come short of it, bring us unto it. O God, by the same truth, order our disorder, repair our fragmentations and reconcile our disunity. Increase, thereby, that in which we have little, and strengthen our abased condition, enrich our poverty, settle our debts, make good our privations, provide for our destitution, make easy our difficulties and thereby also cause our countenances to be radiant. Loosen our captivity, prosper our petitions, make good in fulfilment our pledges and hear our prayers. Grant unto us our request and cause us to attain our hopes both here and hereafter. Bestow upon us, O Lord, beyond our deserving, for Thou art the beneficence of the seekers and the most bountiful of bestowers. Heal our hearts thereby and take away their wrath. Guide us unto the truth which is therein brought forth by Thy will. For Thou guidest whom Thou wilt into a straight path. Grant us victory thereby, over Thy enemy and ours, O Thou God of truth. Amen.

O God, I complain unto Thee of the absence of our prophet, the withdrawness from us of our leader, the number of our enemy, the fewness of our numbers, the intensity of the plots against us and the way in which the times seem to be against us. Send down blessing upon Muḥammad and his people. Aid us against all these things with speedy victory from Thyself, by a triumph Thou shalt bring to pass, by the authority of truth manifested by Thee and by the mercy where-with Thou wilt cause us to be prospered and by the strength with which Thou wilt clothe us through Thy compassion, Thou most merciful of all.

Pray also this Prayer:

O God, I ask of Thee, in Thy decree and determining within the irreversible command, to bring it about by Thy wise ordering, as something that will neither be revoked nor changed, that Thou write me among the pilgrims to Thy house, the sacred and inviolable. Thankful is their pilgrimage: unto forgiveness is their endeavor, their misdeeds and iniquities being pardoned them. Grant also within Thy decree and determination, the lengthening of my years, in blessedness, mercy and enlarging favor. Render me among those through whom Thou makest Thy religion victorious and do not let me be supplanted

by another. Send down blessing, O God, upon Muḥammad and all his people.

Pray also this Prayer:

O my God, the petitioners stand before Thy gate and the needy seek refuge in Thy courts. The ship of the wretched stands on the shore of the ocean of Thy grace and goodness, seeking passage into the presence of Thy mercy and compassion. O my God, if, in this blessed month, Thou forgivest only those whose fasting and performance therein is right, who will take the part of the transgressor in his defaulting, when he perishes in the sea of his transgressions and sins? O my God, if Thou art merciful only towards the obedient, who will take the part of the rebellious? If Thou receivest only those who have done well, what then of those who have fallen short?

O my God, those who fast have surely gained, the faithful doers triumph and the sincere are delivered. But we, Thy guilty servants, have mercy upon us out of Thy compassion. Liberate us from damnation by Thy pardon, forgive us our trespasses and with us the rest of the believers, men and women, through Thy mercy, O Thou most faithful. Send down blessing, O God, upon Muḥammad and his people.

Pray also this Prayer:

O God, by Thy mercy towards those who do rightly, bring us in and exalt us among the inhabitants of heaven. Grant us to drink from a cup of the celestial fountain: grant us marriage with the fair-eyed ones and let us be served by the immortal ones who are like unto hidden pearls. Feed us with the flesh of birds and with the fruits of Paradise. Clothe us with garments of brocade, silk and gold embroidery. Grant us the blessings of the night of power and of pilgrimage to Thy house. Grant us to fight, with him who is Thy representative, in the path of Thy cause. Hearken unto us in what is worthy in our petitions and prayers. O Thou Creator, hear and answer us and when Thou gatherest all together, the first and the last, on the day of resurrection, then have mercy upon us. Write down for us a release from the fire and safe keeping from torment. Cause us not to fall into hell and cut us not off in retribution and damnation from Thee. Feed us not from the bitter Zaqqūm and Ḍarī^c.³ Let us not be among the devils nor make us to be cast upon our faces in the fire, nor clothed in the garments of fire and of the Qaṭīrān.⁴ Deliver (us), O God,

³ Al-Zaqqūm is the bitter tree of Hell which bears appropriately galling fruit (Surah Ivi.52). Al-Ḍarī^c no animal will eat: it is a foul, stunted growth, the symbol of frustration and despair, so contrasted with the luscious fruit bearing trees of Paradise.

⁴ The original is "Sarābīl al-qaṭīrān"—"shirts(?) of resinous pitch." Qaṭīrān signifies a brown, viscous liquid, derived from trees and highly combustible. The sense of the petition is clear—escape from a fiery damnation. (cf. Surah xiv.49)

from every evil thing, O Thou Who truly art God alone. There is none save Thee. Amen.

Pray also this Prayer:

I seek refuge in the majesty of Thy gracious countenance. May this month of Ramaḍān not pass, nor the dawn of this night of mine break, while Thou hast before Thee any deed or guilt of mine for which Thou dost requite me.

PRAYERS FOR THE LAST TEN NIGHTS OF RAMAḌĀN

(i) O God send down blessings upon Muḥammad and his people. Grant or apportion unto me a vision which will close up for me the door of ignorance. Bestow upon me guidance away from every error; wealth that will bar the door to all poverty; strength whereby Thou wilt remove from me all weakness; power whereby Thou wilt ennoble me above all unworthiness. Grant me also the exaltation by which I may be lifted above humiliation; the security to repel from me every fear; mercy whereby to be defended from all calamity; knowledge to open unto me all certainty; and certainty to banish all doubt. Grant me that prayer by which Thou mayest extend unto me, on this night of Ramaḍān and at this hour, a gracious answer, O Thou Who art kindly. Give me that awe whereby Thou wilt bring me all mercy, and a protecting virtue between me and my transgressions, so that I may prosper thereby and be among those who enjoy security with Thee, by Thy mercy, O Thou most merciful.

(ii) O Thou aid of those who seek refuge, send down blessing upon Muḥammad and the people of Muḥammad. Be unto me a fortress and a sure haven, O Thou shelter of those who have recourse unto Thee. Send down blessing upon Muḥammad and the people of Muḥammad. Be unto me a shelter and a succor and a helper, O Thou Who comest to the aid of those who cry unto Thee in need. Send down etc.... Be unto me a hiding place and a champion, O Thou Lord of the believers. Send down etc.... Be Thou unto me a sovereign, O Thou Who savest the believers from overwhelming sorrows. Send down etc.... Aid my sorrow and cheer my grief, make me glad in this great month with a happiness that will have no sequel of wretchedness for me, O Thou most merciful.

(iii) O God, extend my years, enlarge my livelihood, make healthy my frame, bring to pass my hope. If I have been written down among the wretched, blot out my place with the wretched and write me down among the blessed. For Thou annihilatest what Thou wilt and what Thou wilt Thou establishest. With Thee is the Mother of the Book (the dossier of decrees?). O God, upon Thee do I rely in my need this night. From Thee I have accepted my poverty and lowliness that the night may enlarge me, through Thy mercy and Thy pardon. I have

more hope in Thy mercy than I have in what I do. For Thy forgiveness and Thy compassion are more ample than my transgressions. Do Thou supply my every need as is good for me and acceptable unto Thee, by virtue of Thine ability so to do, seeing it is so easy for Thee. For verily I shall find no good whatsoever save from Thee. None other than Thou will ever rid me of evil. My hope for my religious duty-done, for my place in this world and the next, for the day of my destitution and abasement and the day I lie in the grave, and people are sundered from me, is not in what I have done. My hope is none other save Thou, O Lord of the worlds.

(iv) O God, O my Lord, I beseech Thee, as one who is poor and needy, who fears and supplicates Thee, I beseech Thee my Lord, to send down blessing upon Muḥammad and his people and to protect me from disgrace in this world and from retribution in the next, to double unto me that which I do this night and during this month. Have mercy upon my dwelling place and protect me from the punishment of those things which Thou hast reckoned against me, the things which are concealed from Thy servant and which Thou, of Thy mercy towards me, hast veiled from me, delivering me from their shame and disgrace and reproach in this transitory world. Unto Thee be praise for this mercy. In every circumstance, I beseech Thee, O Lord, to send down blessing upon Muḥammad and his people and to fulfill upon me Thy grace, under the protecting shield thereof, in the world to come. Save me from shame and disgrace by Thy favor unto me, O Thou of all most merciful.

(v) O God, I pray Thee to make complete according to my finest hopes the reward of Thy mercy. Rid me of all that is evil. Verily I cannot ward off the things I must beware of, save by Thee. Indeed I have come to be like a mortgaged man by the things which I have done and the disposition rests in Thy hands. There is no suppliant more beggarly than I. So send down blessing upon Muḥammad and the people of Muḥammad and pardon me my wrongdoing, my ignorance, my deserts, my follies and every transgression that I have committed. Cause me to attain my inheritance without toilsome obstacles. Do not let me perish in body or soul in seeking anything that is not decreed for me, O Thou of all most merciful.

(vi) O God Thou hast warned peoples by the mouth of Thy prophet (may the blessing of God be upon him and his people). Thou didst say: "Say: 'Call upon those whom ye claim to be gods beside Him, they are powerless to deliver you from harm or to turn it aside.'" [Surah xvii.58] O Thou Who alone art able to turn away evil from us and avert it send down blessing upon Muḥammad and his people. Alert me to anything that may harm me and avert it from me. During

this great month cause me to pass from the shame of transgression to the strength of obedience, O Thou of all the most merciful.

(vii) O God, grant me to be preserved from the house of evil and selfishness unto the abode of immortality. Grant me a readiness for death before the time arrives. O God, I beseech Thee and call upon Thee solemnly by every name of Thine that any of Thy creatures have ever named Thee by, or by which, in the knowledge of the unseen as it is with Thee, Thou hast ever been invoked. I call upon Thee by the greatest name that is most truly Thine, that Thou answer him who thereby calls upon Thee. Send down etc.... and make me happy this night with a happiness that hereafter I shall never find turned to wretchedness, O Thou of all most merciful.

(viii) O God, I pray Thee to send down etc.... and to grant unto me a reverent heart, a sincere tongue, and a patient flesh and add the reward of Paradise thereto, O Thou of all the most merciful.

(ix) Enrich me O Lord with an ample inheritance by Thy majesty and inviolability. Grant me soberness of body and pleasure. Relieve me of all stress and strain. Let not my enemy rejoice over me. Make the night of power to be a blessing unto me, even as one of thy creation saw it, let it be blessed to me as Thou didst bless it to him, Muḥammad and his people. Upon him and them be peace. [Here follows a directive for the re-iteration of petition.]

(x) O God, Lord of the month of Ramaḍān and sender down of the Qurʾān, this month of Ramaḍān is at its end. O Lord I seek refuge in Thy gracious countenance that the dawn beyond this night may not break nor this month of Ramaḍān pass with any guilt or transgression, for which Thou wouldest punish me on the day I meet Thee, unforgiven by Thee through Thy kindness and goodness, O Thou most merciful. O God, send down etc.... for Thou art glorious, worthy of praise.

PRAYERS AT THE DAY-BREAK

Pray this prayer which is the prayer of Invocation.

O God, I call upon Thee by Thy majesty at its most radiant, for every splendor of Thine is truly splendid; O God, I call upon Thee by Thy entire glory; O God, I call upon Thee by Thy beauty at its most beautiful; O God, I call upon Thee by Thy complete beauty. [This formula is repeated using an almost constant pattern of a descriptive noun, superlatively understood, affirmed to be veritably so and inclusively pleaded, with the following sequence of nouns and the derivative superlatives — majesty: greatness: light: mercy: word: perfection: names: might: will: power: knowledge: speech: honor:

authority: rule: exaltedness: favor and signs. These sentences are here abbreviated into this list for reasons of space. In the center of the sequence is the phrase "All things suppliant unto Thee are beloved of Thee, so O God I call upon Thee by all things suppliant unto Thee."]

O God, I call upon Thee by that which Thou art, in power and greatness, calling upon Thee severally by every element of that power and greatness. I ask Thee these things, O God, in the name of that wherewith Thou dost answer me when I call upon Thee, O God. Do with me... so and so... (*Plead your needs here: it shall indeed be done if God wills.*)

THE LITTLE DAY-BREAK PRAYER

It is well to use this prayer at the day-break after every night in Ramaḍān.

O Thou Who art my stay in trouble, O Thou my companion in distress, my friend in wellbeing, Thou Who aidest me in my desire, Thou art He Who covers my disgrace and secures my fears and annuls my faults. Pardon my sins, O God. I pray Thee for the reverence of faith rather than the reverence of abasement in the fire, O Thou sole God, Thou One alone, Thou eversubsisting, Thou Who begettest not nor art begotten, Thou Who hast no equal, Thou Who givest to him that asks of Thee out of compassion and mercy and initiates good even for him who has not asked it of Thee, out of Thy goodness and in conformity to Thy perpetual grace. Send down blessing upon Muḥammad and the people of his household. Grant me a wide and inclusive mercy, whereby I may attain unto the good of this world and of the world to come.

O God, I seek Thy forgiveness for those things which I have repented of before Thee and then have returned back to them. I seek Thy forgiveness for every good deed wherein I have sought Thy face and things unworthy of Thee mixed themselves in therewith (Or: What was not unto Thee compromised me therein.) Send down etc.... and forgive my wrongdoing and my evil by Thy long suffering and gracious favor, O Thou kindly Lord, Whose suppliant is not disappointed and Whose benefits fail not, Thou Who art exalted above all, Who art so near that there is none nearer than Thee. Send down etc.... and have mercy upon me, O Thou Who dividedst the sea for Moses.

O God, cleanse my heart from hypocrisy and my actions from evil, my tongue from lying, my eye from deceit, for Thou knowest the things that deceive the eye and what men's bosoms hide. O Lord, this is the standing of one who seeks refuge with Thee from the fire, from the danger of the fire, asking Thy succor against the fire. It is the standing (this phrase is repeated after each plea but is not translated here every time) of one who flees unto Thee from the fire acknowledging his sin, confessing his transgression and repenting of his sin unto his

Lord. This is the standing of a poor and despairing soul, of one who fears and pleads for help, of the sorrowful and distressful. It is the standing of the troubled and harassed spirit, of the stranger who is overwhelmed, of the desolate and lonely, of him who can find none to forgive his evildoing save Thou, who has none save Thee to refresh him in tribulation, nor any to strengthen him in weakness save Thou, O gracious God. Let me not burn in the fire after my worship of Thee and my abasement before Thee as one who has no merit of himself. Thine, rather, is the praise, the honor and the goodness that come to me. *Say, as long as one can:* "Have mercy, O Lord, O Lord, O Lord..." *then with a new breath, say:*

For my weakness, the poverty of my powers, the worthlessness of my person, the dissipation of my members, the sickness of my flesh and body, my whole being and my solitariness in the grave, my grief at the least calamity — I beseech Thee O Lord to grant me consolation and blessedness on the day of sorrow and regret. Let my face, O Lord, be white on that day when men's faces are black. Preserve me on the day of awful dread. I ask of Thee gladness on the day when men's hearts and eyes are downcast, gladness at the time when the world is sundered. Praise be to God upon Whom I call. Unto none other do I have recourse. If I did invoke any save He, verily my prayer would fail.

Praise be to God in Whom I hope. My hope is in no other. Were my hope elsewhere it would be denied. Praise be to God Who deals in grace and goodness and bestows beauty and grace. He is the Lord of majesty and honor, Master of all mercy and sovereign over all that is worthy. He fulfills every desire and supplies every need. O God send down etc.... and grant me assurance and a good hope in Thee. Establish what I long for in my heart and cut off any hope of mine that is in any save Thyself, that I look unto none beside Thee and have no confidence outside of Thee, for Thou art kindly in what Thou willest. Deal graciously with me in everything, according to Thy will and pleasure.

O Lord, truly I am weak: torment me not in the fire. O Lord be merciful unto my prayer and my entreaty, unto my fear and low estate, upon my wretchedness and my seeking of refuge and shelter. O Lord, I am too weak to seek the world to come but Thou art of wide compassion. By Thy power, might and riches, I beseech Thee, O Lord, by my very need thereof, to grant me in this year and month of mine, in this day and hour of mine, Thy goodly favor, whereby I may be independent of things right and good given by Thee into the hands of others.

O Lord, Thee it is I implore: unto Thee is my desire: in Thee is my hope. Thou art worthy that it should be so. I have hope in none save Thee: I will have no other confidence, O Thou most merciful. O Lord, I have indeed wronged my soul. Forgive me, therefore, and

have mercy upon me. Pardon me, O Thou Who hearest every voice and gatherest all that passes away, O Thou Who dost recreate souls after death, Whom darkness hides not, Whom no voice can mistake, Whom nothing can preoccupy and distract. Grant unto Muḥammad... the best of his request unto Thee, of what is asked for him and is sought of Thee on his behalf until the day of resurrection.

Grant me health that may prosper my livelihood and seal me with Thy blessing, lest transgressions ruin me. O God, make me glad with the portion I have from Thee that I seek nought of any one. O God send down etc.... and open unto me the storehouses of Thy mercy. Have mercy upon me with an irreversible mercy both in this world and in the world to come. Grant unto me, of Thy wide grace, a sweet and valid blessing, by virtue of which I will hereafter be beholden to none save Thee, causing me to grow thereby in thankfulness. Grant me poverty and destitution unto Thee and in Thee, the capacity to abstain and to withhold from all save Thee, O Thou Who doest well and makest beautiful, Thou fount of goodness and favor, Who reignest and rulest in power. Suffice me with all that is necessary and supply me with good things. Bless me in all my affairs and grant me all things needful.

O God, make easy unto me those things the difficulty of which I fear. It is an easy and ready thing for Thee to do so. Make convenient for me the griefs I am afraid of and dispel the troubles I fear, ridding me of toilsomeness and calamity, O Thou of all the most merciful. Fill my heart with love toward Thee, with awe of Thee and with acceptance of the truth of Thy book, with faith and detachment unto Thee and longing for Thee, Lord of majesty and honor. O God, Thine are the things that are right, bestow them upon me, O God, and as for the consequences that result from those who came before me, let me not be made to bear them. For I have done my duty in hospitality to every guest. I am Thy guest, let my guest-portion this night be Paradise, O Thou Whose it is to bestow Paradise, Thou Lord of forgiveness. There is neither power nor might save in Thee.

ANOTHER PRAYER TO BE RECITED AT DAY-BREAK

(It is said that Ḥasan, son of the beloved, used this as a daybreak prayer.)

O Thou my succor in trouble, my help in adversity, I seek refuge in Thee: of Thee I ask aid: unto Thee do I have recourse and unto none other. Of none else do I ask for rest save of Thee. Do Thou then succor and relieve me. O Thou Who passest over what is slight and pardonest what is grievous, receive of me the little and forgive the great, O Thou merciful pardoner.

O God, I seek of Thee a faith with which my heart may be occupied and a true assurance that I may know nothing will befall me save what Thou hast ordained for me. Make me content with that life Thou hast

determined for me, O Thou most merciful of all, my refuge in my need, Thou my companion in distress, my patron in grace, my succourer in my desire. Thou it is Who coverest my misdeeds and preservest my spirit, Who dost blot out my faults. Forgive me my sin, O Thou most merciful.

PRAYERS OF THE DAYTIME

To be recited every day of Ramaḍān after the prayer of the Prophet, upon whom with his people be peace and blessing.

O God, bring happiness to those in the tombs, make rich every poor man: O God, satisfy with food every hungry: O God, clothe every naked one, settle the debt of every debtor, relieve every distressed one, bring back every stranger. O God, liberate every exile, reform every thing that corrupts the affairs of Muslims. O God, heal all who are sick, supply our poverty from Thy riches, transform our evil case with good of Thine, set us free from debt and enrich us so that we be no more poor, for Thou art mighty unto all things.

Pray also as follows:

O God, this is the month of Ramaḍān in which Thou hast sent down the Qurʾān as a guidance to men — manifest signs of guidance and the Furqān.⁵ This is the month of the fast, the month of performance. This is the month of coming back unto Thee, of repentance, forgiveness and mercy. This is the month of deliverance from the fire and of the gaining of Paradise. In this month is the night of power, which alone is better than a thousand months. O God, send down etc... and make me careful of the fast and its fulfilment. Preserve it unto me and I therein. Aid me also with Thy most gracious help and prosper me therein unto the obedience of Thee and of Thy prophet and Thy favoured ones. In this month let me be free of cares that I may worship Thee and call upon Thee and that I may read Thy book. Give me therein a mighty blessing: make good unto me the issues (of Ramaḍān) and preserve me in repentance. Grant me now health of body; increase me in riches; set a term to the things that trouble me. In this month hearken unto me when I call, that I may attain my hopes and aspirations.

Banish from me drowsiness and sloth, weariness and languor hardness, negligence and heedlessness. Here let me find escape from disease, sickness, trouble, sorrow, obstacles, sins and transgressions. Here banish from me evil, shame, fatigue, calamity, pride and hardship.

Thou art the hearer of prayer. O God send down etc... Defend me

⁵ Al-Furqān: One of the titles the Qurʾān uses of itself, meaning the criterion, that by which all valid distinctions are made, the touchstone of truth. (cf. Surahs ii.181: iii 2 and xxv.1)

from the accursed Satan, his madness and devices, his blasts and enchantments, his whisperings and assaults, his crafts and wiles, his diversions and snares, his deceits and desires, his ambushes and emissaries, his polytheism, partisans and followers, his dissidents, leaders, partners and companions, and all his tricks. O God, send down etc... [Here follow prayers in the sense of the above for a good fast and a prospered pilgrimage.]

Let there be no obstacle between me and those blessings, nor any sickness, distress, strain, trouble, negligence, forgetfulness, but rather mutual concord and fidelity unto Thee and in Thee, following Thy truth and fulfilling Thy covenant and promise according to Thy mercy, O Thou most merciful. Let the best of what Thou decreest for Thy loyal servants be mine this Ramaḍān: bestow upon me mercy and unending forgiveness, health, pardon and compassion, grace that hearkens, release from the fire, the triumph of paradise and the good of both worlds, more than Thou bestowest upon the foremost of Thy servants who draw near unto Thee.

[There follow several pages of re-iterated petition on the same pattern, the translation of which is not here reproduced for reasons of space. The section ends with the following paragraphs.]

Our desire is unto Thee, O God; Thine are the beautiful names and the exalted attributes, the supremacy is Thine the glory and grace. I call upon Thee in the name of the merciful and compassionate. Be pleased on this night, wherein the angels and the spirit came down, to send down blessing etc... and to set my name tonight among the blessed and my spirit among the faithful, my good deeds in the high heavens and let my evil deeds be forgiven. Grant me assurance to rejoice my heart and a faith no doubt can compromise, and satisfaction with my portion from Thee. Bring unto me here and hereafter good things and preserve me from the torment of the fire [repeated.]

Rouse Thine anger this night, for the sake of Muḥammad and the righteous ones, his family. Slay their enemies with might: count their number and leave none upon the face of the earth: never forgive them, O Thou best of Lords, Thou Caliph of the prophets, Thou art the merciful, the original, the glorious, the unmatched, the abiding, the never-negligent, the living, the undying. Every day Thou art at work. Thou art the Caliph of Muḥammad, giving him victory and granting him blessing. I ask Thee to prosper his deputy and successor and him who holds the right among his loyal ones. Grant him and them all victory, O Thou Who art God alone. There is none save Thou. Make me to be with them in this world and the next and may Thy forgiving mercy rest upon all that I will, O Thou most merciful.

VIEWPOINTS IN PAKISTAN II

Having discussed in the earlier article the views on Islam and Islamicity held by Abū-l-‘Alā al-Maudūdī, Sulaimān Nadwī and Muḥammad Shāfi and the Board of Ta‘limāt, as these views were evoked by the crisis of constitutional debate in Pakistan, it is intended here to turn to contemporary Muslim apologetic in the new State. But first a brief synopsis of the views of the last named Muḥammad Shāfi and others on the problems of Communism — always a subject of far reaching implications for any religious apology.

ISLAM AND COMMUNIST THOUGHT

In the manner of all careful orthodoxy, Muḥammad Shāfi teaches that the only valid division of humanity for Muslim thought is that between the Islamic and the un-Islamic. Despite the passionate nationalisms of the present day and their vigour even within the Muslim world, he holds that Islam is essentially a supra-national entity repudiating the distinctions of race among men. “He is it Who created you: some of you are unbelievers and some believers.” (Surah lxiv.2). All Muslims are a single brotherhood. On these grounds alone, the ideological division into votaries of capitalism and Communism cannot be tolerated. He writes: “There was a time when capitalism was considered to be the only economic system worthy of adoption, and it was considered the highest act of merit to hoard wealth by all means fair and foul. The charms of capitalism soon faded away... Reaction began to crystallize into violent opposition. Ultimately Communism was born declaring its mission to be the total abolition of private ownership of property. Today mankind is facing virtual annihilation because of the fierce and fast developing conflict between these two extremist ideologies. But Islam cannot align itself ideologically with either of them, because it is as much opposed to Soviet Communism as to unbridled and interest-fed capitalism and the exploitation of the poor by the rich.”

Apart from natural wealth and the spoil of conquest, all wealth comes into being by man’s labour. Islam permits this private ownership by individuals, provided that the property has been acquired by lawful means. Nevertheless, “any property by which the owner neither benefits himself nor allows anyone else to be benefited” becomes, under Islamic law, liable to confiscation by the state which should manage it and make it productive. Hence nationalization is approved for industry in certain conditions. But the owner is to be compensated i.e. “after balancing the expenditure incurred in its management, the earnings are to be handed to the owner.”

These opinions are important as they express the findings of the Board of Ta‘limāt, at Karachi, and because they are gaining general acceptance among the religious intelligentsia. The Mufti is in some

degree mediating between more liberal schools and Al-Maudūdi's. Since Muḥammad Shāfī deems it necessary to enter into details of an economic character we have an illustration how the 'Ulamā' consider the religious view of life to be all comprehensive. Though he is not a Pakistani, Dr. Muḥammad Yūsuf ud-Din of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, shows by his extensive compilation in two Urdu volumes, entitled *Islām kā Ma'āshī Nazariya*, which he renders into English as "The Economic Doctrine of Islam," the importance which is attached to a Muslim exposition of economics.

We might also refer to the book called "*The Fallacy of Marxism*" in amplification of what the Mufti says about Communism. The author, Dr. Rafī ud-Din aims at the refutation of historical materialism. His book commands the respect of every religious-minded person whether Muslim or not. Indeed the word "Islam" never once occurs throughout the book. It is, nevertheless, a timely warning to young Muslims who consider that the Russian form of Communism provides an acceptable economic organisation, which might be adopted by Muslims without prejudice to their faith or to their Islamic loyalties. The author insists that the economic system of Russian Marxism is "inseparable from the philosophy of Karl Marx; so it is impossible to take one and reject the other... Every aspect of an individual's life is controlled by the single force of his outlook on life in general." Marxism affects not only economics but law, politics, education, ethics, art and even science. The Russian political, ethical and juridical systems are determined by the Marxist philosophy.

An idealism which strives for equal distribution of wealth may be desirable and "part of the urge of human nature to love others." "In order to actuate men with a strong desire for economic equality, we must turn to the source of that desire in the nature of man", which means, "to educate and train the individual in such a way that he is dominated by a strong love of the Creator. This education or training can be obtained only from the higher type of religion." Rafī ud-Din considers that Marx took his idea of economic equality from the teaching and preaching of saints and prophets, and "has by a gross misrepresentation of facts implanted it in an atheistic system of philosophy." "The psychology, which the materialistic world-view of Marx inflicts on his followers, comes into conflict with the desire for economic equality which is really part of the mental outlook of the religious man. Marxism takes away the soul of this desire... It forces economic equality on the individual, but it deprives him of that moral satisfaction which is its only reward... Whatever measure of success Marxism is having in Russia is due to the fact that the Russians have not yet forgotten what they have been taught by religion... The Russian economic system has survived on that very religious sentiment which it is out to crush. But to the extent to which it is crushing that sentiment it is working its own ruin." The Marxist

offers his progress as a means of achieving Justice but Justice is a moral and religious concept.

The author goes on to deal with various aspects of the Marxist philosophy, chiefly to show that it is self-contradictory. It considers that creeds, beliefs and religions are produced by the pressure of economic conditions and that they are false, and yet it preaches its own creed of Marxism as necessary to produce new economic conditions. What guarantee is there that Marxism is not also a false creed like all the others which the Marxist condemns and that it arises from a peculiar set of circumstances in the economic field? Why worry to destroy a creed which will inevitably be subjected to the same economic pressure and be changed accordingly? The fact is that hunger is not the sole creative force. Men are prepared to go hungry for a belief and even to die, if needs be, for it. It is in accordance with human nature that men believe in something higher, and strive after the Good, the Beautiful and the True. If the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is to be maintained, it must be by loyalty to a higher power, the loyalty which the saints and prophets of religion preach and inspire.

There have been older books written on questions at issue between Islam and Communism, and there is hardly anything different written today.¹ In general the ideas on the subject are as follows.

The evils of capitalism are not to be found in Islam. In fact liberal Islam is not often opposed to capitalism. It excuses itself from such a role by asserting that it is only the evil results of capitalism which should be opposed. The tendency is to present Islam as a middle way between two extremes. Still largely mediaeval in its outlook, Islam can hardly be said to have arrived at the stage of modern capitalism, although when confronted with the necessity to form the new state of Pakistan, it was bound to adapt its economy to that of a largely capitalist world partly because it fears the aggressiveness of Communist ideology. It is not without knowledge of the condition of the Russian Colonies of Central Asia. On the Asiatic side the iron curtain does not seem to be a hundred per cent efficient. What the Muslim hears of the ideological struggle there does not tend to his peace of mind. Until forced to the task in the building of Pakistan, Islam has not in the main promoted "big business." It has been famous for its small tradesmen and craftsmen. Class consciousness is not very marked among Muslims and there is fairly easy access of the poor to the houses of the wealthy without their being made to feel that they are out of their proper place. It is claimed that on the whole the laws of inheritance as laid down in the Shari'ah have prevented the centralising of wealth in the hands of a few individuals (although

¹ *vide* Ahmad Pai: *Islam and Communism*, and Kidwā'ī: *Pan-Islamism and Communism*.

there are Muslim millionaires). Indeed people with large families have tried to preserve the family property by, in some cases, creating trusts. Otherwise the property, particularly land, would have been divided and subdivided to the detriment of modern farming techniques and the lowering of the general level of the family's influence. Monopoly is avoided but not the evils of petty-ownership.

The points of similarity between Islam and Communism are sometimes referred to, such as brotherhood, equality, fraternity and internationalism. There are books published in Lahore on these subjects.² Iqbāl attacked the Soviet as atheistical and in his poem *Payām-i-Mashriq* he placed Lenin in Hell. But he relented later when he wrote *Bāl-i-Jibril* to proclaim the sanctity of the Soviet pioneer, most probably not on account of his ideas, but for the almost superhuman energy which he displayed, which Iqbāl so greatly admired wherever he found it and to which he was always exhorting Muslim youth. Words used by a spokesman of the Muslim League some years ago still express the general opinion: "No Muslim is in any doubt about the anti-Muslim and anti-God doctrines of Communism. The abolition of ownership and the denial of God, which are the cardinal principles of Communism, are not only foreign to Islam but definitely anti-Islamic. The whole structure of Islam is built on a firm belief in God and the major portion of the Shari'ah Law relates to the inheritance, distribution and use of private property. Hence a Muslim is religiously bound to resist all forces which tend to contravene these principles³". A much quoted *fatwa* given from Al Azhar in 1948 was to the effect that "one of the fundamentals of Islam is respect for the rights of ownership, inasmuch as everyone is entitled to adopt any of the lawful means or methods of acquiring wealth, and for profitable investment of the same to the extent of his ability and desire. Moreover, the consensus of opinion among the Companions, Legists and Doctors of Canon Law is that a compulsory levy on wealth is limited to those kinds specified by Allah, namely, Zakāt and Kharāj, maintenance of wife and dependents, and occasionally such expenses as for expiation, for the succour of the hungry, for special defence, and police tax in case the funds in the *Bait ul-Māl* (the religious treasury) are not sufficient, as well as for various measures of public importance, the details of which are mentioned in works of Commentary on the Qur'ān (*tafsīr*), the *sunna* and *fiqh*." This is held to countenance the holding of private property while still providing a basis for taxation.

² For instance, *Islām men ḥariyat, masāwāt, ukhuwwat*, by Khwāja 'Ibād Ullāh Akhtar and on Economics of Islam see *Islām ka Ma'āshī Naẓariya* by Maẓhar ud Din Şiddiqi.

³ The Rajah of Salempur, in a political rejoinder to the Nawab of Chatari, when a united party to resist Communism in the United Provinces was proposed by the latter.

MODERN APOLOGETICS AND THE REINTERPRETATION OF ISLAM

Is reinterpretation and the liberalisation of Islam feasible? Orthodox Islam starts with a doctrine of the infallible Qur^{ān}, the *ipsisima verba* of God and so *per se* inerrant and infallible, as a closed canon of truth. From this it is a long way to the variety of interpretations found today. In the Judicial Enquiry into the troubles in March, 1953 in the Punjab there were sharp criticisms of traditional interpretations which result in sectarian disagreements, with the exponents of each school transferring the conviction of infallibility and inerrancy from the original source of Islam to its own interpretation, so giving rise to the most implacable differences. Must Muslims acquiesce in the conclusion: We manifestly differ as to what Islam means, but whatever it means we are committed to it as the absolute and inerrant system of truth! Will it be possible for Islam to let go the doctrine of infallibility or inerrant finality in view of the radical differences of interpretation within Islam? For the former course there is precedent in Islam in its acceptance of doctrine *bilā kayf*. But at most this is but a reverent agnosticism and does not commend itself to minds which demand clear answers and which have been accustomed to an extreme degree of literalism in interpretation.

Can still devout and believing Muslims envisage the possibility of change and development? Muḥammad Iqbāl thought that it was possible. In his *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he anticipated the extension of the exercise of *Ijtihād*, or the principle of energetic devotion to search and decision, on points of religious belief and practice, in contradistinction to the slavish and implicit following of precedent and authority (*Taqīd*). In conservative opinion however *Ijtihād* is the sole prerogative of the four great doctors of the law. Their decisions are accepted as binding, although there is the possibility of choosing between the conclusions they have formulated when they differ. These conclusions are, in the main and for most practical purposes, confined to legal matters and not to doctrinal questions. Freedom to reinterpret might, after the great doctors, Mālik, Shāfi‘ī, Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Ḥanīfah, be claimed by reformers (*mujaddid*) every thousand years. But notwithstanding this, many muftis in issuing legal decisions, confidently advance their own views which are combatted by others in the proportion that they diverge from the traditional consensus. So in the eyes of the modern intelligentsia they are a menace, either because they assume too much authority for personal pronouncements or because they are the instruments of a tyranny of the primitive interpretations which now seem not to be relevant to changed modern conditions. Why, asks the “layman,” should they arrogate the sole rights in this field, especially when the result is seen in mutual anathematisation and violent sectarian squabbles of which West Pakistan has had recent bitter experience.

So many liberals have grown disgusted with unintelligent *mullas* and exasperated by others among them who are really intelligent and who do desire to bring everything to the touchstone of classical learning while possessing very little knowledge of modern science, philosophy and history. This is the theme of *Qurʾān aur ʿIlm i Jadīd* by Dr. Rafī-ud Dīn. In the introduction to this book the author advises the exercise of *Ijtihād* to create an entirely new *fiqh*. Thus some learned Muslims with a Western education and a wider knowledge of the outside world try to present their faith *de novo*. On the whole their attempts seem somewhat premature, since Islamic faith has yet to meet the full force of modern criticism. But driven by this urge to restate Islam the output of literature in West Pakisan is considerable. Its extent may be judged from the following list of titles of books published by the Institute of Islamic Culture in Lahore. By Dr. Khalifa ʿAbd-al-Ḥakim: *Fundamental Human Rights* (pp. 27), *Islamic Ideology* (pp. 323) and part of the Urdu symposium *Islām kī bunyādī Ḥaqīqaten* (Fundamental Truths of Islam) (pp. 233). By Mazhar-ud-Dīn Ṣiddiqi: *Islām and Theocracy*, which is an excursion into the history of the development of the Christian Church, *Women in Islām*, *Islām kā Naẓariya-i-Tārīkh*, The Islamic View of History (pp. 215), *Islām kā Naẓariya i Akhlāq*, the Islamic Theory of Morals (pp. 134) *Islām kā Maʿāshī Naẓariya* Islamic Economic Theory (pp. 109), *Dīn-i-Fiṭrat*, Natural Religion (pp. 107) and part of the above-mentioned symposium. By Khwāja ʿIbādullāh: *Islām men ḥariyat, masāwāt, ukhwawat*, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity in Islam (pp. 66), *Islām aur Ḥuqūq-i-Insānī*, Islam and Human Rights, (pp. 74), *Uṣūl-i-Fiqh-i-Islāmī aur Ḥudūdullāj wa Taʿzirāt*, the Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence and the Penal Code (pp. 155), *Khilāfat-i-Islāmiya*, The Islamic Caliphate, in three parts (pp. 171, 184, 212), *Madhāhib-i-Islam*, on the Muslim sects (pp. 333) and part of the symposium. By Dr. Rafī-ud-Dīn, *The Fallacy of Marxism* (pp. 44), *Islām kā Naẓariya-i-Taʿlīm*, The Islamic View of Education (pp. 70), *Qurʾān aur ʿIlm-i-Jadīd*, The Qurʾān and Modern Science (pp. 556). By Rashīd Akhtar Nawdī: *Tahdhīb wa Tamaddun-i-Islāmī*: Civilisation and Politics of Islam (2 vols. pp. 448 & 608). By Maulana Muḥammad Ḥanīf Nadwī: *Masʿala-i-Ijtihād*, The Question of Ijtihād (pp. 184). B-āMaulāna Jaʿfar Nadwī: *Maqām-i-Sunnat*, The Place of the Sunna (pp. 112). By Maulana Abū Yaḥyā Imām Khān of Nowshera, *Fiqh-i-ʿUmar*, The Jurisprudence of ʿUmar. Taken as a whole these publications form a library of tentative restatements offering much information to any student of tendencies in Islamic thought in West Pakistan today. It is worth noting how often the name "Islam" appears in the titles. Only two have titles not distinctly Islamic. Nothing seems to be beyond the the range of the writers' discussion, whether it is McDougall's social psychology, or Adler, or Freud, Darwin, Marx or Machiavelli. But all must be

related to Islam and all knowledge or theory given an Islamic reference. Starting with the realisation that Islam seems at a halt and incapable of exerting contemporary influence Rafī ud-Dīn goes on to remark that on this account some Muslims consider that the present stagnation is because Islam is not practised, just as Christians say that Christianity is not practised when criticisms are made against the state of Europe. But our author however considers that this is not a cause but a symptom. The real cause is the decline of belief. But why, if Islam is a valid creed and theory of life, should these false Western philosophies exert such an adverse influence? The answer to the question is that a false interpretation of Islam has been maintained and false Western ideas are more attractive.

But why have Muslims wrongly interpreted Islam? The writer thinks that this has happened in two ways. False beliefs have been accepted as true and, as such, they have been incorporated into Islam. It would, however, be possible to deal with these seriatim and they are not wholly the cause of Islam's decline. The more serious cause is that some scientific truths are wrongly considered to be untrue and are rigidly excluded from Islam, whereas all scientific truth is part of Islam. But because the doctors of religion are not acquainted with modern science and view Islam as a closed system, it is impossible to convince them that science which has been discovered since the advent of the Qur'ān, and moreover, discovered by non-Muslims, was all the time implicitly contained in the Qur'ān, and is in accordance with its spirit. To guard against such error are six points for guidance in the task of reinterpreting the Qur'ān: (1) Its true explanation must not be one that contradicts scientific truths but one which will harmonise with them in every age, it being recognised progressively that new truths have been implicit in the Qur'ān. (2) The explanatory ideas must be rationally interrelated and coordinated and not mutually incompatible. (3) The new interpretation will repudiate all false philosophy. (4) It will in its own right presumably constitute a perfect philosophy and provide a true guidance as to man's nature and the important matters concerning it. (5) It will solve the difficulties which scientific ideas raise. (6) It will make men acquainted with the usefulness of the whole system of religious commandment.

Beside this, it is required that there should be a better conception of history that the theories of Spengler, Toynbee, Marx, Hegel etc., presenting an evolutionary system of which Islam will be the perfect example. Some interpretation of the Qur'ān and the Prophet Muḥammad is required which does not conflict with the progressive character of this philosophy implicit in Islam. If this suggests to the critic that the sequence of cause and effect has not that clarity which we would like, it should be noted that the writer takes more than five hundred pages to elaborate this thesis. We cannot do justice to the whole in a small space. But while making this admission it still remains

obvious that the argument is in a circle, and leaves one wondering, as it proceeds, whether it is being maintained that the mind of man is responsible for the Qurʾān or whether the revelation of Islam is responsible for the evolution of thought. Perhaps the writer has in the back of his mind that we must equate *fitrah* with Islam and therefore the ambiguity is explicable, though not satisfactory.

In this apologetic generally the “*nechari*” (a word derived from the English “nature” and signifying the school which identifies “natural religion” with Islam) explanation of Islamic principles has the strongest devotees among the moderns. Islam is natural to man, the function of the Prophet being to purge out perversions due to man’s invention and error, and thus to restore the original and primitive faith, the simple theism and unitarianism, belief in God’s unity and sovereignty. In the beginning it was Sayyid Aḥmad Khān’s lead which was followed. Distinguished alumni of Aligarh University frequently reveal their discipleship to him. In the call to action, however, the inspiration of Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghānī’s anti-Westernism strengthened by Iqbāl is discernible. Aḥmad Khān was not anti-Western but considered the Victorian manner very near perfection and coveted the refurbishing of Islam in its spirit. But Jamāl-al-Dīn pours scorn on the *necharis* and their dabbling in science, in which he thought they were displaying their ignorance.

A great problem before people of any religion today is its relation to science, a matter which is perhaps not pre-occupying Christianity as much today as it did half a century ago. There is a deeper understanding in many quarters on both sides — if we may be allowed to generalise without forgetting, or viewing with complacency, the continuing radical divisions that exist today between some men of religion and some thorough going materialists in the West. On the whole the theologian and religious thinker in the West is less afraid of the destructiveness of scientific practice and theory. It is but recently that Islam has been subjected to scientific and secular criticism which Christianity has borne for so long. Consequently some of Islam’s answers to materialism are still naïve and need to be more adequately informed. In any case, where a reconciliation between natural science and theology is in question, knowledge of both sides is required. The Western-educated Muslim sometimes knows his science and philosophy better than his religion, and without realizing it, advocates a form of religion which has lost some of the distinctive marks of Islam. To argue for theism is to argue in a manner familiar to the Western Christian and in terms which he could often readily accept. Often one feels that Christian apologetics has said already what the Muslim apologist is now saying, and has said it with better force and thoroughness.

⁴ As e.g. *Islām ki Bumyādī Ḥaqīqaten*.

Illustrations of the modern argument in defence of Islam can be found in Dr. 'Abd-al-Ḥakīm's *Islamic Ideology*. The very title is interesting and quotations we have already given from other books show that "ideology" has become a fashionable word. Some writers in Urdu think that it refers to ideals and some to ideas. Dr. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm's avowed object is "to elucidate the basic concepts of Islam." He proceeds to do this as follows.

The first man was a Muslim, created with infinite potentialities of assimilating the Divine attributes. Among these the author and other writers would include not only the beautiful attributes of God, (*jamāl*) but also the terrible attributes such as wrath etc. (*jalāl*). This is to fit man to be God's vicegerent in the earth. Man's primitive state was "a Paradisial (*sic*) condition in which he lived the life of Nature." "The transition from nature was a shock of maladjustment... The Qur^{ān} does not... base itself on the Fall. Sin or Grace, Virtue or Vice are not inherited." Man's responsible existence started with his freewill and endowment with knowledge, but "it was ignorance that drove him out of Paradise." Elaborating rather than translating a tradition, (at least by the italicised words), he quotes that the prophet said: "Man is born with *divinely-gifted* nature (*fiṭrah* only in the original). It is his parents who make him a Jew or Christian or Magian," adding; "*He brings no creed with him,*" which is not in the text of *Muslim: Kitāb-al-Qadar*, 22, whence it is supposed to come. He then proceeds to use the addition as his text for exposition. "Islam is not a creed in this sense; it is the religion of Nature." In his peculiarly constructed argument, he is at times contradictory. From Adam onwards all genuine religious teachers have professed one and the same religion i.e. Islam, which means Peace and Surrender to the will of God. Islam is not named after its founder like Christianity is, but "being the religion of Harmony, *promulgated the doctrine of the unity of religions*" which "covers only those creeds in which the oneness of God was realized."... "The Qur^{ān} says that Abraham was not a Jew, and Christ was not a Christian; their religion was the same primeval and eternal Islam... the Qur^{ān} categorically repudiates all ideas of monopoly in truth or salvation," which Jews and Christians, "assert for their respective groups." He claims for authority Surah ii.59, but the translation he gives should be compared with the Arabic text. "Those who are Jews or Christians or Sabians, along with Muslim believers, (who follow in its entirety the system of beliefs and practices promulgated by the Prophet), whoever believes in God and the last day, and does good deeds, they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve." Palmer's version is: "Verily whether it be of those who believe or those who are Jews or Christians or Sabaeans, whoever believe in God and the last day and act aright, they have their reward at their Lord's hand, and there is no fear for them nor shall they grieve." 'Abd al-Ḥakīm says: "This is not mere

religious tolerance, which is a very negative attitude; it is a positive injunction to extend the Brotherhood of Faith to all those who have essentials of faith, although they may differ in their laws and rituals." "Islam gives a very subordinate and secondary place to all ritual."

But, "Islam was not satisfied with preaching only broad principles, it was considered essential to create a system... It is a complete code of life, based on a definite outlook on life." The manner of expression here is worthy of examination. "*Islam creates.*" Later he says that much of the system is born out of the human experiences of the Prophet. He had "the opportunity to pass through all the essential phases of social, economic and political existence. He started as a poor shepherd and worker,... traveled as a young man with commercial caravans, acted as a commercial agent, led an ideally happy life as husband and father, cried as a persecuted warner against the injustice of man, conquered his enemies primarily by love and, when necessity compelled, used the minimum physical force to overwhelm the savage persecutors; then having conquered them, he forgave them with openhearted generosity, for which history offers no parallel, and then set up a state from scratch, among people who had no political experience beyond their tribal organizations, then promulgated laws that were more advanced and more humane than his contemporary world dreamed of, then dealt with international relations in peace and war, and finally completed his work, having chalked out a system of social justice based on liberty, fraternity and equality, embodied not only in a moral code but in a definite framework of economic justice... Islam as a system... is a mirror of the life and outlook of Muḥammad. *His scripture too may be taken as his biographical sketch and a code of his ethics and conducts*".⁵ What then becomes of the doctrine of *Wahī* and the supernaturally inspired book received by the Prophet while his ordinary faculties were in abeyance? Once if a critic had said that the Qurʾān reflected the personal and domestic experiences of Muḥammad, he would have been attacked as denying its divine origin and character. And in passing, we would point out that though in these books the teaching of the Qurʾān is constantly referred to and quoted, there is no book specifically concerned with the fundamental question of revelation, although Muḥammad Ḥanīf Nadwī's *Mas'ala-i-Ijtihād* contains some valuable remarks on the use of the Qurʾān in the juridical sphere, and utters warnings against literalism.⁶

But ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm moves still further from the orthodox idea of a perfect, closed system sent from God. "Islamic life had originated in a system, but it remained an open system so long as the life-urge of the Muslim peoples was creative and progressive." This is indeed to open the door of *Ijtihād* to its widest! For it implies that Islam

⁵ Italics ours.

⁶ *Vide pp. 2-7 op. cit.*

is the creation of Muslims. Not simply in order or system, but in matters of belief also, "Islam does not insist on belief in any dogma which is to be believed without evidence or against the dictates of reason, observation and experience. It is said that science has killed all religious dogmas, but it is itself based on the unity and uniformity of existence, which according to Islam is a corollary from the unity of God." Consequently, "the future of Islam is the future of religion in general," but the people of Islam everywhere, "have begun to suffer from the same malady from which all orthodoxies have always suffered. The universal elements of Islam have got inextricably mixed up with the accretions of ages. Into a religion without dogmas, dogmas have installed themselves." Muslims also have begun to claim a monopoly of salvation, "a misbehaviour" against which the Qur^{ān} had warned them. Legal systems fossilized and blind obedience to the rulings of jurists becoming characteristic was "considered an essential part of faith".

Some statements made about early Islam are interesting but not historical. Thus, "Islam's early self-preservative wars were fought to end fanaticisms".⁷ Abrogation simply means that fundamental universals are by the genius of Islam distinguished from changing particulars. "It is this distinguishing feature of Islam which made the modern sage Bernard Shaw pronounce the verdict that fundamental Islam would be the religion of the future..." While sympathising with the writer in his desire for a progressive system we feel that his wishes are father to his thoughts. "Even while chalking out a system of life, Islam should not give a closed and sealed system, incapable of progressive adaptations. The road to infinite knowledge,... to the conquest of nature,... to the unity of humanity and the world, must be open." These are laudable sentiments. Does history give us any hope of their fulfilment?

When too we come to look at the author's picture of Nature,⁸ we have some misgivings about his hope of its conquest. "According to the Quranic conception of God and Nature and their mutual relations, there is no necessary inter-phenomenal causation. No event in its own power is a sufficient cause of another event. In events which appear to be related as causes and effects, what we can really know empirically without any unwarranted hypothesis, is an habitual sequence." Is this enough for science? It endorses the Ash^{ar}ite atomism, and reduces causation to sequence, and since modern science is based on the quest for causes, what hope is there here for its progress?

^cAbd-al-Ḥakīm would also sweep away all intermediaries, an idea which might render nugatory prophecy and scripture. "A supra-rational revelation or intuition must not be contrary to reason and to Nature which manifests it. Henceforth man shall not worship man

⁷ p. xiv.

⁸ p. 22.

and no professionally religious priesthood shall be recognised." The universal brotherhood of man must be maintained. Man must say 'Yes' to life; social justice must be restored; the more "gifted" made to part with their surplus, the diversity of humanity woven into a pattern of unity, justice established between master and servant, employer and employed. Islam was at first a simple democratic socialism" which "received a setback when monarchical and feudal states were set up." Islam "lit the torch of modern civilisation" but "the Muslim peoples, crushed by un-Islamic priesthood (by which he means the *mullas*) and autocratic monarchies, became listless and stagnant..." Missionaries started the fallacious propaganda that as Muslim peoples everywhere were stagnant, so Islam, which is the common denominator of their culture, must be held responsible for their backwardness.

But there is offered no adequate explanation of why this backwardness took place. Why did the "clerics" in an avowedly Muslim society come to their position and how did the corrupt monarchies arise? This having happened once in Islamic history, what is there to prevent it happening again *mutatis mutandis* in the future? He comes very close to blaming the religious leaders. But the fact that they *were* the *religious* leaders and were claiming religious sanctions is not sufficiently appreciated. Perhaps the missionaries did not discriminate as he has done between the religious leaders and the "ideal Islam." We cannot deny the backwardness. Was Islam not powerful enough to arrest the decline? What has the modern Muslim which the old Muslim lacked? What can guarantee the success of the religion today which could not guarantee its success yesterday? The writer accuses Christianity for the Dark Ages of Europe, and he shirks the question of the responsibility for "the Dark Ages of Islam" as he invites us now to think of them, save for dark hints at the culpability of Muslim clerics. In all probability the missionary was at fault and over-simplified the reasons for the decline in Islam. There is also abundant evidence of much grave misunderstanding of Islam in Europe. But this is gradually being remedied. One could wish to be able to say the same with regard to similar misunderstandings of Christianity by Muslims. Thus, he says, with a complete misunderstanding of the facts: "The Christian civilisation of more than a millenium created only the Dark Ages."

"Whatever wrong there is among Islamic peoples is not due to the tenets of Islam but is a direct result of disregarding its principles of progress and social justice, and whatever good was achieved by the rising nations (of the West) was the product of essentially Islamic principles." But the latter flourished apparently more freely outside than inside the Muslim environment — a strange paradox! "The renaissance of Islam would not be achieved by a blind imitation of the West, nor could it be achieved by sticking in detail to systems of law that

do not apply to changing conditions"... "The West built its power and prestige on nationalism and *laissez faire* industrial capitalism, which led to imperialistic exploitation and wars. Its structure of a spurious democracy was shattered by Fascism and Communism and nationalism putting patriotism in the place of God. Shall we borrow any life-saving panacea from this vast asylum of violent lunatics?" Strong words indeed.

After this long exordium, the author deals with obstacles to belief. He says that many *Muslims* doubt the necessity or rationality of religion. "The scientific advance during two centuries has left the theologians in the lurch; even the moral consciousness of the theologians lagged behind the conscience of the elite of the age." He proceeds in very familiar terms and his survey of the impact of the scientific mind need not be repeated in detail. Men claimed that the scientific method was the only way to reach truth. "For the scientific understanding of Nature", it was said, "God has often been the gap-filler of ignorance." The "reactions of Darwinism" were "similar to the repercussions of the Copernican astronomy." Together, physics and biology seemed to have destroyed religion, and yet "we find that religion is not destroyed." When it is said in adverse criticism of the religions that they hold tenaciously to certain beliefs as essentials, but when those beliefs become untenable, they shift their ground, our author asks whether science also has not acted much in the same way, shifting its ground and progressing from error to error, "or, if you please, from lesser truth to greater truth? Science started with myths and superstitions; so did religion." But science replies to such a statement that it has now reached ultimate postulates. "After this there may be new discoveries and new orientations, but the fundamental thesis of an ordered universe amenable to the causal category and mathematical reasoning, would not change." Might not religious progress be construed in this manner? "Could we not say that religion too has reached its ultimate postulates... but the fundamental basis of belief will not change." It is generally accepted that the religion of Islam is summed up in the creed which confesses God's unity and Muḥammad's apostleship. "But every Muslim knows that the essential belief is the belief in one God; the Prophet is a clarifier and practiser of that belief and not an end in himself"... "With theism true religion begins and ... ends"⁹. Islam is full of praises for other Prophets and other Scriptures and whenever it mentions any essential element of religion, it says that you will find it in other Scriptures. Might not one reply that since theism is not confined to Islam there seems little point in maintaining the plea for Islam in contradistinction to any other religion?

Of Naturalism and Supernaturalism in the next chapter, our author

⁹ p. 12.

says: "Religion used to be blamed for brutal fanaticism, and... if Naturalism took its place, with Reason enthroned as God, all would be well with the world", a dream shattered by two world wars. The attack of Naturalism "was ultimately to the great benefit of religion," which must henceforth stand on its own feet. "Religions based on miracles ceased to appeal." But because its idea of causality was too mechanistic, naturalism also began to decline. "Mechanistic physics had reduced the human mind to an epiphenomenon... It slowly dawned on human consciousness that mind was neither a passive spectator nor merely an instrument for the maintenance of bodily existence." Whether this was an advance to supernaturalism depends on the definition of the term. If it is to be retained, it must be redefined somewhat like this: "Life is supernatural for matter, animal mind is supernatural for life, human mind is supernatural for all the grades below it... Supernaturalism which means arbitrary interference with the working of Nature at a particular level is repudiated by Islam."

We have already mentioned some of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm's ideas about causation. Let us add: "The Qur'ān says that God is the Cause of Causes... He is the being at the foundation of all becoming; He is the stable reality which creates and supports all change... At the level of Divinity there must be a special type of causation working through and modifying all the realms below; God must be acting as Cause of all causes... He must have the Will and Capacity to adapt to His own ends whatever lies below Him. What is religiously called a miracle does not mean violation of the laws of nature. If the entirety of all grades of existence be called Nature, the word 'supernatural' would become meaningless. No laws can be broken; but one law can interfere with the working of another law and the effect is modified accordingly ." If God, "has endowed man with a limited freewill which works on life and matter for its own ends, He Himself, being infinitely free, could not be hampered by the different types of causation created by His own will. No creation can limit the Creator absolutely." As for the attitude of the Qur'ān to the supernatural, it "wanted to draw humanity away from the supernatural to the natural, as the way that leads to the understanding of life and God." When people asked for a miracle it, "directed their attention to natural phenomena. Tolstoy after his religious awakening wrote: 'Popular Christian belief bases its religious conviction on the immaculate birth of Christ, but to me every child that is born normally of parents is a sufficient miracle for believing in God'. This is exactly the Islamic attitude." The writer would call this getting free from the "supernatural" elements. It is perhaps not unfair to ask: If there is no supernatural element where does religion make its entry at all? For what he is really saying is that he wants a religion which is non-miraculous.

The remainder of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm's work, too long to criticise *in toto*, is concerned with Theism and the Divine Attributes. Here there

is little new and little that has not been said better elsewhere. On Divine power in relation to the goodness of God, he says: "Islam denies the existence of cosmic evil; the problem arises out of ignorance or narrowness of vision... The question: If God is omnipotent why does he allow evil to exist in nature? is answered in the Qur^ʿān by the denial of evil in nature." This is a rather amazing statement. It would mean consequently that a moral argument for the existence of God is impossible and that a transcendent over-ruling and universal principle of truth and righteousness immanent in all things is an untenable conception. Good and evil are only distinctions of an arbitrary character imposed by a law which has no cosmic sanctions. Dealing with moral evil as distinct from "cosmic" he defines it as "pain and suffering and the destruction of values." He then restores the doctrine of the Fall which in earlier pages he repudiates. "The first exercise of man's freewill against God, is what is theologically described as the Fall of Adam. His life as a human being really begins with that Fall which was symptomatic of his exercise of freewill." Other chapters follow on the cult and ethics of Islam, concepts of the Islamic state, comparative ideologies, Muḥammad and Marx and Muḥammad as the liberator of men and women.

In general, one may conclude that before the ideas of this and other Islamic authors can be substantiated and proved there will have to be a tremendous pruning of the Islam which has appeared as an historical phenomenon in the world and to which we have become accustomed. Often one wonders whether such drastic revision as some of these modern writers, laymen challenging the religious learned of their own religion, wish to promote, is not more in the nature of a contradiction of Islam rather than an amendment of it. Will Islam after such pruning remain recognizably Islam and command the same loyalty and obedience as before? How long will it be before the masses accept the new view?

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“SEEK FORGIVENESS OF GOD”

The familiar imperative of Quranic and Muslim devotion is considered in its origin and variety, as one of the most characteristic formulas in Islam, in the series of studies contributed to this volume of *The Muslim World* by Miss Constance E. Padwick. Behind her analyses lie many years of painstaking penetration into the spirit and vocabulary of Muslim worship. Not all readers of her articles on “The Language of Muslim Devotion”, culled from her book: *COMMON WORDS OF MUSLIM PRAYER*, will appreciate the quiet persistence with which she collected the manuals in the first place, in scores of stalls and book shelves from Zanzibar to Aleppo, from Tangier to Teheran: nor yet the patience with which she has compared the texts and the diligence that has sifted their hidden grain. *O si sic omnes*. There are many other areas of Islamic lore awaiting an equal fidelity of study as this devoted pursuit of men’s devotion. On the foundation it provides we need further comparative study of Muslim-Christian religious vocabulary.

The purpose of the present paragraphs, however, in this same volume of the *Quarterly*, is to pursue in a somewhat more theological, or philosophical, form this dominant phrase: ‘*Istaghfir Allah*’: “Seek forgiveness of God.” For it is a phrase that is rich in tremendous implication. This fact should not be obscured by the obvious truth that, in common parlance, it is frequently stripped of all but the most casual and empty meaning. One may say, thoughtlessly: ‘*Istaghfir Allah*’ if a person has been excessively complimentary in conversation or flattering in praise, so as to merit the mildest of rebukes for an inconsequential straining of the truth. Or the remark may feebly reproach an excess of criticism that becomes impolite. In neither case does the implication begin to plumb the depths of the true phrase in its honest fullness. It is this which must be rescued; for it is there within. If depth in philosophy, as Bacon averred, leads men back to religion, so also does depth in expression. ‘*Istaghfir Allah*’ is too profound a word to be abandoned to the flippant or the conventional.

It is, of course, the tenth form of the transitive verb and as such means a seeking of the action of the simple form. *Ghafara*, though occasionally used of human forgiving, is the usual word for Divine forgiving, repeatedly used in the *Qur’ān* and yielding also the participial derivatives: *Al-Ghāfir*, *Al-Ghaffār*, *Al-Ghafūr*, each of them, especially the third, found in Quranic invocation and ascription. The command to seek forgiveness of God has many far reaching implications: that forgiveness is feasible, that it is necessary, that it is available; that God is its proper dispenser and source; that evil, therefore, matters to God and that He is involved more than the sinned-against among men; that the ultimate condition of being forgiven is men’s desire to be. For if, in the end, these things are not

so, the command becomes meaningless and empty. Its existence as a valid Divine dictum to men argues the existence of those things which are its postulates. Quranic theology may be somewhat abashed by this Kantian line of reasoning. But the authority of this command surely argues the authority of all that must be to make it real. It is these postulates of the *Istighfār*¹ that this article proposes to investigate, with a view to elucidating an urgent comparative theme in Christian and Muslim faith and theology. It may be convenient to do so under two heads, belonging to the Divine-human issues that are here involved.

GOD AND HUMAN WRONG

The most evident postulate of this command is culpability. The seeking of forgiveness argues a real and serious blameworthiness in man, and that this blameworthiness is returnable, so to speak, to God Himself, like a legal writ which must be answered in a particular court and not elsewhere. It is, of course, true that human wrongdoing is committed against men, others and ourselves. The phrase *Kānū Anfusahum Yaẓlamūn*, or some variant of the phrase in tense and person, occurs over thirty times in the Qurʾān. "It was their own selves they wronged" insisting that evildoing, however ultimately related to the will of God, takes a genuine and responsible rise from the human will, and that man's evil choices involve first and foremost an inward injustice against himself, in which he becomes his own worst foe. Yet it is of God, not of himself or first his victims, that forgiveness must be sought. *Mea culpa* indeed is the spirit of the *Istighfār*. But *contra te* is its proper confession. "God's wrong" as Richard III admitted, "is most of all." Repentance towards God is thus the first obligation of the sinner and the prime condition of all other obligations towards other men. This is indeed a radical doctrine and supposes a moral universe where evil really matters to God. But its very radicalness is, as we must see, its hopefulness. Man's first relation as a wrongdoer is Godward, for the reason of this costingness to God of the wrong he commits.

Here are immense truths of the utmost implication. If the Godward obligation of the penitent is his primary duty, it must follow that God is more intimately involved in his situation as an evildoer than any other party. "Seek forgiveness of God:" then our offences must be vastly more significant than the mere contravention of a letter or even the violation of a law, as such. The one imperative direction of the will to be forgiven indicates the real character of the sin that needs forgiveness. It may well be that, in a sense, as the Qurʾān declares, the wrongdoers and the unbelievers do God no harm. "Truly those who barter faith for unbelief do no injury to God."

¹ The *Maṣḍar*, or verbal noun from the same derivative as the imperative, meaning "the seeking of forgiveness."

(Surah iii.178) God, no doubt, remains sublimely Himself irrespective of human recalcitrance, even as the truth is inviolate from the peril of falsehood. Yet there can hardly be this imperative of seeking forgiveness if the evil is a matter of no concern to God. If forgiveness ought to be sought from God then it must needs be real to God. Its being real to God necessarily involves that the sin to which it relates is also real to God. Only if there is a costliness to God in men's wrongdoing is there meaning in an obligation to seek its forgiveness from Him. The relation of this 'costliness to God' of evil in man must be faced below, for it involves the recognition that forgiveness is a problem even for omnipotence, at least for the sort of omnipotence which commands that pardon be sought. And it is with just such a Divine omnipotence that this imperative assures us we have to do.

But meanwhile, there are certain other deep corollaries of this command, when we penetrate beyond familiarity into an appropriate wonder about its existence in our conscience. For if forgiveness is to be sought, it must be feasible. There can be no command to yearn for pardon in a world of irresponsibility. Only if men are not autornata, nor victims of forces reducing them to puppets, can the *Istighfār* make sense. Machines make no apology and can incur no judgement. If this world is under God in the sense that men are to be properly seekers of His mercy then the entail of their actions is not a blind determinism in which nothing can be undone. Some consequences of human action are undoubtedly beyond recall. Even forgiveness does not undo the pastness of the past, nor recreate the situation so that we are back at the point anterior to the wrongdoing. But this irrecoverability of the pure past is far from meaning that deeds of sin have become part of a determinism which it is either immoral or impossible to disturb. Some thinkers in Islam have been inclined to look upon forgiveness, despite the Quranic reiteration of the *Istighfār*, as if it were excluded by inexorable laws of hard necessity. There are times when the doom of the unbelieving seems to be thought of in these terms by the Qur²ān itself, as if sins once committed had involved the evildoers in irretrievable damnation. But there are other passages which proclaims unmistakably the abiding option of new beginnings, the pledge of recoverability and the promise of rescue. There is no necessity about sin when it is committed, for in so far as anything is of necessity it ceases to be sin. And equally there is no blind necessity about the sequel to wrongdoing, in so far as forgiveness is willed. For inevitability or irredeemability are incompatible with both the fact and the prayer of forgiveness. Surah viii.34 is a kind of anchor of this assurance: "God did not punish them as long as they were seekers of forgiveness." Clearly, then, if forgiveness *ought* to be sought, it *can* be found, determinists and legalists notwithstanding.

But again, if we are called to seek forgiveness in the confidence that it may be ours, it also follows that evil is not to be disowned or ignored. The redeemability of the human order under God banishes the spectre of fear and doom but how sharply it focusses the truth of awe and worship. To be forgiven is an immensely humbling thing. For it makes us aware of a Divine relationship far more searching and intimate than are the relationships of the created order. It is the re-instatement of the dignity of man after the bitter experience of its compromise and failure. It is precisely this humbling and yet ennobling truth of forgiveness which is lost to sight by those imaginative writers like D. H. Lawrence, who pretend to find a finer benediction in the unthinking life of the animal world, than can ever be known by the world of humanity. "How sweet it would be" wrote William James, "to find oneself no longer man, but one of those ignorant and innocent sheep pasturing upon that placid hillside, drinking in eternal dew and freshness from Nature's lavish bosom." On that showing, no doubt the swine were happier than the prodigal. But it is fantastic to imagine that they ever knew the wonder of the son's return and the father's welcome. In other words, the point of our lowliness is the place of our blessedness and worth: forgiveness is the encounter with our worst selves and God's Divinest grace. "Christ" declared Luther, in the first of the Wittenberg Theses, "intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence." For only therein have we an adequately searching, and so adequately saving, concept of God's relationship with ourselves. The more truly we seek forgiveness, the more aware we become of the need for the forgiveness we seek. Otherwise, in T.S. Eliot's words, "The man that is will shadow the man that intends to be."

"Where is the Life we have lost in living?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?...
I say to you: Make perfect your will."

It is only possibly made perfect as will when it is directed to God in the longing for forgiveness.

There is a verse of Walter de la Mare which vividly catches this truth as it obtains in the realm of fear and courage, from whence it can truly be borrowed for this realm of our relation to the evil of our hearts on either side of the knowledge of forgiveness.

"Think you your heart is safely at rest
Contemptuous, calm, disdainful one?
May be a stone is in your breast
From whence all motion's gone".

"Undauntible soldier, vent no scorn
On him who in terror faced the foe:
There is a radiant core of rapture
None but the fearful know."

² From "Edges," *The Burning Glass*, p. 33.

Those likewise who disdain to be penitent have become impervious to vast meanings of life and of will. Let them not despise the sin-
aware for these have an experience of the kingdom of heaven "none but the pardoned know." But what does this transaction, so tremendous for the heart of man, mean for the Divine?

MAN AND DIVINE FORGIVENESS

Looking at the theme now from the Godward side it is evident that there are equally elemental and equally wonderful corollaries of the *Istighfār*. If God indeed commands the seeking of forgiveness then it must be something men might be disposed not to desire. For what is instinctively desired has no need to be commanded. If, then, attitudes of pardon-seeking are expressly enjoined upon men they must be the inward human condition of a Divine forgiveness. Here, as in other realms, it looks as if a Divine intent or a Divine capacity hinges, in fact, upon human conditions, without the fulfilment of which the intent is impeded and the capacity inoperative. Such a conclusion might well be highly uncongenial to the Muslim mind which thinks instinctively of the Divine Will as totally untrammelled by conditions dependent upon man. Yet the conclusion is inescapable if the *Istighfār* is to be meaningful.

This issue, of course, attaches to the whole concept of *Islām* as surrender. If the surrender is passive and inevitable it is religiously meaningless; or rather we should say, it is irreligious. But if it is truly active then it is a willed surrender involving the freedom to withhold. Any religiously viable concept of *Islām* therefore requires that the human part in the transaction be free. Automata we may say never surrender. The Divine end then has to turn in this field upon the form or pattern of attitude adopted by the human. So, returning to forgiveness, we discover that man's seeking becomes the only feasible way to God's bestowing, or in the words of the New Testament: "He that seeketh findeth." This is so, not because the Divine willingness to forgive is dubious, or that it awaits persuasion or inducement. Not at all. It is so because there are indispensable *human* pre-requisites of what it proposes. There is no forgiveness save as men want to be forgiven. Forgiveness is there in God, but its outgoing into realised pardon hinges, as it necessarily must, upon the condition that wills to be forgiven. Hence the command we are here exploring. God awaits the human attitude that makes His opportunity.

His calling for such an attitude is the deep Divine meaning of the *Istighfār*. What man has to bring makes a crucial circumstance of a Divine end. On man turns God's only way to His attainment of the purpose of grace. It is in this sense that there can be problems or conditions even for omnipotence. Yet we need not suppose that God

lacks resources to meet this situation within the conditions created by human responsibility (which will not be over-ridden, since the problem is to be solved in grace, not dissolved in necessity). He Who commands the *Istighfār* is surely able to press lovingly upon the soul the urgency of obedience. "Behold I stand at the door and knock." He Who is the *Rahmān*, is ever seeking to become the *Rahīm*. He ever seeks to make operative the pardon it is His nature to extend. Forgiveness as a Divine enterprise involves the equally Divine enterprise of conviction in man of his evil. God's 'task' of forgiveness, if we may so describe it, needs the inward human 'ally' of a penitent spirit to which forgiveness can be truly and morally addressed and by which it can alone be received. For has not our consent to sin coarsened our hearts and obscured both mind and imagination, making it the easier to excuse ourselves and condone our evil way? Is it not as Burns the poet wrote in his *Epistle to a Young Friend*:

"I waive the quantum of the sin,
The hazard of concealing;
But och! it hardens all within
And petrifies the feeling."

Then, conversely, the capacity to be forgiven requires the recovery of that sensitivity by which evil is known as it truly is. Just such a sensitivity lies behind the Quranic command. And since it is spiritually indispensable to the transaction of a truly Divine forgiveness, the Divine grace spends itself to elicit in mansoul the supreme condition of its purpose.

Is not this one of the deepest Christian assurances about the Cross of Christ, understood as a representative deed of human wrong? Does not the Cross enable men to seek forgiveness by giving them the measure of sin's degree and shame? "He died" as we have so often sung, "that we might be forgiven." But in part He died that we might want to be forgiven, this fact being a part, a vital part, of the other. For in the Cross we discover the meaning of human waywardness and self-esteem, all the more stark and evident in their blindness to a true esteeming of Christ. The choice once and representatively made at the Cross measures for all time our capacity to be wrong, and that, not merely in calculation but in nature. The discovery of ourselves which the Cross enables under God is the most potent awakening of forgiveness-seeking in all the world. Here in this tremendous 'Ecce Homo' where men contemplate Christ in their crucifying hands, they also see man, the homo of their humanity, in unveiled and unmistakeable guise. Here at the Cross the *Istighfār* is born and like all else in our salvation it is the Divine achievement. It is God in Christ making possible, in the only way that a Divine forgiveness can, the conditions of its inward operation in our hearts.

It is well to remember that this aspect of the Cross as a measure, as *the* measure, of men's astrayness in self-love and wrong holds,

even within the Quranic hypothesis about the crucifixion. For even within the belief that Jesus Himself finally escaped the climax of suffering, through the substitution of another victim, is the admission that the latter was crucified by men, *as if he were the Christ*. There was no substitute as far as the knowledge or intention of the crucifiers are concerned. If it was not Him they crucified, it was Him they thought they crucified. The hostility within its own intent was hostility to Him and Him alone, since all others were innocent of His claims and His words. The enmity and hatred had Him alone as their object even when they were visited, as the Qur²ān declares, upon a mistaken sufferer. Had the Jews known he was not their victim, they would not have crucified him. Mistaking him for *HIM*, as the Quranic hypothesis runs, they killed him as *HIM*: of this there can and should be no mistake. It is a truth necessary even to the Quranic disavowal of Christ's suffering. Thus, as an index to the wrongness of the world, the Quranic Cross is the Christian Cross. It is, in short, a place where in their intent and in their deed men crucify God's Word, and so learn in their own work of sin the measure of their need to be forgiven. In truth His rejection revealed the heart of His rejectors and we know that we are among them. If with the Qur²ān, we suppose them thwarted by a mistake in identity *they took the mistaken one as Christ*. In intention and, as concerns them, also in fact, the deed was done to Christ. The silent thunder of Calvary is indeed greater than all the thunders of Sinai. Here more than any where else in all time and history men come to their *Istighfār* and know that God Himself is bringing them.

But the Cross, in Christian thought and faith, has a place in the Divine enterprise of human forgiveness beyond this urgent point where our plea for pardon is born. And here no Muslim disallowance accompanies us into the mystery. For us the Cross is not only done in intention against Christ (thus far the Qur²ān): it is suffered forgivingly by Christ. Here we discover the heart of our redemption and of the Divine competence to answer the *Istighfār* so Divinely aroused in our souls. For us the place of our discovery of our need to be forgiven is also the place of our discovery that we are. Both sides of the Divine *problem* are here met. Where men want to be forgiven is also the place where they can be. That event in which the extent of our need of forgiveness becomes known to us is the event in which also the extent of the cost of it to God is known to Him. Such knowledge of the cost is Christ's experience of the Passion, wherein the Christian mind has always seen the Divine travail itself. God alone can be the sufficient source of forgiveness and to forgive is most truly Divine. But pardon only comes in the bearing of the consequences of the wrong done so that, being borne, they are also borne away. There cannot be the second without the first. Only suffering achieves the redemption of wrong.

God invites us to seek His pardon because He has undertaken to ensure it. When the self-willed wanderer in the parable returns home seeking forgiveness, it is on the sole ground of his recollection of the sort of Father he had and the kind of place his home had always been. But the Father could not have continued to be that sort of Father during the son's wasteful vagrancy without the tenderness costing him dearly, as he sustained a welcoming love in the face of the pain to his heart of the son's self-will. The only way to have evaded the pain would have been to repudiate or renounce the son. But then there would have been no foundation for his return, no call to *Istighfār* that he could sense in the dimness of his exile and frustration, and thus no joyful return. Had the elder brother presided over the household there would, of course, have been no welcome. Nor would there conceivably have been any possibility for the prodigal's decision to come home. There would, indeed, have been no 'home' to return to, but only a place of reproach and rejection. If it was a confidence in a tender welcome which drew the wanderer, magnet-like, out of the far country this confidence could only exist by interpreting dimly and wistfully what truly was. But what truly was could not have been so, and stayed so, all through the exile, save at infinite cost to the Father. For in terms of such tenderness how could he but feel the fearful cost of the shame and the awful burden of the wilfulness in which the son had gone from him. Surely it is clear that here, in one of the sweetest and deepest themes of the Gospel, is the true *Istighfār* as Jesus taught it. And when we so see it, we discover that as well as being blessedly possible for man it is exactly painful for God. It is not one unless it be the other. Only forgiveness saves: but always forgiveness costs. It is only the good things as the Qur'ān says which abolish the evil

إِنَّ أَحْسَنَاتِ تَذْهِبِ السَّيِّئَاتِ

Our salvation is truly a mighty one only because it is tragic one.

"There is a great sensibility at the heart of the worlds" the nature of which and the cost of which the Cross discloses for all time. Forgiveness is indeed to be sought; the *Istighfār* goes to the heart of Christianity. But it is only to be sought because God has made possible the answer. In this moral world, the Divine answer is neither automatic, nor arbitrary, still less easy and axiomatic. He invites us to seek only because He travails to provide what without Him we could neither seek nor find.

How strange it is to discover that adequate meditation on essential Quranic themes leads us back inevitably and compellingly to the Cross the Qur'ān so blithely disallows. Yet this is the way. Christian theology in these days invites the Muslim mind to take its own ideas seriously, seriously enough to perceive and investigate their Christian

corollaries. For the faith of the Gospel has taken the Divine omnipotence even more seriously than Islam itself has done, in that it discovers Almightyness at its most almighty work in making sure the answer to the Muslim's *Istighfār*. “Seek forgiveness of God.” For the need is ours and the gift is His. Their measure and their cost is in the Cross of Christ.

There most of all we have come to meet with God on the firm ground of the relationship which He Himself still bids us seek.

إِنَّا هَدَانَا إِلَيْكَ

Lahore, Pakistan.

— °ABD AL-TAFĀHUM.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Koran Interpreted. By Arthur J. Arberry, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1956 (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1955), vol. I, pp. 350; vol. II, pp. 367.

In his Preface to vol. I of the book under review Professor Arberry refers to his preface to *The Holy Koran. An Introduction with Selections* which he published in 1953. That Preface is important because (1) it draws attention to the existence of several variants in the text of the Qurʾān; (2) it makes a new and important contribution to the study of the rhythm of the Qurʾān; (3) it accepts the language allegedly used by Muhammad in *ḥadīth* as substantially authentic; and (4) it explicitly leaves the precise notion of inspiration undefined.

The writer begins by giving a short account of earlier translations of the Qurʾān into English, starting with the version of the Sieur du Ryer which appeared in English in 1649. Sale's version, which has never been altogether superseded, was published in 1734. One of the merits of the latter lies in its copious citations from Arabic commentators. Those who have used it will concur in Prof. Arberry's pronouncement that Sale spoke in "a somewhat monotonous and humdrum voice... but at least an honest voice." Next we had Rodwell's version, first published in 1861 and best known from the reprint in Everyman's Library which, though it may help the ordinary reader to get a rough idea of the chronological order of the text, is most irritating to a scholar who wants to consult a particular rendering. It may be mentioned that it is often seriously inaccurate. This was followed by E. H. Palmer's version dated 1880 and now available in *The World's Classics*. Fifty years later came Marmaduke Pickthall, a convert to Islam, with a translation entitled *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*. This again is not altogether satisfactory because it smoothes away by paraphrastic renderings passages which are out of line with modern thought. Pickthall not unnaturally discarded the system of numbering the verses which Fluegel had adopted, and followed the modern eastern system. Consequently the reader wastes time in consulting his version.

Lastly we have Richard Bell's reconstruction of the order of the text of the Qurʾān. Fine and careful scholar as he was, I confess that his surgery is so devastating that I cannot use his translation. By cutting out verses and transposing them for purely subjective reasons and by going on to amputate half verses and even phrases he provokes a mental resistance to a textual analysis that is in part sound and scholarly. At the best the reader will say: "This is how Bell thinks the Qurʾān originally ran"; at the worst: "The man has lost all sense of proportion."

Professor Arberry while recognizing that there is no chronological order in the Qurʾān will have nothing to do with such methods as those just mentioned. The great merit of his book is that it enables the reader to recapture some of the charm and rhythm of the original. The writer's own words on p. 25 will best explain how this effect is achieved: "I have preferred to indicate these terminations with a much shorter line. The function of rhyme in the Koran is quite different

from the function of the rhyme in poetry; it therefore demands a different treatment in translation. That has been my method in interpreting narrative, argumentative and legislative passages. Where, however, the original, as often enough, interposes between these leisurely periods sudden outbursts of sharp rhetoric or shapely lyric, I have called attention to such changes of mood and tempo by making corresponding variations in my own rhythmical patterns. In this fashion I have also striven to isolate and then to integrate the diverse sections of which each Sura is composed." For my part I find this treatment of the Surah of Mary singularly felicitous. By this happy literary device the Arabist will inevitably be reminded of the sweet sounding endings of the verses *makānan sharqīyan, basharan sawīyan*, and so on, in the original.

At last the Qur^ʿān has found a worthy translator. With such a splendid work in one's hands it may seem a little ungracious to regret the lack of notes on various readings, rival interpretations of Arab commentators, and so on. As none is better qualified than Prof. Arberry to supply them one could wish that he had promised us a third volume devoted to that end. However, a writer has the indisputable right to confine his treatment of a subject within self-set bounds, and it cannot be denied that footnotes and critical comments would have ruined the music and broken the spell of the Qur^ʿān's inimitable cadences. One does not interrupt a sonata to explain that the last movement was written *x* years later, or that in some early copies one bar was somewhat differently phrased!

Some may feel that Prof. Arberry goes somewhat far in claiming that the Qur^ʿān is an "eternal composition," though doubtless he would wish the statement to be read in conjunction with the sentence: "There is no 'before' or 'after' in the prophetic message, when that message is true."

It seems superfluous to add that this translation is scholarly and accurate. Where alternative renderings are possible Prof. Arberry instinctively selects the better. In my judgment this work will be recognized as, and continue to be, the authoritative English version of the Qur^ʿān for generations to come.

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ALFRED GUILLAUME

Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic. Edited with an introduction, translation and notes by E. I. J. Rosenthal. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1956. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 1). Pp. XII, 337. \$ 14.50.

Early in the fourteenth century, a Jewish scholar in southern France, Samuel ben Yehuda, prepared Hebrew translations of Averroes' commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Plato's Republic*. In his work, he suffered from a great handicap, in which respect he was not alone among translators from the Arabic past and present. His knowledge of the language was inadequate, a fact of which he himself was painfully aware. Moreover, personal difficulties prevented him from consulting with the Christian Arabists of the time from whose help he seems to have expected much. Thus, the Hebrew text he produced

of the commentary on the *Republic* was hardly comprehensible except in its rough outlines—not even to those who were used to the dreary transposition method of translation. Nevertheless, Samuel's enthusiasm for his subject fell upon fertile soil, as shown by the number of manuscripts and paraphrases of the work that have come down to us. Soon, the magic name of Plato aroused the interest of humanists such as Pico della Mirandola, with the result that the Hebrew text was twice translated into Latin. One of these translations has been preserved, and it was printed several times in the sixteenth century. Professor Rosenthal deals with the pertinent material in his introduction, which might have been somewhat more detailed in a few respects. Thus, a fresh translation of the letter in which Samuel describes the work he did would have been welcome.

The *Republic*, as Averroes knew it, had gone through many hands and had been transformed by many minds. It had been deeply affected by Aristotelian philosophy and the paraphrastic activity of Galen whose synopsis was the medium through which the Muslims became acquainted with Plato's work. There were the subtle changes that the text underwent at the hands of its translator, Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, and there were the interpretations of Plato's political philosophy by Muslim thinkers like Al-Fārābī and Ibn Bājjah. Averroes added his own synthesis. Thus, it was a difficult task for Rosenthal, in his notes, to unravel the different strands, and he has done in this respect all that many years of immersion in the subject, as well as the limited material presently available, enabled him to do. In particular, Rosenthal stresses one important point, that is, the vitality these political ideas possessed in the eyes of Averroes (and of the other Muslim philosophers who occupied themselves with them). There are passages which Averroes feels he can illustrate with examples from his own time or the Muslim past. A general air of excitement over the unusual, the non-conforming, seems to pervade the work. The student of Islam, used as he is to broad patterns, senses here the existence of a small, but highly charged, current of thought which cannot have failed to leave its mark upon Muslim history. It is, moreover, highly instructive to us in that it reveals the great potential receptivity of Islam even as far as the fundamentals of social organization are concerned.

Pending the discovery of an Arabic manuscript, the modern translation had to be based upon the seemingly refractory Hebrew text. Fortunately, however, the Hebrew can as a rule be retranslated into Arabic with a large measure of certainty; it then offers comparatively little difficulty to the understanding. Yet, there are a great many passages where much scholarly imagination is needed to trace the errors and caprices of the Hebrew translator. Rosenthal wisely enlisted the help of such leading authorities on medieval philosophy and Hebrew and Arabic philology as J. L. Teicher, C. Rabin, D. H. Baneth, and G. Vajda, with the result that few real puzzles have remained, fewer, perhaps, than Rosenthal himself is willing to admit.

By way of illustrating the type of needed corrections and the complicated problems involved, I may be permitted to refer to p. 244. There, the Greek original is of considerable help in restoring the text.

Rosenthal translates with much hesitation: "... he gathers for them (the slaves) many things, distributes to them out of his own means and binds them to him without any claim to this." In fact, we should translate, in accordance with Plato's text: "... he gathers for and promises to them many things on his own and sets them free without any compulsion to do so." Hebrew *yimneh ôtam* is Arabic *ya'iduhā*, misunderstood as *ya'udduhā*. And *yiqš'rēm* renders *yu'liqhum*, a misreading for *yu'tiqhum* (or a less likely *yutliqhum*). Further misreadings of the Greek can, it seems, be spotted in this passage.

A few more instances of how close observance of the Arabic text, thinly disguised by the Hebrew, may help toward a better understanding: p. 115, II. 9-10, should read: "following, in the best possible manner, the activity for which he is qualified by nature;" p. 137, II. 24-26: "If there are (law and medicine in the ideal city), they have only the name in common with the medicine and law practiced in present-day states;" p. 154, II. 5-6: for "unlimited sickness," read "sickness, without one noticing it," and "confine itself" should be "cease." P. 159, I. 6, conceals a translation of Greek *hêtô heautou* (leg. *nin-napšô?*). P. 166, I. 24: "Protective garment *kānāp*") may be "sin" (*junāh*, misread *jināh*). P. 229, I. 7, "to acquire them" should, in fact, be "to destroy them" (*yufnīhim*, misread *yaqnīhim*). P. 251, I. 9: "May God help you in connection with what you are presently undertaking."

Minutiae of this sort can still be found here and there by the attentive reader, and when the Arabic text is discovered, it will no doubt reveal the occasional fallibility of scholarly conjectures. Meanwhile, we can gratefully rely upon Rosenthal's work as a valuable contribution to the history of Platonism and the understanding of Muslim intellectual life at the summit.

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut FRANZ ROSENTHAL

The Concept of Constitutional Law in Islam. By Dr. Rahimuddin Kemal, Fase Brothers, Hyderabad, India. pp. 140. 9/- (outside India).

Islamic Law and Constitution. By Syed Abul 'Alā Maudoodi. Edited by Khurshid Ahmad, Jamaat-i-Islami Publications, Karachi, Pakistan. 8/6 (outside Pakistan). pp. 204.

These two books are not written with the same purpose. The former is the work of a Muslim scholar from the largest Muslim minority in the world; and the other the composite work of several writers, who have worked at translating the writings or speeches of Maulana Maudūdī. The former earned its author a Ph.D. at the University of Glasgow (where the reviewer met the author and did a very little in forwarding the production of the thesis). Dr Kemal is naturally more detached in his outlook. Those who cooperated in the Pakistani volume did so for the special reason "of demonstrating the efficacy of the Islamic way of life" in the recently constituted State of Pakistan, admittedly one of the great experiments in the 20th century.

Dr Kemal, who pays tribute to the work of D. B. Macdonald (like himself a Glaswegian), obviously hopes that others concerned for research and concerned for the Muslim world will cooperate in the

effort to find a solution to the multifarious constitutional problems. Perhaps the book from over the border may be cited as one such effort. Both books naturally refer back to the Qurʾān; while the quotations from it in the more composite work are given in Arabic as well as English. Dr Kemal, however provides the reader with an Index, amply sufficient.

There is no index in the longer volume, but there are three Appendices and a biographical sketch of Syed Maudūdī. The most valuable of these appendices is that which discusses "The Rights of Non-Muslims in an Islamic State", naturally a burning question since "Pakistan". Dr Kemal deals with the subject but much more cursorily. His concern is more academic and general; for further details there can be reference to a Bibliography of the relevant material in Arabic, Urdu and English. In the longer book the reader must find his way about through headings and captions. But for up-to-date studies by responsible and reliable authorities the student of the modern Islamic outlook on life and development in thought will be rewarded.

Dr Kemal presents his views and expounds his principles positively (a glance at the Table of Contents will reveal that though the views are his the principles are Islamic), Maulana Maudūdī and his "disciples" believe that there have been "distorted interpretations of Islam" which needed counteraction and negation. In these days when the hope of the renewal of the "give-and-take" in things cultural and religious sometimes seems dim, these books suggest that time would be well spent in the unhurried and mutual exchange of ideas in small groups of Muslims and Christians, who have more than a mere "smattering" of each other's background. This may be more possible for the remainder of this century in Pakistan, while not forgetting the Indian Muslim minority or the still smaller Christian Church, than in other parts of the world where these two monotheistic religions come into contact.

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ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Kuwait and her Neighbours. By H. R. P. Dickson, London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1956. pp. 627, with maps and charts. 75 s.

This companion volume to Lieut.-Col. Dickson's *The Arab of the Desert* is like the earlier book in that it is invaluable, indeed, indispensable and delightful, more enchanting than *The Arabian Nights*, because it is more true to the real life and thought of the Arabs. Unfortunately, it has similar flaws to the earlier volume.

This Quarterly, in April 1950 and January 1951, published reviews of *The Arab of the Desert*, both highly appreciative of the book. That by Dr. S. M. Zwemer praised it with the enthusiasm of another intimate friend of the Arabs. Dr. George Rentz, in his extensive remarks, whose very length expressed his great appreciation of the book's worth, disclosed his high regard for the author's contribution to the really great literature on Arabia. Through the changes he suggested for later editions he enhanced the book's value to specialists on Arabian affairs, as well as others who need valid transliterations of

Arabic words and correct historical, geographical and social information.

This volume has been edited for publication by Clifford Witting. Its chapters are grouped in four sections, which will vary in interest for different readers. Part One describes the early modern history, the geography and the tribal population of Eastern and Central Arabia. It is based on Col. Dickson's firsthand, that is, eye and ear information. For the physical features of the places he visited no better descriptions could be desired. For the history of the last and the present century, his reports vary in accuracy with the soundness of the knowledge of his informants. Some of it is only hearsay and would require checking and re-checking. But much is autobiographical, recorded at the time of the experiences. These parts are both thoroughly reliable and full of interest, because of the author's participation in the political and social life of peoples of strategic importance for the world.

Peaceful and mutually advantageous association with the peoples of Central and Eastern Arabia and Iraq requires the intimate knowledge and the sympathetic attitude that Col. Dickson possesses, exemplifies and describes in both these books. Study of them should be required of all non-Arabs who are concerned directly or indirectly with Arab affairs. Others whose interest is in cultural patterns and changes due to new material wealth and increased scientific and humanistic studies will find fascinating material in both books.

Some of the subjects dealing particularly with women's interests, such as the *zār* (exorcism customs) were written by Col. Dickson's talented wife, thus adding to the worth of this splendid work.

It is hoped that the author will publish an account of the great changes he has seen in Kuwait and in the character of the people there, as oil wealth and mechanistic modernism increase their influence.

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EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Ancient and Modern Man in Southwestern Asia. By Henry Field, University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1956, xiii and pp. 342.

The title of this volume raises the question of its pretension. Yet those readers who are familiar with the long list of publications to the credit of Henry Field, who know that he has tramped the limitless sands and historic caravan routes of the entire Fertile Crescent, will recognize in the author an authority of no mean stature on the history and prehistory of this "Cradle of Civilization."

The title is somewhat deceptive, for the content is descriptive only in the boldest outline. Essentially, the book is a manual of the physical anthropology of Southwest Asia, though the author repeatedly uses the term "anthropogeography" as if he were seeking a compromise between the American meaning of physical anthropology and the continental European meaning of ethnography.

Each of the countries covered by this study (Sinai, Israel, Jordan, the Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, the Caucasus, Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan) is subjected to the same formula: (a) geography, including fauna and flora; (b) prehistory — Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic; and (c) modern man, his racial characteristics and distribution.

The text reads like the notebook of an archaeologist in the field as he passes from site to site on a carefully planned expedition. The value of the book, therefore, lies not in the text, but in the comprehensive bibliographies, footnotes, tables, and maps. It is of considerable importance to three classes of readers: first, the student of the area who seeks reference to original source material; second, anthropologists and archaeologists who wish to have close at hand a thorough record of major discoveries in the region explored; and third, officials, civil and religious, who are involved in evaluation, for practical purposes, of the history and distribution of the peoples who yesterday and today populate the Fertile Crescent.

The format of this volume, as well as the text, will disappoint the general reader, for whom it is presumed this book was not intended. The data compiled is often of questionable value. There is no hint that the elaborate anthropometric statistics are anything but scientific. Their static nature is not questioned, and there is pedantic concern for variations in the mean of the cephalic indices recorded that amount to one-tenth of one per cent.

The maps are often inadequate, though twenty-four are given. For example, the site of the rock drawings of the so-called Kilwa Culture (in Jordan) cannot be located on the maps represented. Many place names of isolated oases and desert ruins mentioned in the text are not shown on the accompanying maps, nor are they to be found on such well known maps as that of the National Geographic Society (1946), though this map coincides almost exactly with the area covered by Dr. Field. In other words, the difficult geography of the region is not particularly clarified by this work which purports to treat of anthropogeography.

But these limitations aside, this is an encyclopedic work that makes a major contribution to the literature about the Arabic world and its adjacent territories.

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RICHARD KNOWLES MORRIS

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

A Soviet Assessment of Islam. Several issues of Vol. xxxv of *The Light*, Lahore, in February and March last, devoted a series of editorials to a book on Islam by a noted Russian scholar, Professor L. Klimovich, with the title: *Islam, its Origin and Social Substance*. The book is said to have been published by the Soviet Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge. According to *The Light*, Professor Klimovich declared the Qur²ān to be a rehash of old myths and asserted that it was composed during the reigns of the early Caliphs and that its attitudes precluded genuine scientific research. He added that every effort to defend religious dogma meant in effect an attempt to rescue an outmoded thing.

The Editor of *The Light* energetically refutes and repudiates the Soviet writer. His analysis however, as does this note, depends only on the American news report about the contents of the work. His refutation follows familiar lines. "We invite Mr Klimovich... to produce a chapter like that of the Holy Book, perfect and elegant in diction, incomparable and unique in conciseness and most comprehensive and complete in the subject matter." It may well be, however, that the work in question, were its contents fully known and handled, needs a more discerning and searching refutation than the indignant rebuttals here noted.

The Islamic Call. A book of this title is the first of a series projected in Cairo by what is described as "a committee of specialised University professors and leading Egyptian writers," the address of the Committee being 22 Sulaiman Pasha Street, Cairo. This work of 212 pages is in English and has a foreword from the pen of the Egyptian President, Jamāl ʿAbd-al-Nāṣir. The author is Muḥammad Muṣṭafā ʿAtā, the original being in Arabic.

Though the work is nicely produced it is a pity that it is afflicted with so many verbal errors, for these occur on almost every page. Spellings of names are not unified. Thus we have Hira, Hera and Hiraā. But of more moment is the question the book raises in the reader's mind as to the real genesis of Islam. The opening chapter analyses what is necessary to successful religious mission: tact, knowledge of men, timing, psychological insight, moderation, opportunism and the like, and then finding these all abundantly in the Prophet explains in these terms the successful launching of Islam. The problem, of course, is not new. But the question remains how far Islam is to be understood as the outcome of supreme leadership-genius and how far as the work of God in revelation. Islam is here depicted as "the ideal achievement." (p. 13). Much is also made of the suitability of Islam to the Arab temperament. "The foresighted reformer versed in people's psychology and social evolution should make his bricks from the soil on which he is trying to raise his superstructure, and from its rocks should cut and chisel his foundation stone." (p. 107). Whether or not we can be satisfied about this kind of thesis as a valid account of Islamic origins, the emphasis is interesting. "The judicious

application of psychological principles" (p. 121) is the gist of this Islamic call.

The author does not introduce many markedly new elements into his discussion but offers a familiar and attractive resumé of well-known apologetic. He discusses surprisingly little the deep inward sources of Muḥammad's call but concentrates rather on the successful issue of rightly conceived principles of reform. *Egypt: A Historical Analysis* is the next promised title in the series.

Iranian Railway Development. A new railway line has recently been inaugurated in Iran — the first important stretch of Iranian railway to be completed since World War II. It links Teheran with Meshed near the Afghan frontier. Work on the section between Shahrud and Meshed was accomplished at a phenomenal speed. Between February 1955 and January, 1957 about 310 miles were laid at a rate of a little less than half a mile per day, through all weathers, varying from blizzard to fierce sunlight. Some eighty thousand tons of rail and sleeper were laid in those 22 months at a cost of about four million dollars. There are fifty stations and halts between Teheran and Meshed, the Meshed terminal being the biggest station in Iran. The cost of the railway has been borne wholly by the Iranian Government without direct assistance from any foreign aid programs.

It is evident that the new line will greatly facilitate pilgrimage to the shrine of Imām Reza located at Meshed. It is also hoped this year to complete the unfinished line to Tabriz in the Caspian Sea area and later to link up the Iranian railway system with Turkish and Pakistani railways, making possible rail travel from the Indian sub-continent to the English Channel.

"The Leader Speaks." No. 71 of *Kitāb al-Hilāl*, a popular monthly book series which sells for ten Egyptian piastres, consists of speeches and writings of the Egyptian President, Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir. It contains the Arabic text of *Falsafat al-Thaurah*, "The Philosophy of the Revolution," first published in the summer of 1954, and ten addresses given on various occasions since the transition from the leadership of Muḥammad Naguib. These deal with Arab and Muslim unity, the Bandung Conference, national co-operation and the army, a popular Constitution, the (British) withdrawal and the age of freedom, the holy crusade, peaceful co-existence and total independence and three addresses connected with the Suez crisis.

There are two prefaces: the first by Minister of State Fathy Raḍwān, who very fulsomely discusses the impact of the President upon Egyptian and international life. Rarely in the last hundred years has the world been so pre-occupied by any man. He is the first truly Egyptian leader for six thousand years during which royal rule has prevailed over Egypt. It is matter of legitimate national and personal pride that his word and his authority are the concern of the whole world. After analysing the situation in 1952, Fathy Raḍwān assesses the superlative achievements that followed and ends with a tribute to the thoughtfulness and integrity which characterise the utterances that

follow in the book. Professor Ṭāhir al-Ṭanāḥy contributes a nine page biography and eulogy, passing from 'Abd al-Nāṣir's victory in Palestine to his perpetual victories — '52, '54, '56 and '57.

Religion in Turkey. The conservative religious magazine, *Sabilürreşad* launched a sharp attack on the *İslām Ansiklopedisi* and on an educational columnist in *Cumhuriyet*, the latter because he wrote that Muslim religious practices, such as the fast and the call to prayer, were influenced by Jewish religious custom and usage. Also in the same issue the magazine showed its sensitiveness to any discussion of the character of Muḥammad. It attacked the *İslām Ansiklopedisi*'s latest section because it published an article on Mary the Copt, and the difficulties she brought to the family life of the Prophet. Though the article was based upon Islamic traditions, and reported the events as "traditions", this did not satisfy *Sabilürreşad*. It charged that the articles in *İslām Ansiklopedisi* were biassed and missionary propaganda, pointing out that this whole project was begun by enemies of religion. The magazine also showed great alarm at the number of Christmas Trees and Santa Clauses that appeared this year in Ankara and İzmir (location of the two largest American colonies in Turkey). The magazine pointed out that Christmas celebrations where Santa Claus comes and gives presents is a threat to the Muslim faith of the children. The Hilton Hotel's New Year's Party (They are called that in Turkey, and not Christmas Parties) had a Santa Claus. The Christmas tree has become popular with many Turks. Conservation-minded critics have pointed out that Turkey cannot afford to cut its trees for this purpose. It may be wondered whether these interests are really in the name of conservation, or come from a religious motive.

Conservationists have turned to religion to help save the forests. A small booklet printed for villagers tells why it is a religious duty to help protect the forests of the land.

According to an article on the Bektashi Dervishes that has appeared in the last three issues of *Türk Düşüncesi*, despite the Government's ban on the Dervish Ordres, there are thousands of Bektashi still carrying on the Order in Turkey. This is perhaps the first time there has been an admission in print that the Dervishes might still be operating. This article also set out in a straightforward way an analysis of the factors that moulded the Bektashi order. It frankly pointed out its debts to Christianity and other religious movements. In general the article made the Order a true expression of basic religious forms which the Turks brought with them into İslam. This series of articles is not only interesting for the objective way in which it handles religious influences on the Bektashi, but it also serves as a good brief statement of the development of the Order.

Turkey, the Patriarchate and Cyprus. The problem of the future of the island of Cyprus has complicated relations between the Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul and the Turkish Government. A motion for his expulsion on the grounds that he was rather a political than

a spiritual leader was tabled in the Turkish Parliament. There is a strong wave of Turkish nationalism developing over Cyprus which is rendering delicate the position of Greek and other minorities. During the U.N. debate on Cyprus, the Patriarch made a special visit to the Vali of Istanbul and assured him that he dissented from the view of the Orthodox Church in Greece that Cyprus should accede to Greece. He wished to assure the Vali that the majority of the Greek population in Turkey sympathised with the Turkish point of view. The Turkish newspapers made special comment on the assurance of the prayers of the Orthodox Church in Turkey for the Turkish State.

Turkish Journalists in Prison. The first sentences under the Turkish press law passed in 1956 were made in February last. Metin Toker, the young editor of *Akiş*, a three year old newsmagazine which appears weekly, was sentenced to seven months imprisonment. His case has been in the courts for over a year and arose from an article published in his paper on the alleged mismanagement in office of an ex-Minister of State, Dr. Sarol, who was cleared by a legislative committee last year. The sentenced editor is a son-in-law of Ismet İnönü, a fact which has given added significance to the case. The picture of the former President has appeared in Turkish papers, standing in front of Ankara prison, awaiting permission to visit Toker. The former President has not been allowed any special visiting privileges, but makes regular visits frequently. The editor of the *Izmir Demokrat* is another imprisoned journalist.

The Suez Canal and the Qur'ān. 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq Vidyarthi, a Muslim missionary in Dutch Guiana, has developed an interesting example of the prescience of the Qur'ān. He suggests that it contains a broad hint about the concept which lay behind De Lesseps' great scheme and which is clearly one of the greatest boons God has conferred upon the world in modern times — witness the sensitive concern of all the nations for the use and freedom of this waterway. The Quranic passage concerned in this exegesis is Surah Iv, sometimes called the Benedicite of the Qur'ān because of its refrain: "Which of the favours of your Lord do ye deny?" In verses 17 to 25 of this Surah is a reference to "the two seas" one producing pearl and the other coral (i.e. the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.) The Quranic reference to a barrier between these two seas, as destined to disappear, so that the two seas would flow together without "rushing" and so that mountain like ships would sail between them, is thought to adumbrate clearly the canal at Suez with its narrow isthmus where the level of two seas is for all practicable purposes the same. "The Lord of the two Easts and the two Wests" refers, it is said, to 'the Near East' and 'the Middle East' and to 'Western Europe' and 'Eastern Europe.' ("Who could imagine fourteen centuries ago the terms which have only recently sprung up.?") According to *The Light* which reproduces 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq's article, the sense is even more prescient: "A yet deeper significance of the words *la yabghiyān* will not be missed by those who know the Quranic style of underlining some moral or social

truths by calling attention to the phenomena of nature. The two seas of humanity — Democracies and Communist countries — are apparently poised dangerously against each other over the Suez Canal issue... Do the above words contain an assurance that the much dreaded clash... will after all not come...?"

The passage referred to reads as follows in Dawood's translation: "The Lord of the two easts is He and the Lord of the two wests... He has let loose the two oceans (note indicates: 'Salt water and fresh') they meet each other. Yet between them stands a barrier which they cannot overrun... Pearls and corals come from both... His are the ships that sail like banners upon the ocean."

Miscellanea. The Arabic language was used in the Stock Exchanges of Cairo and Alexandria in November 1956 for the first time in Egyptian history.

Prime Minister Menderes of Turkey has personally contributed a hundred thousand Turkish liras towards the building of a new mosque in the Yeniköy district of Ankara. The Maltepe quarter of the city adjacent to the great Atatürk Mausoleum has a fine new mosque now almost complete. These new erections in the capital symbolise a widespread program of mosque-building in contemporary Turkey, where the legacy of Atatürk is being slowly modified in a progressive abandonment of his insistent secularism as a basic principle of the national life and government.

The Light, Lahore, the Pakistan Aḥmadiyyah weekly, comments recently on the rapid spread of Islam into Africa and traces this advance from three sources, Nigeria and the Gold Coast in West Africa, the Sudan in Central Africa and the Somalilands in East Africa. The same issue of the periodical discusses Christian and Muslim missions in British Guiana in South America.

The Hebrew University in Israeli Jerusalem has an enrollment of some four thousand, among whom are one hundred Arab students. An Arab honor student of the University's Hadassah Medical School has been awarded the annual Judah L. Magnes Scholarship at the University.

One of our contributors is engaged on a project for the collection of all books issued in Turkey in the new script since 1928 dealing with themes in religion and religious history and thought. This collection will be used as a general library on Turkish aspects of Islamic studies in this half century.

Saudi Arabia reports continuous progress in its educational development. Thirteen per cent of the budget is now applied to education in the State. Qualified teachers have been recruited from several countries for English, French and the sciences, two hundred and fifty teachers being from the Arab States. The UNESCO scheme for adult education has trained some of the teachers now operating in that field.

An official translation of the Qurʾān into Burmese is in progress in Rangoon under the sponsorship of the Burmese Government.

Among the last group of Egyptian prisoners repatriated in February

by Israel was the thirty-six year old son of Ḥasan al Huḍaibi, Head of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The number of such repatriated prisoners was announced from Geneva as 5,500. Israeli prisoners held by Egypt were extremely few in number.

There was considerable protest over the Muslim world, perhaps not wholly theological, at the greeting offered to Pandit Nehru during his official visit to Riyāḍ in February last. The title Rasūl al-Salām, Apostle of Peace, was used of him, this being also one of the characteristic descriptives of the Prophet himself. Sources in Pakistan said that it ill befitted the custodian of the Holy Places of the Ḥaramain to greet even world figures in this irreligious and compromising fashion.

A bill is before the Turkish Parliament to ban strip-tease acts in Turkish theatres and also to ban Rock and Roll music. The two crazes appear to have been growing of late in the Turkish scene.

Prospecting for oil by twelve foreign firms is going on actively in Turkey in places as far apart as Gaziantep, Adana, Iskanderun and Thrace.

The East Pakistan Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution, though unofficial, for the speediest possible introduction of Bengali in all branches of the Provincial Government and in education.

Pakistan primary schools are still only meeting the needs of one quarter of the child population, though the number of them has risen to more than forty four thousand with an increased enrollment of over four million children.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES. R. Bayly Winder. *Middle East Forum*, New York. June, 1956. pp. 19-22. Covers courses of study, main institutions, leading scholars involved, etc.
- DAS ARABISCHE WÖRTERBUCH ALS HELFSMITTEL FÜR DIE HEBRÄISCHE LEXICOGRAPHIE. L. Kopf. *Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden. July, 1956. pp. 286-302.
- THE ATTITUDE OF ISLAM TOWARD FIGURATIVE PAINTING. Zaky M. Hasan. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. July, 1956, pp. 24-29. During the Prophet's time pictorial art was not encouraged for fear of idolatry, but now it is accepted.
- INSCRIPTIONS JUDEO-ARABES DE RUṢĀFE (SERGIOPOLIS). André Caquot. *Syrie*, Paris. 1955, part 1-2, pp. 70-76. Dating from 1127, these may be the earliest inscriptions extant.
- THE CAMPAIGN OF 1955 AT GORDION. Rodney S. Young. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton. Tells of interesting findings.
- AN ISLAMIC CARVED CUP IN THE CORNING MUSEUM. Axel von Saldern. *Artibus Asiae*, New York. 1955, part 3-4. pp. 257-270. An illustrated account of a glass bowl from Gurgan possibly dating from the 9th century.
- JERUSALEM TO ROME IN THE PATH OF ST. PAUL. David S. Boyer. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. December, 1956. pp. 707-759. A superbly illustrated itinerary to follow.
- LEBEN UND SCHAFFEN VON FRIEDRICH WILHELM RADLOFF. Ahmet Temir. *Oriens*, Leiden. 1955, part 1. pp. 51-92. A biographical and bibliographical study of this noted authority on Turkey who lived from 1837 to 1918.
- THE SASSANIAN DIRHAMS IN THE IRAQ MUSEUM. N. Nakshabandi and F. Rashid. *Sumer*, Baghdad. 1955, part 2, pp. 154-176. The first of two articles describing coins from the time of Firuz Ist to that of Khosrow Ist.
- A TRANS-SAHARAN CARAVAN ROUTE IN HERODOTUS. Rhys Carpenter. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton. July, 1956. pp. 231-242. A modern follow-up of ancient descriptions.

II. ARABIA

- ALONG THE STORIED INCENSE ROADS OF ADEN. Herman F. Eilts and Brian Brake. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. February, 1957. pp. 230-254. Describes the so-called "Great Circuit" — 1,500 miles from Aden to Yeshbum, to Daihān Qasb, across the Wādī Ḥaḍramaut to Makalla and back to Aden along the coast, passing near Abyan where the British have helped launch a fine cotton growing project.

III. QUR'ĀN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

- IBN BATUTA. S. H. Longrigg. *Arab World*, London. April, 1956. pp. 21-25. An account of the journeys of this 14th century traveller.
- FONDEMENTS D'AUTORITÉ DU CORAN CHEZ AL-BAQILLANI. J. Bouman. *Le Monde non Chrétien*, Paris. Avril-Juin, 1956. pp. 154-171. A careful and thought-provoking study.
- INTERNAL RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PRESENT CENTURY ISLAM. F. Rahman. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Paris. 1955, part 4. pp. 862-879. Considers the Wahhābī movement and that inaugurated by Shāh Walī Ullāh of Delhi; the influence of the West; Muslim activism and the impact of modernism in general.
- L'HUMANISME GRECO-ARABE: AVICENNE. Louis Gardet. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Paris. 1955, part 4. pp. 812-834. A philosophical article accompanied by an extensive bibliography.

IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

- CHISTENDOM AND ISLAM IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Helen Adolf. *Speculum*, Cambridge, Mass. January, 1957. pp. 103-115. Describes new thinking on the "Grail stone" and "Hidden Host".
- IBN KHALDŪN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE LIGHT OF EXTERNAL ARABIC SOURCES. Walter J. Fischel. *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Delle Vida*, Rome, 1956. pp. 287-308. Analyzes sources, unmentioned in the "Autobiography", which provide interesting sidelights.
- FORTRESS CITY OF CONSTANTINE, Algeria. Benjamin E. Thomas. *Scientific Monthly*, New York. September, 1956. pp. 130-137. An illustrated account of a city which has been occupied continuously since pre-Roman times.
- ISIDORE GLABAS AND THE TURKISH DEVSHIRME. Speros Uryonis, Jr. *Speculum*, Cambridge, Mass. July, 1956. pp. 433-443. The author's research establishes 1395 as the date when recruiting for the Janissaries began to involve the seizure of Christian children and their education for military life.
- THE MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST: VOL. 2., The official war history. Brig. Lord Malise Graham. *The Quarterly Review*, London. October, 1956. pp. 441-452. An extensive review of the work produced by Maj.-Gen. I.S.C. Playfair covering, in this case, 1941.
- ÜBER EINIGE ARABISCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN IN BAGHDAD AND TETUAN. Wilhelm Hoernerbach. *Oriens*, Leiden. 1955, part 1. pp. 96-119. Describes 7 mss in Iraqi libraries dealing with the history of the country and 10 in Tetuan dealing with law, biography and history.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- THE ALGERIAN REVOLT. M. M. Knight. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Autumn, 1956. pp. 355-367. A detailed and discouraging picture of the incomes, land conditions, political frustrations, and economic needs of the Muslims — all of which have led to the present rebellion.
- ARABISCHE BESTATTUNGSBRÄUCHE IN FRÜHEN 'ABBASIDENZEIT. Irene

- Grütter. *Der Islam*, Berlin. July, 1956. pp. 168-194. A further study of burial customs from the works of Ibn Sa'ad and Bukhārī. This section deals with grave ceremonies and contains a long bibliography.
- THE CITY IN ISLAM. Walter J. Fischel. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. June-July, 1956. pp. 227-232. Since Muḥammad was an urban merchant, the city has always played a great part in Muslim civilization.
- ISLAM AND SECULARISM IN TURKEY TO-DAY. A. L. Tibawi. *Quarterly Review*, London. July, 1956. pp. 325-337. Examines the significant re-awakening of devotion to Islam and the Government's furthering of it.
- NASSER, THE NILE AND THE FELLAH. Osgood Caruthers. *The New Times Magazine*, New York. October 21, 1956. pp. 11-13: 36-42. Describes the poverty, indebtedness, disease and constant struggle for life of two-thirds of Egypt's population — the citizens who actually support the nation's existence through their labours.
- PROGRESS AND PAGEANTRY IN CHANGING NIGERIA. W. R. Moore. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. September, 1956. pp. 325-365. Fine coloured plates illustrate the life of the Tuaregs and other Muslims.
- REFORMES MUSULMANES EN TUNISIE. P. Rondot. *Etudes*, Paris. Decembre, 1956. pp. 399-402. Describes the effects of the suppression of the "chraa" and the modification of the rules governing the personal status of Muslims, — such as free marriage choice, divorce regulations, etc.
- SPAIN IN MOROCCO. Nevill Barbour. *World Today*, London. August, 1956. pp. 313-321. Although Spain has been rather more successful than France in dealing with her Moroccan subjects, her present prospects are not very encouraging nor are the inhabitants thriving.
- SUDANESE NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION. Peter M. Holt. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Autumn, 1956. pp. 368-378. Detailed account of developments leading to the lowering of the British and Egyptian flags and the raising of the standard of the Republic of the Sudan, January 1, 1956, at Khartoum.

VI. EGYPT AND ISRAEL

- DOCUMENTS. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Autumn, 1956. pp. 427-437. Consists of a translation, with comment, by Ivar Spector of the "Program of action of the Communist Party of Egypt", which was published in Moscow in 1934 and seems to be progressing true to form.
- HOW THE ISRAELIS BLITZED NASSER'S ARMY. Paul Henissart. *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia. February, 1957. pp. 28-29: 90-92. Moving with speed in a surprise attack against a much larger and better equipped enemy, Israel destroyed much Egyptian matériel.
- IMPRESSIONS OF THE CRISIS. *The Twentieth Century*, London. December, 1956. pp. 545-554. John Beavan reports on the Suez repercussions in England, highlighted by Eden's débâcle, while Germaine

Mason describes the terrifying conditions in Algeria, praising the courageous French who love the country and "Les braves Arabes" who support them.

ISRAEL: FAITH, COURAGE, AND TAXES. Benno Weiser. *Community*, New York. September, 1956. pp. 211-218. An eye-witness's account of the state of mind of many varied Jewish types and their overall anxiety about their survival.

NASSER IN MOSKAUS FÄNGEN. *Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart. September 20, 1956. pp. 19-20. Comments on arms shipments, etc.

STORY OF THE SINAI CAMPAIGN. Leo Heiman. *Commentary*, New York. January, 1957. pp. 11-24. A first-hand account of the fighting, the importance of air strength to Israel, the needlessness of Anglo-French aid, etc., etc., etc.

TRAGEDY OF HATRED: THE ARAB REFUGEES. Ben H. Bagdikian. *The Reporter*, New York. November, 1956. pp. 31-35. Presents the appalling plight of these unfortunate beings and argues that their rehabilitation is a prerequisite for any peace in the Near East.

VII. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ARAB NATIONALISM. Hal Lehrman. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. August 12, 1956. pp. 10: 63-68. A reporter's claim that despotism or irresponsibility have replaced colonialism, except in Libya and Iraq where major developments in the national interest are being advanced.

BACKWARD AND FORWARD IN IRAN. Hall Winslow. *Middle East Forum*, New York. June, 1956. pp. 16-18. A study of the 1954 oil agreement which seems to be working well.

THE BURAIMI OASIS DISPUTE. J. B. Kelly. *International Affairs*, London. July, 1956. pp. 318-326. Even before the discovery of oil in the area, the British were safe-guarding the shaiikhdom from Saudi Arabian involvement.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Autumn, 1956. pp. 395-426. Covers June 1-August 31, 1956, and offers brief remarks on "Arab nationalism and the crises".

THE END OF PASHADOM. Gerald de Gaury. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1956. pp. 243-247. This ancient word dates from the early 13th century and came from a Mongol term meaning a military commander, men whose careers were apt to end suddenly like that of Sir John Bagot Glubb.

DER HEUTIGE IRAK. Eugen Wirth. *Ferne Länder*, Hamburg. 1956, part 1. Despite the country's fine natural resources, the Iraqi fear of Western domination hampers progress in introducing social and economic improvements.

DER HEUTIGE IRAK ALS BEISPIEL ORIENTALISTISCHEN WIRTSCHAFTS-GEISTES. Eugen Wirth. *Die Erde*, Berlin. 1956. part 1. pp. 30-50. The article explains the influences of climate, race and religion on the inhabitants, thus giving valuable information for Europeans and Americans in close touch with the area.

I WAS IN BAGHDAD. Nicola Ziadeh. *Middle East Forum*, New York.

- June, 1956. pp. 9-11. An evaluation of the intellectual and spiritual state of Iraq.
- ISTANBUL. James P. O'Donnell. *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia. November 3, 1956. pp. 28-29: 104-108. A popular and well-illustrated description of this beautiful city.
- LEVANT DUSK. Stewart Perowne. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1956. pp. 235-242. Working with the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem in his efforts to help the teeming Arab refugees, the author knows the tragic situation at first hand and describes in detail the various villages which have been established by sympathetic individuals and organizations.
- THE MIDEAST, CHANGING YET UNCHANGED. Hanson W. Baldwin. *The New York Times Magazine* New York. January 13, 1957. pp. 11-13: 19-20. A brief survey of the Arab lands, now united in their hatred of Israel.
- THE MIDDLE EAST THEN AND NOW. Sir Harry Luke. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1956. pp. 219-225. Describes the major changes observed over the past fifty years — from the Levant known to Sultān ʿAbdul Ḥamīd II to the uneasy present-day world of Abd al-Nāṣir.
- OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Stephen H. Longrigg. *Current History*, New York. June, 1956. pp. 353-359. Points out the need to establish long-range production plans.
- POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE FERTILE CRESCENT. *The World Today*, London. June, 1956. pp. 215-222. A survey of the influence of Iraq on other Arab countries suggesting also that Iraq's influence in the area is lessened through its membership in the Baghdad Pact.
- THE SANJAK OF ALEXANDRETTA (HATAY). Avedis K. Sanjian. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Autumn, 1956. pp. 379-399. Describes Franco-Turkish-Syrian relations in the section from 1936 to the present and discusses the resignation of Syria to Turkey's absorption of the territory.
- SYRIA: MIDDLE EAST PROVING GROUND. Hanson W. Baldwin. *New York Times Magazine*, February 3, 1957. pp. 15: 52-54. Shows the country's importance to the whole region.
- WHAT PRICE ISRAEL'S DEFENSE? Hal Lehrman. *Commentary*, New York. September, 1956. pp. 199-210. A detailed report of Israel's military and financial problems in her search for security.
- THE WEST AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Bickham Sweet-Escott. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1956. pp. 187-199. The author believes in the vital importance of the Middle East to the West, that the Western nations must find and pursue one unified policy, and that economic and technical assistance to the area outweigh any military measures which suggest imperialistic war-mongering.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

- CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. James Stuart. *The East and West Review*, London. October, 1956. pp. 103-110. The Editorial Secretary of the S.P.C.K.-in-India present a rather gloomy

- picture of conditions which are due mainly to a lack of competent authors and to the shortage of publishing capital.
- MEDICAL MISSIONS IN PAKISTAN. A. J. Vanderveldt, O.F.M., M.D. *World Mission*, New York. Summer, 1956. pp. 219-223. Describes work in Mirpurkhas, a city of 40,000, where conditions are incredibly primitive and disease is rife.
- LE PROSELYTISME EN CÔTE D'IVOIRE. B. Holas. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, Paris. Décembre, 1956. pp. 31-41. Tells of the rivalry displayed by Christianity and Islam — both striving for converts from deeply-seated native beliefs.
- RELIGIOUS TRENDS IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. H. L. Ellison. *World Dominion*, London. January, 1957. pp. 9-14. Surveys Zionism, Orthodox and Conservative Judaism, and the tiny Christian group — .025 of the population — though the author feels, however, that there is an out-going toward Christ and a definite opportunity for conversion.
- WILL GOD CALL HIS SON BACK TO EGYPT. The Rev. Joseph de Reyac. *World Mission*, New York. Spring, 1956. pp. 11-19. Reports the difficulties of Roman Catholic missionaries labouring not only to gain the Egyptian Muslim but the Orthodox Copt.
- DIE CHRISTLICHE MISSION IN DER TÜRKEI. Gotthard Jäschke. *Saeculum*, Freiburg. 1956, part I. pp. 68-78. An historical sketch.
- THE CHURCH IN MODERN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. The Rev. J. C. Pollock. *The Quarterly Review*, London. October, 1956. pp. 475-487. The author feels that India's Constitution, allowing religious freedom, is a great help; that, however, strong Christian leadership is badly needed; that Pakistan is even more open-minded than India.
- LA PLACE DE L'ÉCOLE CHRÉTIENNE DANS L'ÉVOLUTION DE L'AFRIQUE NOIRE. Dr. Louis-Paul Aujoulat. *Études*, Paris. Octobre, 1956. pp. 32-46. A survey, with statistics, of the work of mission schools.